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OPERATION OPPORTUNITY

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OPERATION (COMPLIANCE (OPPORTUNITY

Whatever the fate of the Civil Rights Bill, we can look forward to a Spring and Summer of heightened protest activity. If the bill passes with the public accommodations section intact, Negroes will test the availability of service in thousands of facilities and hundreds of communities throughout southern and border states. If an enforceable public accommodations section fails to pass, there is likely to be a comparable number of demonstrations marked by anger and frustration. In either case, there is the possibility of major and possibly tragic crisis.

Our planning can best start from the assumption that the bill, including an enforceable public accommodations section, will pass. In that event, the remedy for a violation will be a civil suit initiated by a complainant, or by the Attorney General where a pattern of discrimination exists. Even the resort to the courts will probably have to be delayed pending efforts at conciliation and negotiation. In any case, the normal delays of litigation -- abetted in some cases by unfriendly judges -- mean that relief will be slow and peicemeal. To the extent that Southern businesses refuse to comply without court compulsion, the issue will be joined in the streets with the attendant likelihood of turmoil and violence.

It is unrealistic to suggest that any amount of preparatory effort can eliminate the prospect of resistance and crisis. Such areas as Mississippi and parts of other deep-South states will inevitably resist, given their political and social complexion. But this need not be the case in the majority of Southern towns and cities, though there may be intense opposition by individual proprietors in even fairly progressive cities and wherever certain firms operate. In many localities, foresighted governmental and private effort may make the difference between civil strife and orderly compliance with the law. The opponents of racial progress are doing their best to foment a Volstead-Act psychology of resistance to the proposed bill. The supporters of civil rights, private as well as governmental, can hardly take their responsibilities less seriously.

OBJECTIVES

(1) Lay the groundwork in slected Southern cities for strong organized support for open public facilities and accommodations.

(2) Carefully search out and enlist on a locality by locality basis whatever helpful resources exist in the other Southern communities.

(3) Prepare and disseminate, through the press and organizational channels as appropriate, information about the bill and what it provides, encouraging examples of desegregation in public accommodations to date, information directed to economic and civic self-interest, "how-to" guidance materials for community action, etc.

(4) In cooperation with Federal officials, enlist the cooperation of retail chains in promoting local compliance by their affiliates and franchise-holders.

(5) Enlist the active participation of national organizations that have constituents or influence in Southern communities, most particularly in the pilot cities selected for intensive effort.

(6) Maintain a central pool of information on specific community situations, retail chains, and influential business and political leaders.

(7) Work closely with Federal departments and agencies that can influence Southern communities through program or personnel, as well as with those charged directly with civil rights responsibilities.

COORDINATION

There will be two closely connected centers of coordination and communication for the proposed private efforts. The Southern Regional Council will provide this service for the effort in the South, with particular attention to the intensive activities in the selected communities and the other localities. As the secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference, it is the logical clearing-house for the activities of the constituent agencies, as well as for the state and local human relations councils. To carry out these functions, SRC has added a temporary staff person who will assist the Executive Director and the Field Director for the duration of the project. In general, SRC will address itself to the following:

1. A division of labor among the Southern agencies, including assignment of special responsibility for the pilot community efforts to specific agencies.
2. Encouragement and guidance to purely local groups (e.g., women's committees, bi-racial committees) that can help create a spirit of compliance in their communities.

3. Preparation and distribution of appropriate informational and guidance materials.
4. Promotion of constructive newspaper stories and editorials.
5. Coordination of Southern activities with the Potomac Institute's contact work at the national level.

The Potomac Institute will attempt to involve as many appropriate national organizations and influences as possible in the Southern effort. In general it will:

1. Maintain liaison with the White House, Justice, the Civil rights Commission, and any other Federal agencies that are directly involved, and seek to relate their activities to those coordinated by SRC.
2. Explore possibilities of involving non-civil rights Federal departments and agencies (e.g., Defense, Labor, Federal Executive Boards) wherever they have influence or key personnel at the community level.
3. See that appropriate materials necessary to supplement SRC's output are prepared and distributed.
4. Work with the friendly press in Washington and New York as needed.
5. Work with national organizations -- civil rights, religious, business, labor, women's, civic, professional -- to enlist maximum support and resources behind the Southern effort.

6. Keep the Southern Regional Council and cooperating Southern agencies informed of developments in Washington and at the national level generally.

ACTIVITIES UNDERWAY OR POTENTIAL

1. SRC has convened several meetings of Southern agency personnel to discuss "Operation Compliance - Opportunity." Additional meetings are being planned. Compliance efforts are already underway in several communities.
2. Potomac is meeting with an informal, continuing committee of chain store businessmen and Federal officials who are planning ways to encourage desegregation of public accommodations in the South.
3. The International Association of Police Chiefs has expressed interest in cooperating by distributing case studies and other information to Southern police chiefs.
4. The Lawyers' Committee has offered to cooperate similarly with its constituency.
5. The National Women's Committee on Civil Rights and its constituent national organizations are developing community-wide women's efforts in selected communities in the South. Some women's groups are already at work (e.g., Atlanta, New Orleans).
6. The National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and Race already had contemplated an independent effort comparable to the one here described. SRC has had discussions with them and they have agreed to mesh planning and program.
7. The U. S. Conference of Mayors has initiated a community relations program for its constituents, and can be expected to distribute pertinent information through its mailing list, and will furnish its members on request consultative and technical assistance.

OPERATION - 6

A list of pilot cities for intensive efforts to mobilize strong and organized support for open public facilities and accommodations is appended.

PILOT CITIES

ALABAMA

- Anniston
- Birmingham
- Huntsville
- Mobile
- Tuscaloosa

ARKANSAS

- Little Rock

FLORIDA

- Daytona Beach
- Jacksonville
- Miami
- Pensacola
- St. Petersburg
- Sarasota
- Tampa

GEORGIA

- Atlanta
- Columbus
- Savannah

LOUISIANA

- Baton Rouge
- New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI

- Greenville

NORTH CAROLINA

- Charlotte
- Durham
- Greensboro
- Raleigh
- Rocky Mount
- Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

- Charleston
- Columbia
- Greenville

TENNESSEE

- Knoxville
- Memphis
- Nashville

TEXAS

- Dallas
- Houston

VIRGINIA

- Charlottesville
- Danville
- Lynchburg
- Newport News
- Norfolk
- Portsmouth
- Richmond
- Roanoke

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY

INFORMATION REQUESTED

1. Community leaders or individuals who could be approached to work for compliance with Title II.

2. Community groups which could be approached to work for compliance with Title II.

3. Community leaders or individuals or groups which would tend to work against compliance with Title II.

4. General attitude of:

City officials

Press

Business leadership

Church leaders

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY (continued)

5. Present status of desegregation (by name if possible) in:

Lunch counters

Restaurants

Hotels - Motels

Theatres

Municipal facilities

Schools

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY (continued)

6. Is there a community bi-racial committee?

   a) Official or unofficial (check one)

   b) Names of members

7. In your opinion what places of public accommodations, if any, will be defiant of the law in your city?

Founded
1909

THE **PROGRESSIVE**

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN • ALPINE 5-6543
MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

January 18, 1963 2574626

Miss Margaret Long
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

Thanks for your note of January 16 with its kind comment on our December issue. The response has been uniformly excellent so far--except for the NAACP which is furious that there was no article dealing with it.

I am enclosing three copies to hand around among your friends. Let me know if you can use more for we have a rather tiny supply on hand.

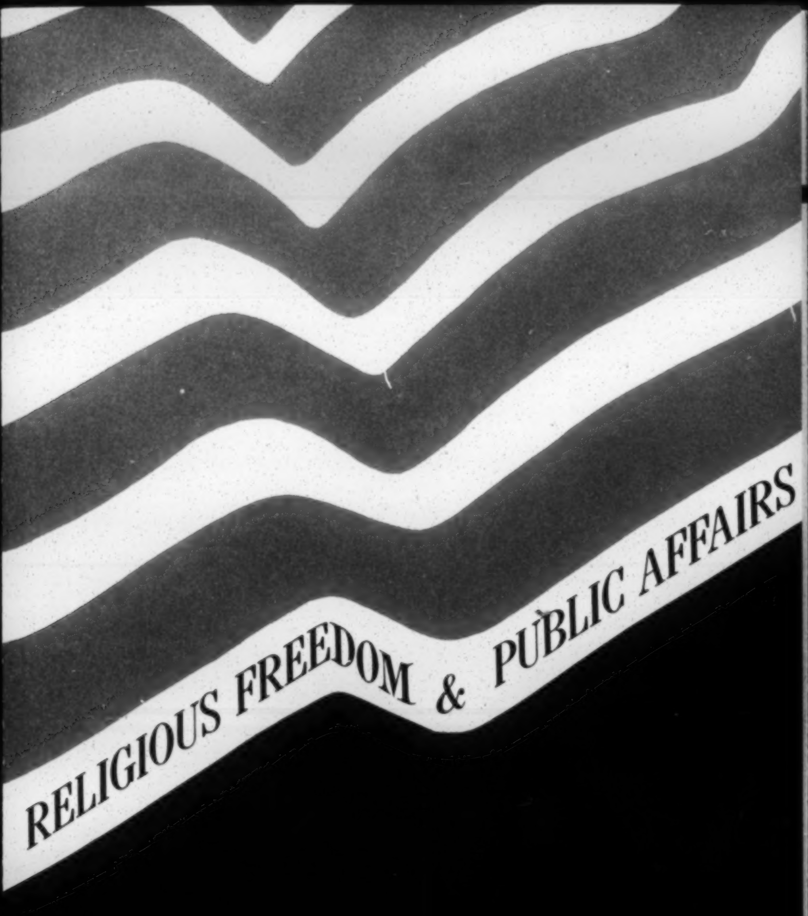
With best wishes,

Cordially,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

bh
Enclosures

Founded in 1909 by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr. • Published by The Progressive, Inc., A Non-Profit Foundation



RELIGIOUS FREEDOM & PUBLIC AFFAIRS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND PU

THE PROBLEM

A new era in interreligious relations is upon us. The Catholic Ecumenical Council, and the Protestant World Council of Churches' Faith and Order Conferences, the meeting of Christian leaders in the Holy Land, and other dramatic exchanges – these are all signs of a new stirring within our religious communities. They represent an eagerness to know and understand each other better, to join forces in battle against hatred and misunderstanding, to purify our religious institutions so that they may challenge more effectively the problems of a revolutionary world.

At the very same time there is evident sharp conflict among America's religious communities on matters of public policy – public funds for textbooks, transportation and shared time for parochial schools; birth control clinics; prayer and bible readings in the public schools; Christmas creches on public property; Sunday closing laws. These issues frequently become front-page community controversies, or decisive factors in political campaigns or the enactment of legislation. Even court cases offer no final solution to our disputes, as citizens organize themselves to achieve Constitutional amendment.

Insofar as these conflicts reveal confidence in the democratic process, they are not all bad. In fact, religious groups raise their voices for what they feel is just, precisely because they believe they will be given a hearing. Debates of this nature reveal that our religious feelings are strong, and thus they are a potential force for the general welfare. The question therefore is only *how to handle our differences* in a way to promote rather than to hinder the common weal.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews *believes* that these differences can best be handled through candid and patient exchange of ideas and analysis of issues in an atmosphere of charity and open-mindedness, and the result will be constructive answers for the common good.

Building upon the spirit of ecumenical exchange, the NCCJ has encouraged two thousand ministers, priests, rabbis and laymen in forty-five cities to meet every month in a dialogue probing the deeper significance of faith and its meaning for religious liberty in a pluralistic society.

NCCJ PROJECT

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has expanded its work in the field of interreligious relations through a project: Religious Freedom and Public Affairs. Partially supported by a grant of $325,000 from the Ford Foundation, this project is designed to raise the general level of public discussion and understanding among religious groups differing on issues of public concern. It seeks to expand through the coming years a program of dialogue among citizens across confessional lines.

To aid and assist the project in identifying key issues and in suggesting the most effective methods for handling such problems the NCCJ has organized a Council on Religious Freedom and Public Affairs consisting of nine distinguished Americans. This Council has authorized a three-fold program.

NATIONAL AND REGIONAL INSTITUTES

An effort to bring together across faith lines the outstanding and most competent leaders in a designated area of concern for a period of study and discussion.

BLIC AFFAIRS

THE PROJECT HAS CONDUCTED:

- An institute on political action by religious groups and its significance for religious liberty.
- An institute for editors of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious press for a discussion on the handling of controversial issues.
- An institute for lawyers and church leaders on the meaning of the First Amendment.
- An institute for school board members and school superintendents for a discussion of problems involving religion and education.

DIALOGUE IN THE COMMUNITY

An effort to bring together priests, ministers, rabbis and laymen in ongoing discussion in every major city of the United States.

DIALOGUE GROUPS IN EXISTENCE HAVE ALREADY BROUGHT NEW LEADERSHIP TO THEIR COMMUNITIES:

- Through growth in understanding of each others point of view.
- Through agreement, where division is irreconcilable, to engage in interreligious controversy in such a way that religion is dignified and our democratic procedures strengthened.
- Through effective action meetings where consensus exists, to confront community problems cooperatively, with all the major religious groups working together.

PUBLICATIONS, PAMPHLETS AND FILMS

An effort to make available background studies of communities in tension, round up reports on the best ideas that shed new light on old problems, position papers that enhance discussion of the issues, films that stimulate thought and exchange of opinion.

A REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLING OF TITLES INCLUDES:

1 / DIALOGUE

1 / *DIALOGUE* — an occasional summary of news reports on religious issues as they affect public affairs, Claud Nelson, Editor.

THE COMMON BIBLE	*15 cents*
PLANNED PARENTHOOD	*15 cents*

2 / BACKGROUND REPORTS

2 / *BACKGROUND REPORTS* — an analysis of community conflict, Arthur Gilbert, Editor.

COMMUNITY CONFLICT — Christmas observance in the public school	*10 cents*
THE CHURCH AGAINST GAMBLING LEGISLATION IN TEXAS	*10 cents*
MASSACHUSETTS SUNDAY LAW & THE SABBATARIAN ISSUE	*10 cents*
THE FAUQUIER HOSPITAL STERILIZATION STORY	*10 cents*

3 / PAMPHLETS

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE LEGISLATION OF MORALITY	*35 cents*
THE QUESTION OF TAX EXEMPTION FOR CHURCHES	*35 cents*
RELIGION AND EDUCATION	*35 cents*
RELIGION AND POLITICS	*50 cents*

4 / REPRINTS

PRAYER AND THE BIBLE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL	*10 cents*
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN AMERICA: CHANGING MEANINGS IN THE PAST AND PRESENT	*25 cents*

5 / FILMS

BUSSES AND BALLOTS — *25 minutes, black and white, 16 mm* — A study of how one Connecticut community handled the question of public payment for the bus transportation of parochial school children.

SHARED TIME — *25 minutes, black and white, 16 mm* — A discussion pro and con of the shared time idea based on the experiment now taking place in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

FUTURE PROJECTS

NCCJ is convinced that this project has already exerted an appreciable influence on American public opinion. The project must continue its work even beyond the period of the Ford Foundation grant. NCCJ welcomes contributions from foundations and philanthropic individuals. It also welcomes inquiry from all those who would wish to join themselves to our effort and to become better acquainted with project materials and resources.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS

43 WEST 57th STREET / NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10019

CO-CHAIRMEN	ROBERT D. MURPHY CARROL M. SHANKS LEWIS L. STRAUSS
PRESIDENT	LEWIS WEBSTER JONES
STAFF CONSULTANT	ARTHUR GILBERT Project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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REV. JOHN COLEMAN BENNETT
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Professor of Ecclesiology
Woodstock College

DR. ROBIN MURPHY WILLIAMS, JR.
Department of Sociology
Cornell University

**deceased*

NATIONAL
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AND JEWS

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATERIALS

NCCJ

REPRINTS, ARTICLES, BOOKS & PAMPHLETS to help build Better Intergroup Relations

(Single copy free where price is not indicated.)

Materials for special use are designated as follows:
C .... Community agencies R .... Religious groups
L-M .... Labor-Management and Public Interest S .... Schools and Colleges
For all materials listed in this bibliography, please write to the NCCJ office nearest you. (See list on back.)

Annual Report of the President of NCCJ 10 pp.
The year 1963 in review.

Beginning Human Relations Programs from Scratch by Hilda Taba 6 pp. C, S
Basic suggestions for a community human relations program.

Big Big World and the People in It by Williard Johnson S, C, R
Illustrated message of good will for young people and adults.

Books for Brotherhood 10 pp. C, S, R
Annotated list of books for adults and children chosen by a committee representative of various faiths, races, etc., while at the same time authorities in the literary field.

Brotherhood and Your PTA 8 pp. C, S
Designed to enlist the activity of parents and teachers in programming for better intergroup relations.

Brotherhood Under God Series 5 cents each R
Program Suggestions for Catholic Organizations
Program Suggestions for Jewish Organizations
Program Suggestions for Protestant Organizations
Year-round program suggestions for building better human relations through religious organizations.

Business in Dixie L-M
Reprint from the *Wall Street Journal* on the high cost of discrimination.

A Catalogue of Church-State Problems R
by Rabbi Arthur Gilbert
Reprinted from *Religious Education*
A listing of issues on which religious groups differ in the public order, with some effort at sociological analysis, particularly an explanation of Jewish viewpoints in this area.

THE DIALOGUE C, R
A summary of news reports, drawing heavily upon Religious News Service and editorials in leading church magazines to demonstrate how particular cases in the area of religious freedom and public affairs are being discussed and debated. These items do not provide an exhaustive report on the issues in question, but they are suggestive of the complex nature of the issues and are intended to stimulate further discussion.

The Common Bible 15 cents
Paper prepared by Father Walter M. Abbott, S. J. on a proposed Common Bible.

Planned Parenthood 15 cents
A report on new developments in the ongoing conflict over the distribution of birth control devices by public health clinics and the use of public funds for such purpose.

Responsibilities of Religious Freedom 15 cents
A review and summary of the papers delivered at the First National Institute of the project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs. An historical analysis of religious pluralism by three leading historians.

A Report on the Local Dialogue 15 cents
Defines the scope and interprets the purpose of NCCJ's dialogue program.

The Supreme Court: Bible Reading and Prayer 15 cents
Roundup of background information on a subject of current concern. Issued July, 1963.

The Vatican Council 1962 15 cents each
In two sections, this issue collects the reports of RNS correspondents Robert A. Graham, S. J. and Claud D. Nelson.

Emerging Concepts of Man and Society by Louis Finkelstein 20 pp. 15 cents R
Second in the Morgenstern Award Lecture series stressing the need for a sound character education in the present American pluralistic society.

A Fair Chance for All Americans 20 pp. 10 cents L-M
Four business leaders tell how their firms put a fair employment policy into action.

Guide for Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes 16 pp. 15 cents C
How to plan programs on the theme of "Rearing Children of Good Will."

Has Anti-Semitism Roots in Christianity? by Jules Isaac 96 pp. 50 cents R
Sorbonne lecture by a distinguished author with commentary by Richard Cardinal Cushing and Bernhard E. Olson.

The High Cost of Discrimination by Elmo Roper 20 pp. 10 cents L-M
Results of a nationwide employee survey and research in a wide range of industries on the economic cost to American business because of discrimination against minority groups.

If Christmas Brings Conflict 12 pp. 10 cents R, S
Issues involving religion and the public schools.

More Room at the Top L-M
Reprint from *Management Review* on company experiences in employing Negroes in professional and management jobs.

Platform of Good Will Series 5 cents each R
A Protestant View by Jaroslav Pelikan
A Catholic View by Walter J. Ong, S. J.
A Jewish View by Bernard Mandelbaum
A Greek Orthodox View by Leonidas C. Contos
Recognized leaders of four religious groups set forth fundamental principles which religiously motivated people should follow in their relations with their fellow men.

The Police and Community Conflict by William P. Brown 24 pp. 15 cents C
A practical treatment of an important subject written by a career police officer.

Prejudice Doesn't Come Naturally 5 cents C
Reprint from *Parents Magazine* giving a mother's experiences in trying to maintain a healthy atmosphere in the home.

Race by John Gillin 12 pp. 5 cents S, R, C
Anthropologists approach to question of race.

Rearing Children of Good Will C
N. Y. Times Magazine reprint describing the NCCJ national institute on the subject.

Rearing Children to Meet the Challenge of Change by Dan W. Dodson 16 pp. 10 cents C, R, S
Essay on the theme of Rearing Children of Good Will directed to parents, teachers and religious leaders.

Religious Concern with Politics by John C. Bennett
24 pp. 15 cents R

First in the Morgenstern Award Lecture series, outlining the role of religion in politics and its concern and contribution to the political scene.

Rules for the Dialogue R

Reprinted from *Christian Century* and *Commonweal;* where it was simultaneously published in 1960.

Robert McAfee Brown suggests six rules that must be observed if the Protestant-Catholic dialogue is to prove fruitful.

Some Children Are . . . by Jo Tenjford, Oslo 4 pp. C, S, R

Light verse calling attention to the many cultural differences of children and their basic likeness.

Speak Up for Brotherhood! 16 pp. C, R, S

Suggestions for speakers on the theme of Brotherhood.

Study Guides in Human Relations—Primary Grades S

Study Guides in Human Relations — Intermediate Grades S

Study Guides in Human Relations — Junior High Schools S

Study Guides in Human Relations — Senior High Schools S

Year-round programming in human relations in the schools for various age levels.

To: The Librarian — About Human Relations C, S

Practical program suggestions for stimulating human relations programs for Brotherhood Week and the year round in the library.

We Believe

Credo on Americanism and quotes on brotherhood from various sources.

What Is the National Conference of Christians and Jews?

Thumbnail description of NCCJ program and policy.

What You Can Do For Brotherhood 12 pp.

Direct appeal to people to promote the practice of Brotherhood.

National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 W. 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.

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Room 1501

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92-32 Union Hall St.

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515 S. Denver

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New York 19, N. Y.

WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
735 Southern Bldg.
1425 H St., N.W.

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
175 Main Street

WICHITA 2, KAN.
257 No. B'way
Suite 104

WICHITA FALLS, TEX.
718 - 10th St.

WILKES-BARRE, PA.
514 Monument Ave.
Wyoming, Pa.

WILLIAMSPORT, PA.
R.D. #2
Montoursville, Pa.

WILMINGTON, DEL.
1011 Washington St.

Canadian Council of Christians and Jews
506-508 Ryrie Bldg.
229 Yonge St.
Toronto, Canada

11-63

INTERGROUP EDUCATION PAMPHLETS

(A Series Prepared and Published by the NCCJ)

Building Brotherhood: What Can Elementary Schools Do? by Mary Beauchamp, Ardelle Llewellyn, Vivienne S. Worley 78 pp. 25 cents

Contribution to elementary education and approaches to democratic living.

Education in a Transition Community by Jean D. Grambs 128 pp. 25 cents S, C

Discussion of the problems to be faced in view of the Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in schools unconstitutional. Material organized with needs of public schools in mind, with constructive suggestions for school administrators, teachers, parents and community leaders.

Feelings Are Facts by Margaret M. Heaton 59 pp. 25 cents S, C

Intergroup relations and their effect on the healthy emotional life of children.

Human Relations and Audio-Visual Materials by Jean D. Grambs 68 pp. 25 cents S, C

Clarifying the meaning of visual aids for intergroup education.

Readings in Intergroup Relations by Helen F. Storen 40 pp. 25 cents S, C

Books on interreligious, interracial and other group relations.

The Resolution of Intergroup Tensions by Gordon W. Allport 51 pp. 25 cents S, C

What scientific research says about best methods for overcoming prejudice and bigotry.

Role Playing the Problem Story by George and Fannie R. Shaftel 78 pp. 25 cents S, C

Treatment of methods for using role playing in classrooms.

FILMS

16 mm Sound Motion Pictures

Variety of Titles, Apply NCCJ

FILMSTRIPS

(with script—35 mm)

Variety of Titles, Apply NCCJ

RADIO AND STAGE SCRIPTS

The Children Are Listening by Barbara Kay Davidson 36 pp. $2.00 single copy. C

Play tells how the prejudices of parents are transferred to children. (Call your nearest NCCJ office to plan for a performance.)

The People Next Door by Robert Crean 24 pp. 25 cents C

Play designed for use as an open-end discussion tool on the subject of race relations in housing.

(Other titles for school assemblies, drama groups and radio presentation. Titles vary from time to time. Ask for current samples.)

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS PUBLICATIONS

The NCCJ project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, is designed to raise the general level of public understanding and discussion on issues of public concern about which religious groups differ. The main objectives of this project are: to analyze the practical and theoretical problems involving political action and religious freedom; to effectuate a greater understanding of the significance of those religious commitments that affect public policy; and to lessen needless conflict created by different religious approaches to social problems.

BACKGROUND REPORTS

An effort to furnish analyses in depth on specific issues in the area of religious freedom and public affairs, or to probe a specific case incident where religious groups were in conflict on a matter of public policy.

Busses and Ballots by Theodore Powell 10 cents

A review of the procedures followed in Wilton, Connecticut, where the citizens had to decide whether public funds should be expended to pay for the transportation of children attending the new parochial school.

The Church Against Gambling Legislation in Texas by Harold C. Kilpatrick 10 cents

A report on the political role of the Council of Churches on this issue and their justification for overt political activity in an area of "the legislation of morality."

Community Conflict—Christmas Observance in the Public Schools 10 cents

An examination of conflict in Hamden, Connecticut, on the nature of Christmas celebrations in the public schools.

The Fauquier Hospital Sterilization Story by Gerry Grant 10 cents

A report on the maternity clinic in Warrentown, Virginia, that has permitted by state law the sterilization of 63 indigent mothers. The conflicting views of church leaders on sterilization as a matter of public policy are examined.

Massachusetts Sunday Laws and the Sabbatarian Issue by Philip Perlmutter 10 cents

Examines the role of religious groups in wielding political influence on opposite sides of legislative effort to pass a Sabbatarian exemption amendment to a Sunday closing law.

PAMPHLETS

Birth Control and the Legislation of Morality 48 pp. 35 cents

Papers by Rev. Dean M. Kelley, Executive Director, Department of Religious Liberty, National Council of Churches, and John de J. Pemberton, Jr., Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union.

The Question of Tax Exemption for Churches 52 pp. 35 cents

Objective study of tax exemption by Andrew D. Tanner with comments by Theodore H. Husted, Jr., of particular interest to churchmen and civic leaders.

Religion and Education 52 pp. 35 cents

Papers by Very Rev. Msgr. John B. McDowell, Superintendent of Catholic Schools, Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Dr. Theodore Powell, Public Affairs Consultant, Connecticut State Department of Education.

Religion and Politics: A Conversation 72 pp. 50 cents

Excerpts from papers and discussions at the First National Institute of the Project Religious Freedom and Public Affairs of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Religious Responsibility for the Social Order 24 pp. 20 cents

A Symposium by Three Theologians: *A Protestant View* by Dr. Jaroslav Pelikan, Professor of Historical Theology, The University of Chicago; *A Catholic View* by Father Gustave Weigel, S. J., Professor of Ecclesiology, Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.; *A Jewish View* by Rabbi Emil L. Fackenheim, Professor of Philosophy, University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

REPRINTS

Columbia Journalism Review 15 cents

Reprint analyzing press reaction to the 1962 prayer decision of the Supreme Court.

Prayer and the Bible in the Public School 10 cents

Reprint from *Ave Maria*. Exchange of views on the issue of religious practices in the schools.

Religious Freedom in America: Changing Meanings in the Past and Present 25 cents

Reprinted from *Crosscurrents*. Winter issue 1963. Papers on the historic development of religious liberty as seen from the perspective of several faith communities and the secular tradition. These essays, written by John Tracy Ellis, Franklin H. Littell, Bertram W. Korn, Edward Duff and Sidney Hook, were delivered at the sessions of the First National Institute of the project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs.

What is the National Conference of Christians and Jews?

NCCJ is a civic organization engaged in a nation-wide program of intergroup education. It enlists Protestants, Catholics and Jews who without compromise of conscience or of their distinctive and important religious differences work together to build better relationships among men of all religions, races and nationalities. Its operation is civic and social although, obviously, the roots of the brotherhood which it seeks to build are in the moral law and in religious faith.

Founded
1909

THE PROGRESSIVE

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN • ALPINE 5-6543
MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

March 3, 1964

Miss Margaret Long
120 Lafayette Drive, N.E.
Apt. 11
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Margaret:

This morning we received the enclosed long letter from Martin Luther King's attorney. Would you care to make a brief reply for the People's Forum? If so, I should have it by Monday, March 9, or Tuesday at the latest.

Incidentally, I thought that your letter to Dr. King was admirable. We would be most interested to know if you have had any other fuss.

You would have heard from Morris before this, except for his doctor ordering him out of town for a brief rest.

Cordially,

Mary
Mary Sheridan
Associate Editor

bh
Enclosures
Airmail

Founded in 1909 by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr. • Published by The Progressive, Inc., A Non-Profit Foundation

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1909

THE PROGRESSIVE

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN • ALPINE 7-4626
MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

April 16, 1964

Margaret Long
120 Lafayette Drive, N.E.
Apt. 11
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Margaret:

I have been in such a whirl--and heading away again--that I haven't had a chance to write you about your last piece. I think it is excellent--not Margaret Long at her peak, but still a mighty fine piece. It is running in the May issue now going to press.

Enclosed is our check for $100.

If you want us to send copies to any of your friends and associates, shoot the list along to me at your convenience.

What next? Perhaps we could consider something for mid-summer publication with an early June deadline.

With best wishes and many thanks,

Cordially,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

bh
Enclosure
Airmail

P. S. I am enclosing a copy of the Negro Digest, which reprinted your piece on Aaron Henry.

For a variety of reasons too complicated to develop here, our September and October issues are especially important to us. I should like very much, in addition to this short effort for August, for you to consider a major piece for either the September or the October issue. Perhaps we can talk about it on the telephone between now and mid-summer.

Mary joins me in sending our best.

Cordially,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

MHR/db

Founded
1909

THE **PROGRESSIVE**

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN • ALPINE 7-4626
MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

April 27, 1964

Margaret Long
120 Lafayette Drive, N.E.
Apt. 11
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Maggie:

Thanks for your fine letter. It was so meaty and full of meaning that I was tempted for a moment to publish it as it was. Thanks for calling our attention to Benjamin Muse's Ten Years of Prelude. Mary had already learned of the book through the publisher and had written C. Vann Woodward asking him to review it. We have not heard from him as yet.

As for the Hodding Carter book, it is not too late for a review if you think the book worthy of attention. Perhaps a short--about 500 words--review would do the trick, but feel free to pass it by if that is your mood.

I would like to consider an article by you for our August or September issue--August would mean a July 1 deadline and September an August 1 deadline. Perhaps Birmingham might be our best bet, but why don't we keep it open for the moment and plan on talking to each other on the telephone in good season?

With best wishes,

Cordially,

M

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

bh

Final Exam
Schedule
Page 12

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY IN NEW ORLEANS

The Driftwood

A reflection of action and change

Put A Little
Fun In Your
Life: Study!

Vol. V Monday, May 18, 1964 No. 29

280 Seniors Will Receive Bachelor's Degrees

★ ★ ★

Workshop Theatre Schedules First Summer Production

The Workshop Theatre has announced its plans to produce William Inge's "Picnic" this summer. Tryouts for the play will be held June 10 through June 11 at 3-5 p.m. and 7-9 p.m. in the theatre.

"Picnic" won the Pulitzer Prize and the New York Drama Critics Award in 1953. **Ralph Meeker, Kim Stanley, Eileen Heckart, Janice Rule, Paul Newman** and **Arthur O'Connell** were in the original Broadway production directed by Joshua Logan. **William Holden, Kim Novak** and Rosalind Russell were featured in the film version.

The cast includes:

Helen Potts—widow about 50

Hal Carter—handsome ex-college football star

Millie Owens—sixteen

Madge Owens—unusually beautiful girl of 18

Flo Owens—widdow about 40

Rosemary—middle-aged schoolteacher

Alan—serious college senior

Irma and **Christine**—schoolteacher friends of Rosemary

Howard—middle-aged business-

and a boarder who is a spinster school teacher. Into this congested female atmosphere there comes a young man of neither polish nor promise whose animal vitality seriously upsets the entire group.

The visitor is a most interesting character, child of parents who ignored him, self-conscious of his failings and his position behind the eight-ball.

One daughter, bored with being only a beauty, sacrifices her chances for a wealthy marriage for the excitement the visitor promises. Her sister finds her balance for the first time through a wayfarer's brief attention. And the spinster is stirred to make an issue out of the dangling courtship that has brightened her life in

Two hundred and eighty seniors will receive Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees at the third annual LSUNO Commencement Exercises on Friday, May 29.

The exercises, largest in the university's six-year history, will begin at 3 p.m. on the St. Peter street side of the Municipal auditorium.

Chancelor Hitt announced that President Hunter will confer the degrees. A number of members of the LSU Board of Supervisors will attend and participate in the official party.

The processional march by the LSU Brass Ensemble under the direction of Thomas Tyra, will begin promptly at 3 p.m. After the national anthem, the invocation will be given by Rev. Dr.

School Is Out

There is no school tomorrow. A one-day layoff before exams has been inaugurated, with Tuesday being dead day. Examinations begin on Wednesday. Check with the schedule on page 12.

★ ★ ★

JOHN J. McKEITHEN, Louisiana's new governor, beams broadly at his inauguration. McKeithen will address the graduating class.

Governor McKeithen To Address Graduates

By **ANTOINE LAICHE**

The Honorable John J. McKeithen will deliver the prin-

Flo Owens—widdow about 40

Rosemary—middle-aged schoolteacher

Alan—serious college senior

Irma and **Christine**—schoolteacher friends of Rosemary

Howard—middle-aged businessman

The action takes place in the joint back yards of two middle-aged, small town women, both long since deserted by their husbands.

One has an invalid mother and the other two maturing daughters

chances for a wealthy marriage for the excitement the visitor promises. Her sister finds her balance for the first time through a wayfarer's brief attention. And the spinster is stirred to make an issue out of the dangling courtship that has brightened her life in a dreary, minor way.

W. Patrick Harrigan III, who will direct the production, emphasizes the need for older women to fill the mature roles. The production dates are set for July 22-25 with plans for re-opening the show in the fall.

There is no school tomorrow. A one-day layoff before exams has been inaugurated, with Tuesday being dead day. Examinations begin on Wednesday. Check with the schedule on page 12.

Students who plan to go out on a binge after finals are reminded that registration for summer school begins June 8.

Scholarly Merit Recognized At Annual Honors Convocation

William B. Brueggeman, a graduating senior at LSU in New Orleans, Thursday received the university's three highest awards in recognition of scholastic achievements by a student in the college of business administration.

Brueggeman and nearly 50 other LSUNO students were recognized at the university's annual Honors Day program.

The Society of Louisiana Certified Public Accountants award, the Delta Sigma Pi scholarship award, and the Business Administration Faculty Scholarship award, were all presented to Brueggeman for maintaining the highest scholastic average over a four-year period.

Randolph E. Trumbach and Edward D. White shared the College of Liberal Arts award for overall scholarly achievement and potential. Trumbach also received a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship.

The American Chemical Society's Outstanding Senior Award in Chemistry went to Robin W. Strickland, and the Student Louisiana Teachers' Association Academic award was presented to Mrs. Gladys W. Milliner.

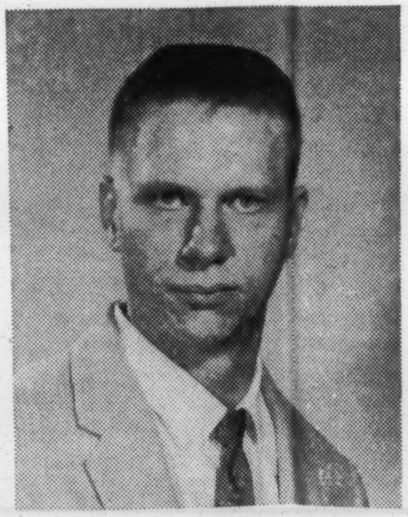
Other awards and their recipients are:

College of Education Faculty award: Nora Mary Lake.

Phi Chi Theta award: Jerlene Mancuso.

Delta Kappa Gamma award: Delores Marie Brady.

Philosophy Faculty award: Thomas P. Burkes and Edward Douglas White.



WILLIAM BRUEGGEMAN

Psychology Faculty award: Willie G. Braud.

Department of Foreign Languages awards: Susanne A. Ballard, French; F. Margaret Hodges, German.

Ella V. Schwing Freshman English Medal: Paul L. Seghers.

Louisiana Council of Teachers of English Award for Mastery in English: Gladys W. Milliner and

(Continued on page 11)

Julian B. Feibelman, Rabbi of Temple Sinai.

Before introducing Governor McKeithen, the principal speaker, Chancellor Hitt will deliver a brief report on the progress of LSUNO over the past six years.

After the principal address and the conferring of degrees, the exercises will close.

Those upon whom degrees are to be conferred are:

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

Bachelor of Arts

Charles Franklin Alexander, Brian David Ampolsk, Lawrence Stewart Audler, Margaret Dawson Baptist, John Spencer Batson, William Ben Benson, Glenn Michael Bourgeois, Willie Gilbert Braud, Jr., Charles Bulmer, Thomas Payne Thompson Burkes, Annabel Marion Caire, Frederic Gleason Carpenter, Clyde Taylor Casey, Jr., Joseph Crane Cassanova, Valery E. Cavalier, Jr., Judith Evans Chapman, James Alfred Charbonnet, Judith Clare Cohen, Gwendolyn Ann Coloton, Theresa Josephine Cosentino, Carl Norman Crane.

David Demestrio Diaz, Hugh Henry Doran, Jr., Emilie Frances Dours, Margaret Ann Dufour, Gene Francis Dunn, Robert Patrick Edel, L. Anita Evans, Joan Augusta Faust, Frank James Fury, Carol Geier, Gayle Ann Gonzales, Patricia Marie Guillaume, Charles Edgar Hamilton, Jr., Bonnie Jean Helmore, Joseph C. Ireland, Herman Albert Jacobi, Raymond Clarence Jacobs, Jude Joseph Johnson, George Haskell Jones, Ruth Barras Kirst, Kirkland Herman Kreutzig.

Antoine Anatole Laiche, Jr., Floyd John Beecher Ve Varr Lane, Henry A. Langhetee, Phyllis Valcour LaVizzo, John Michael Lazas III, J. Andrew Lennox III, David Leon Levy, Louis Edgard Madere, Jr., Louis John Marchiafava, Jr., Edward Porter May, Mary Jane McCauley, Patrick Jumel McClure, Ann Lee Meitzen, Merrill Y. Mey, Wilbert James Miller, Jo Ann Misuraca, Paul Charles Newfield III, Raymond Oscar Nussbaum, Emmanuel Nwafor Nweze, Dolores Margarita Obrador, Janet Eloise O'Rillion, Nona Shear Pailet.

Rhett Raymond Ralph, Thomas Harold Randell, Hallet Donald Rolls, Anne Shannon Rolufs, Gail Louise Sansone, Louis Harold Schultz, Barbara Ann Simon, Lorraine Smith, Llewelyn Joseph Soniat, Frank Jacob Speyerer, Jr., Beverly Cora Stephens, Richard Charles Stephens, Gordon William Stevenson, Jacqueline Virginia Taylor, Lance Lewis Teachworth, Teresa Gailey Teeslink, Randolph Earl Trumbach, Horace Merrill Wall II, Edward Douglas White, John Gerard White, Audrey Cecilia Yates.

(Continued on page 7)

To Address Graduates

By ANTOINE LAICHE

The Honorable John J. McKeithen will deliver the principal address at Commencement on May 29.

McKeithen took the oath of office as the 54th governor of Louisiana Tuesday. The 45-year-old former public service Commissioner was sworn in on the state capitol steps in Baton Rouge before a rain-drenched crowd of 5,000.

The governor, throughout his inaugural address, emphasized his reform position, seeking the industrial development of Louisiana.. He said, **"Louisiana, in terms of natural resources, is one of the richest of these entire United States and our natural wealth is the envy of many of our neighbors.** With improved government we can better encourage the development and the cultivation of that wealth."

"We must have more and better education for all our citizens . . . I am determined to project an image of a newly-awakened, newly-enlighted Louisiana, in which our native talent can flourish and to which new talent from elsewhere will be attracted."

Governor McKeithen summarized his aims: "My program, then, as your governor is to see that your government serves you honestly, prudently, efficiently and with imagination. It is to create a favorable climate for expanded private enterprise, and to see that the resulting public resources are invested wisely. We have a moral duty to posterity, and inescapably to ourselves . . . Won't you help me?"

John Julian McKeithen was born May 28, 1918 at Grayson, La., the son of Jesse Japheth and Agnes Eglin McKeithen. He attended elementary and high school in Grayson, where his father was a teacher, and later went to High Point (N.C.) College, a Methodist school, for two years. He then returned to Louisiana and entered LSU law school, where he received his degree.

In 1942 he married the former Marjorie Funderburk, and soon after joined the Army. After four years service, spent largely in the Pacific Theatre, he returned to Louisiana and began his legal career, practicing successfully in Columbia and Monroe.

In 1948, he ran for Representative from Caldwell Parish, and won. In 1952, he was an unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor, but political observers were much impressed with his ability as a stump speaker. In 1954, Mc Keithen decided to run for the Public Service Commission from the Third District, embracing most of north Louisiana, and won this race in the first primary. In 1960, he was re-elected.

In the 1963 gubernatorial race he was the first candidate in the field, but eventually found himself with nine opponents. Facing formidable opposition from several of these, he kept quietly and doggedly on the campaign trail, and in the first primary election finished second to de Lesseps Morrison, former mayor of New Orleans and Ambassador to the Organization of American States.

Although Morrison had amassed a tremendous lead over him in the first primary, McKeithen overcame the deficit, and on January 11 won the Democratic nomination by approximately 40,000 votes.

For the first time in modern Louisiana history, however, there was serious contention for the governorship by a Republican candidate, Charlton Lyons

(Continued on page 11)

We Want Our Sunshine

The nightmare has ended. The sun spots have faded.

No year could have been more irritating nor more productive in the life of this university. Construction mania seized the campus and inflicted its worst torments upon us. The weather couldn't have been more retarding to the building program.

But LSUNO will soon cash its post-dated check. The advent of the 1964-65 academic year will bring completion of the bulk of the landscaping and utilities distribution-site development systems, extended use of the new library and 2,000 eager freshmen.

THE DRIFTWOOD will continue to prod, cajole, incriminate and blast anyone we feel is not aiding this university in every way he can. We will consider ourselves failures if we cannot move a significant portion of our stagnant studentry.

Again the faculty turn-over will be significant. Salaries are inadequate. Many teachers find themselves without the prospect of a raise. Others make a name here and travel on. We cannot blame them, but we must continue to fight against the "exodus."

With another faculty renaissance, we offer our wish that this change will bring in the caliber of instructor this university must have to maintain its lofty academic image.

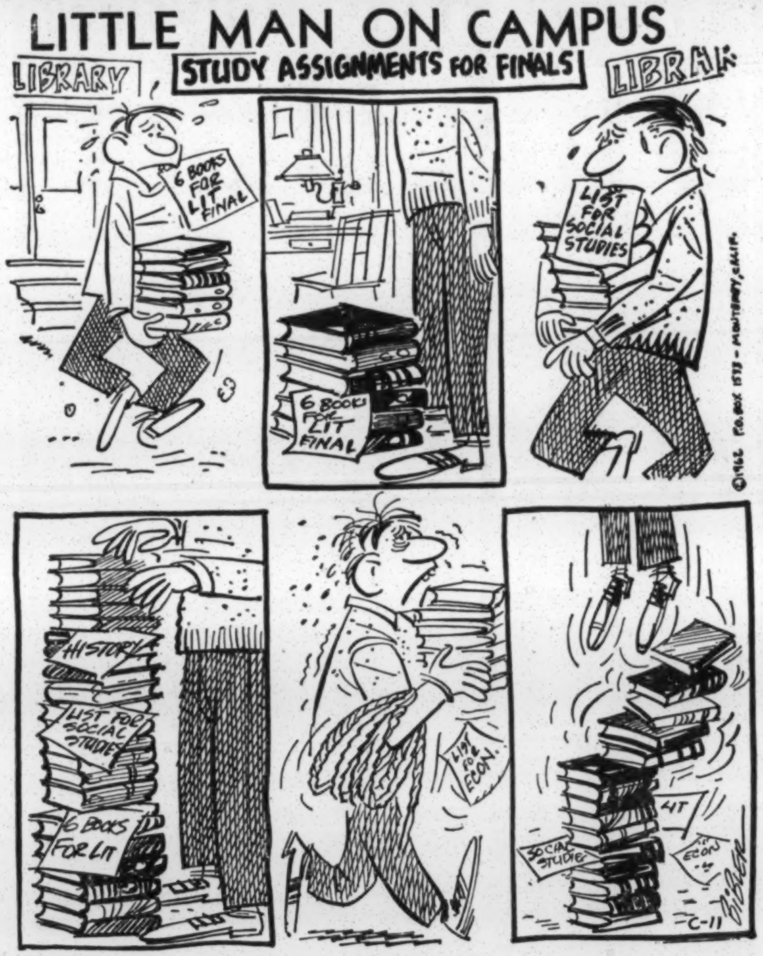
We cannot understand how the legislature could possibly slash funds for operation and capital improvements without choking off the greatest boon to education in this state since LSU was founded in 1860.

In the Biennium report released by the LSU Board of Supervisors, capital development needs were emphasized. "The need is so critical that if we had $50 million to use right now we would still be two years behind," the report says.

LSUNO needs $12,375,000 for a classroom building, union, administration building, gymnasium and physical education building, art, drama and music building, operations and maintenance building, engineering-mathematics building, library completion, science building addition and site development.

"We are hopeful that a lasting impression has been made; that all Louisianians understand that their university can ill afford to suffer a relapse of financial anemia."

We again assert that LSUNO should be given the Leroy



Shifting Sands

Sandman Closes The Year With Hopeful Predictions

By KIRK CARNEY

It is customary at the end of the year to list the accomplishments achieved during the year. Let us now, however, reverse tradition and examine our failures.

On the university level we have fallen even farther behind in our building program, still lacking from phase I, a general classroom building, an administration building, and a student union.

The city has neglected to rid the area of the winged pests and we still have a polluted lake. The streets, which are in a constant state of being re-

Letters to the Editor

Letters to the Editor are encouraged by THE DRIFTWOOD and will be printed whenever possible. They should not exceed 300 words.

Letters must be signed and accompanied by the contributor's return address for the purpose of certification. An unsigned letter will receive no consideration. If the writer desires, his name may be deleted, but the deletion will depend on content and will not be granted automatically.

No partisanship will be shown in the printing of letters. All conforming to the above policy will be printed except when lack of space prohibits.

THE DRIFTWOOD reserves the right to reject any letter because of content or character.

* * *

JFK Memorial

Sir:

I would like to thank the following people for their special help in establishing the **John F. Kennedy Memorial Oratorical Contest:** Harold Koretzky and Henry Tebbe, Jerlene Mancuso and the entire student council (the vote was unanimous); Kenny Carter for guiding the bill through the Council, Jim Dugan for giving it a favorable Committee recommendation, Thomas Barrow for his support as Morale Commissioner, Shields Stutts and Jerry Haddican for their valuable advice, Rosemary Nelson for offering to help with the making of the banner, Mary Derby, Susan Wall, Maggie Dowd, and Dianne Cavepa for helping to circulate the petition, the 456 people who signed the petition, Fr. Dauenhauer, Mrs. Peery and Mr. Percy for their moral support, and anyone else who deserves special thanks for special help.

The last "catch all" phrase is not included simply for form; so many people helped or offered to help with this project that I cannot remember them all by name.

I hope now that each student

and maintenance building, engineering-mathematics building, library completion, science building addition and site development.

"We are hopeful that a lasting impression has been made; that all Louisianians understand that their university can ill afford to suffer a relapse of financial anemia."

We again assert that LSUNO should be given the Leroy Johnson site in toto. Since Governor McKeithen and the majority of the legislature recognize our needs, we see no reason for the Board to waste its or the state's time by putting the move off any longer.

To the graduating seniors, we offer our sincere congratulations on a job well-done. A degree from LSUNO, earned as it is through sweat, blood and tears can only make each graduate point with pride to his association with the university.

You can expect next year's DRIFTWOOD to intensify its drive for a better university first and an All-American newspaper, second. To meet both these demands, this tabloid must double, even triple the size of its staff. Won't you help us?

And, at the risk of going sentimental, I wish to personally extend my gratitude for the privilege of serving as editor-in-chief of this publication during the past year.

Without you, the students, faculty and administration, this NEWSpaper would be nothing but BLANKpaper. Without a productive staff and professional advice, we couldn't have pasted down our first dummy.

The University Community extends deepest sympathy to Mr. Lamar S. Cooper on the death of his mother, Mrs. T. W. Cooper of Glenmora, La. Mrs. Cooper passed away May 13 at her Glenmora home.

The Driftwood

Issued every week except during vacation and examination periods by the students of LSUNO. The views expressed are those of the editorial staff and do not necessarily reflect the views of the faculty or administration.

ANDREW R. KREUTZ, Editor-In-Chief
WILLIAM K. CARNEY, Managing Editor
JACK WHITEHEAD, Business Manager
GARY DYSON, Feature Editor
VINCENT PEULER, Sports Editor
ELLIOTT SEYMOUR, News Editor

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Address all correspondence to The Driftwood, LSUNO, Lakefront, New Orleans, La. 70122. Phone 288-3161, extension 16.

Reporters: Gerard Haddican, Bonnie Doyle, Ron Bocage, Arnold Inniss, Kathy Boisseau, Gail Fayard, Lili Sikorski, Butler Nelson, Don Donnelly, Cynthia Lees

Cartoonists: Richard LeCorgne, Kim Chalmers, George Brumat
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Printed by Simmons Press Inc.

however, reverse tradition and examine our failures.

On the university level we have fallen even farther behind in our building program, still lacking from phase I, a general classroom building, an administration building, and a student union.

The city has neglected to rid the area of the winged pests and we still have a polluted lake. The streets, which are in a constant state of being repaired, never seem to be completed.

State-wide, matters are hardly any brighter. We have been promised many improvements without a tax increase, but where will the money come from? Down in Plaquemines, Leander is just as belligerent as ever, and CORE has kindly consented to retaliate with demonstrations this summer.

On the national scene we are faced with racial problems every time we turn around, including sit-ins, stand-ins, kneel-ins, lie-ins, shop-ins, stall-ins, etc. (It has been suggested that the NAACP protest segregated cemeteries next and demonstrate with organized 'die-ins.')

And if domestic matters appear troublesome, foreign affairs make the former seem mild indeed. We are still at odds with Panama; tension in Viet-Nam increases day-by-day; and new headaches appear in Cuba as faithfully as the sun rises.

Of course, this is the dark side of the picture, but it does point up that there is much room for improvement and a great need for some changes. Since predictions are also customary as the year draws to a close, I will predict that many changes are close at hand.

With the new state administration coming into office, LSUNO's future looks brighter than ever before. We certainly have the support of Governor McKeithen and the majority of the legislators.

The city's mayorality race is still two years off, but several men are shaping up to be more than mere ribron-cutters—these including Councilman Joseph Di Rosa and District Attorney Jim Garrison.

If only a small portion of what has been promised to Louisiana by the new administration becomes a reality, the state faces a period of great prosperity. We have faith in McKeithen and wish him success in his administration.

The nation will continue to experience much racial strife for the next several years, but, due to popular demands, it will begin to decrease by 1965. Barry Goldwater will be nominated by the Republicans with Governor William Scranton as his running mate. They will lose to President Johnson and Senator Hubert Humphrey in a close race in 1964, but will come back strong in 1968 and win.

The outlook in foreign affairs is the dimmest of all. With the present administration's views, Communism will continue to spread, but this is probably necessary before the American people recognize the real threat which the Communists pose.

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity to thank you, the students of LSUNO, for all of the support you have given me (both positive and negative) during the year.

special help.

The last "catch all" phrase is not included simply for form; so many people helped or offered to help with this project that I cannot remember them all by name.

I hope now that each student in this school will help to make this project a complete success in the years to come.

SAM CARUSO

* * *

Where Doth It Lie?

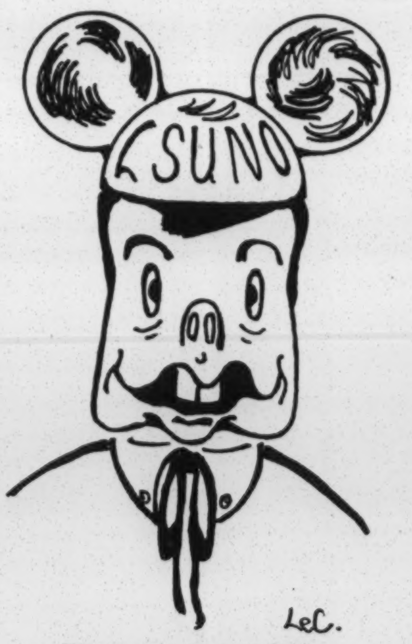
Sir:

The question is: should the burden of proof fall upon the candidate in announcing their candidacy? This is especially true if the candidate is running on an independent ticket.

If **THE DRIFTWOOD** staff finds out that two candidates have not turned their pictures in, shouldn't they proceed on the assumption that these two independents aren't familiar with their rights. I say yes!

THE DRIFTWOOD staff, in order to be entirely fair, should afford equal time to all the candidates running. **THE DRIFTWOOD** staff could make an announcement to all the candidates that they have this right.

JACQUELYN KILGORE



THE RAT FINK—
SMILE, THINGS COULD BE WORSER.

'Rights Tactics On Capitol Hill

By GARY DYSON

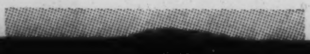
The Civil Rights Bill is now in its 11th week in the Senate, and still there are no definite signs that debate will end soon and voting begin. The chief "rights" strategist so far has been the Senate whip Hubert Humphrey, and thus far he has found that shutting off the Southern filibuster will take some doing. The 67 votes necessary to invoke closure and stop the Southerners in the midst of their conversation simply have not been mustered at this time.

Senator Humphrey's tactics have been obvious from the start. At the present time, the majority whip can count only 60 of the 67 votes necessary to stop the filibuster. The liberal senator from Minnesota must then find a way to entice seven or eight more solons into helping him muffle the loquacious South. His methods thus far to achieve this end have been three-fold.

Humphrey is counting a great deal on public sentiment. As the debate runs on the Minnesota Senator hopes to impress on the American public the fact that the Dixie solons are wasting the nation's time with their filibuster tactics. The constant plea for mail and speeches on the part of church groups and private individuals objecting to the talkathon isn't just a lot of political oratory. Humphrey would like to see the Senate's Southern contingent bombarded with stacks and stacks of mail—an event which would undoubtedly weaken the position of civil rights objectors.

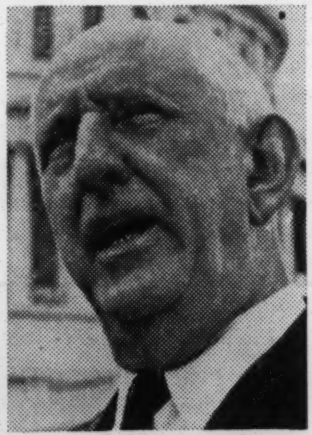
Secondly, and perhaps more important, Humphrey is hoping that the extended debate will have an adverse effect on those members of the Senate who are as of now uncommitted. Many states, especially those with a comparatively small Negro population, don't have a deep personal interest in the civil rights struggle. Humphrey hopes, however, that Senators from such states will feel the need to take up other phases of the nation's business, and thus vote to shut off the filibuster.

The third tactic



ommendations to be palatable in spite of his distaste for compromise. Thus, in the weeks to come, Dirkson and Humphrey will be putting the bill in a form more to the Illinois Senator's liking.

Richard Russell, Senator from Georgia and the leader of the Southern foes to the rights bill, has a much easier job than Hubert Humphrey. Russell has been through struggles of this kind before and has his 18 comrades organized into three platoons. This guarantees a fresh crew of men on the Senate floor at all times. Because of the smaller number of men involved, the Southern opposition is much better organized than the civil rights advocates.



RICHARD RUSSELL

Russell would of course like to talk the bill to death—not permitting any votes on the measure and having nothing at all by way of civil rights legislation find its way to the desk of President Johnson. Because of the strength of the bill's supporters, however, Russell may not be able to completely stymy civil rights progress. But if debate goes on long enough, the initial zeal of the majority will diminish and the going won't be so tough. When this happens the Southerners can undoubtedly force the majority into a dramatic weakening of the bill—which may be all the Southerners can hope for this time.

Russell also hopes that the debate will serve to bring what he terms the "wrongs" of the bill to the attention of the public. In doing so the Georgia Senator is looking for a rise in public opinion against the bill. To make resentment seem more pronounced, right-wing organizations have launched

Student in the News

Driftwood Salutes Bonnie Helmore As Year's Final Student-in-News

By RON BOCAGE

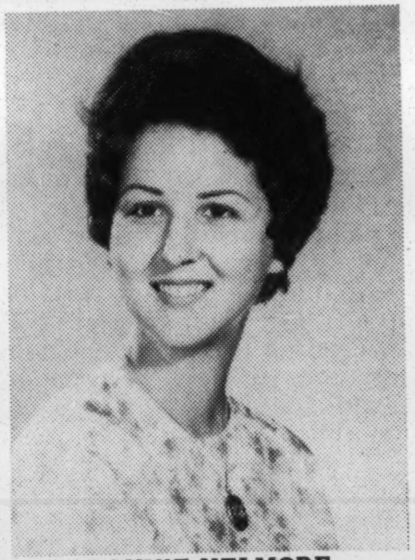
In this year's last student salute, **THE DRIFTWOOD** recognizes Bonnie Helmore as a deserving Student in the News. Bonnie was born in Louisville, Kentucky, but came to live in New Orleans in 1951. She attended Benjamin Franklin High School, and after graduation, she attended St. Mildred's College in Toronto, Canada for one year.

In September of 1961 Bonnie came to LSUNO. During her stint here, Bonnie has worked as a secretary for the Student Government Association. She has been a member of the Canterbury Club and a member of the LSUNO Chorus during her senior year. While in New Orleans, Bonnie has been active in the Canadian Club in the city. Bonnie's parents are native Canadians.

Bonnie's hobbies are sewing, painting, and choral work. In addition, Miss Helmore is a music lover, preferring the classical tones of Bach and baroque music. Bonnie also has a wide interest in the many facets of Canadian culture.

After graduation Bonnie will continue at her position at the Shell Oil Company. She intends to marry and eventually to enroll in another school to pursue her interest in commercial art. Bonnie's 1.9 overall average, and her English major while at LSUNO should certainly assure her success in future pursuits.

THE DRIFTWOOD is happy to salute Miss Bonnie Helmore—a most deserving student.



BONNIE HELMORE

Chambers Awarded TU Fellowship

Ethelyn Chambers, 23-year-old senior, has been awarded a NDEA fellowship worth almost $10,000. This three-year stipend will finance her study leading to a doctorate in anthropology at Tulane.

The blonde-haired, Warren Easton graduate began LSUNO in 1962. She had attended Southwestern for a year and a half.

Ethelyn holds an astounding 2.79 overall average.

Driftwords

Secondly, and perhaps more important, Humphrey is hoping that the extended debate will have an adverse effect on those members of the Senate who are as of now uncommitted. Many states, especially those with a comparatively small Negro population, don't have a deep personal interest in the civil rights struggle. Humphrey hopes, however, that Senators from such states will feel the need to take up other phases of the nation's business, and thus vote to shut off the filibuster.

HUBERT HUMPHREY

The third tactic at Senator Humphrey's disposal is compromise. If a rights bill is to be passed Mr. Humphrey is faced with the possibility that it may have to be weakened, or at least modified. Seeking to compromise the bill, so as to gain votes to halt debate, poses some problems for Humphrey, however. In the first place, Hubert Humphrey was very insistent that there would be no compromises in the opening days of the debate. Thus, he has to lose face somewhat in advocating a compromise. Moreover, many house members demand that the Senate pass a strong civil rights bill, and not a watered down version. The House did its part in passing a strong bill, and many feel that the Senate should do the same.

As the debate drags on longer and longer, it has now become quite apparent that Hubert Humphrey is ready to make some concessions. And the man to whom concessions are now being made very rapidly is the Senate minority leader, Everett Dirkson of Illinois. Dirkson is Humphrey's man of the hour because the Illinois Senator might be able to supply the Democratic leadership with enough support so that a demand to limit debate could be made.

Dirkson's proposals thus far have been confined mainly to the enforcement provisions of the civil rights bill. One of his major proposals has been to drop the attorney general's power to sue for opening public accomodations. This would mean that suits could be filed by individuals who felt that public accomodations were being denied them on account of race. Also, the Republican leader has made recommendations to the effect that jury trials be permitted to defendants in all except the most minor of civil rights cases.

Mr. Humphrey, or perhaps I should say Mr. Humphrey at the suggestion of President Johnson, has found the Dirkson rec-

gress. But if debate goes on long enough, the initial zeal of the majority will diminish and the going won't be so tough. When this happens the Southerners can undoubtedly force the majority into a dramatic weakening of the bill—which may be all the Southerners can hope for this time.

Russell also hopes that the debate will serve to bring what he terms the "wrongs" of the bill to the attention of the public. In doing so the Georgia Senator is looking for a rise in public opinion against the bill. To make resentment seem more pronounced, right-wing organizations have launched massive mail attacks on the civil rights proposals.

What Negro leaders will do during the hot summer while the bill is still being debated is not wholly clear. It is evident however that demonstrations will be even more plentiful in '64 than they were in '63. CORE National head James Farmer expressed this view in a recent interview on NBC's "Meet the Press." To Negroes, it seems that demonstrations were the weapons with which they forced the rest of the country to recognize their plight, and demonstrations in the end will force President Johnson and the Congress to produce a meaningful piece of civil rights legislation.

Pictured above are several Negro leaders as they discuss plans for action in the Summer of '64.

At this writing it appears that the Civil Rights Bill, with some compromises, will pass the Congress. The efforts for passage will be long and tedious though, extending well into the summer. Southerners will no doubt filibuster the bill to the end, but after the Senate minority leader has been dealt with, the votes will be present to force the Dixie contingent to be close-mouthed.

The bill grew out of the anger and frustration of 1963. The Kennedy administration initiated the legislation, and President Johnson has obligated himself to see it through. Since its beginning, the bill has been bitterly assailed, but nevertheless has been shaped and guided by men such as Congressmen Halleck, and Cellers in the House and Javits and Humphrey in the Senate. And, finally in the summer of '64, Congress will reply to the demands of '63—the final tones being uttered not in austere oratory, but rather in the mellifluous comic notes of a Senator from Illinois.

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The blonde-haired, Warren Easton graduate began LSUNO in 1962. She had attended Southwestern for a year and a half.

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Driftwords

Did you hear about: The man who was so accustomed to having things done for him that he married a widow with three children?

* * *

And then there was the Scot who called his girl to ask what night she was free.

* * *

Mary was a pretty girl and loved to pick pretty flowers. One day she went to the park and picked lots of flowers. She also watched the pretty birds fly all around. Then she went home and gave the flowers to her mother who liked them very much. (Now, if that gets cut I'll resign.)

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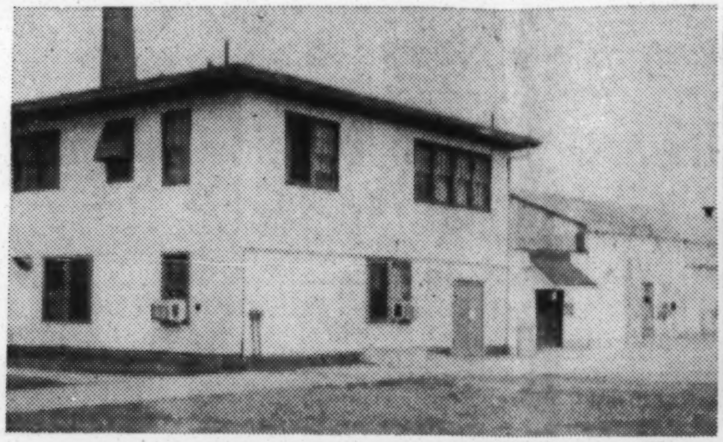
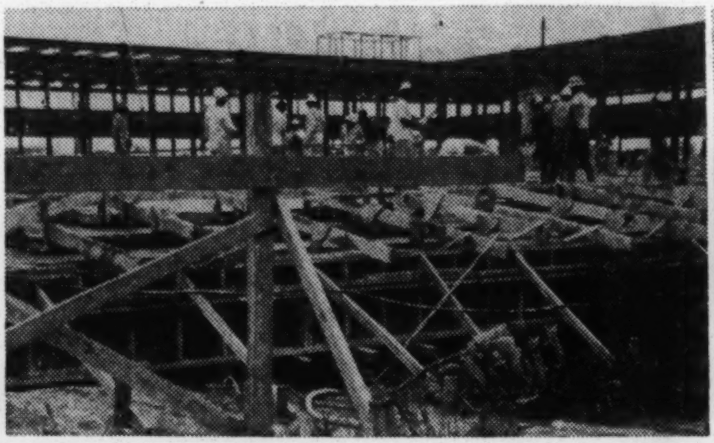
5. Recommended background work for post graduation
6. Up to 13 weeks continuous employment guaranteed

Men accepted for a similar program last summer averaged $153.26 per week. These jobs may develop into part-time or full-time positions after September. For appointment call Mr. Burch at JA 2-6347.



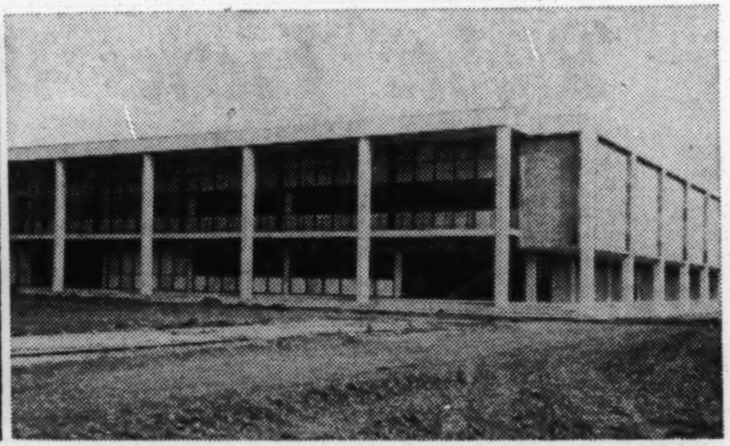
—Kreutz

THE "WORLD'S UGLIEST"—LSUNO's first library that served since 1958 will soon be vacated for the new building.



—Carney

CONSTRUCTION PROGRESS shown on new library as of September, 1963. Work was begun in August, 1962.



—Carney

THE COMPLETED STRUCTURE, which is capable of housing 470,000 volumes and seating 1518 students, will be ready for use June 1.

LSUNO Gets New Library To Replace 'World's Ugliest' June 1

The "world's ugliest" will be no more. LSUNO's new $2.5 million library will be ready for occupancy June 1, according to Lamar S. Cooper, comptroller. The mass exodus is expected to be accomplished May 28-31.

Replacing a make-shift warehouse inherited from the U. S. Navy, the new structure will be a significant step forward in developing a former air base site into one of the most attractive academic environments in the nation.

The building is in keeping with the architectural style of the campus master plan. Making use of expansive overhangs, slender vertical columns, and galleries with ironwork, the style may be described as a contemporary expression of Louisiana traditions. The supporting framework is steel, and the exterior walls are of glass and brick. The building has been designed by Robert L. Stephan and Associates of Lafayette, Louisiana.

In addition to the present two-story building, two other stories

The first floor has been completed. It will contain some 201,000 plus volumes within a 60,000 square foot area. As a two-story structure, it will contain approximately 120,000 sq. ft. and will hold some 470,000 volumes. It will seat 1,518 readers. Eighty-five per cent of these readers will be seated in individual study carrels.

The university was fortunate in obtaining the services of Dr. Keyes Metcalf, Librarian emeritus of the Harvard College library system, who is one of the world's outstanding library planning consultants. In accordance with Dr. Metcalf's suggestions, the LSUNO facility will employ an open stack system, organized around the basic divisions of humanities, social sciences, and sciences. Each academic division wil have its own office for library administration, and each will conduct its own reserve book program.

Government documents will be kept in a special section. Smoking areas, resembling lounges, will be conveniently located. There will be four seminar rooms, seating

There will also be four talking studies, for the use of students who wish to engage in group studies. In addition, there will be a microfilm room for near-print-type materials, a rare book room, a micro-card room, and a special browsing section. The lobby will feature display cases for special exhibits.

Faculty members will have 13 special studies at their disposal, each with a bookcase, drawers, and shelves. The building will be completely air-conditioned. At the time of opening, the librarian, Dr. John M. Goudeau, expects to have a collection of some 250,000 or 275,000 volumes. Until such time as books fill up the total capacity of the building, the excess space can be used for classrooms. Fourteen classrooms are included in the design.

There will be, within the building, various check-out points. Full

President John F. Kennedy Cited By Oratorical Contest

The Student Council has created a memorial to the late President John F. Kennedy by establishing an annual oratorical contest. The idea for the contest was proposed by Sam Caruso, a senior majoring in history.

Caruso planned the memorial and submitted the idea to the Student Council for consideration. The Student Council approved the proposal in the form of a permanent act.

The act states that the memorial contest is dedicated to the late president in recognition of his great speaking ability. All students enrolled in LSUNO, regardless of the number of hours they are carrying, will be eligible to compete in the contest.

The speeches will deal with topics of national or international importance. A banner to be hung at the contest will read, "John F. Kennedy Memorial Oratorical Contest—Let the word go forth from this time and place . . . That the torch

fice of the Student Government Association, and the names of the winners of the contest will be engraved on the plaque yearly.

The act passed the Student Council without a dissenting vote, and it is now being considered by the president of SGA.

The supporting framework is steel, and the exterior walls are of glass and brick. The building has been designed by Robert L. Stephan and Associates of Lafayette, Louisiana.

In addition to the present two-story building, two other stories are to be added in the future.

for library administration, and each will conduct its own reserve book program.

Government documents will be kept in a special section. Smoking areas, resembling lounges, will be conveniently located. There will be four seminar rooms, seating approximately 20 people each.

of the building, the excess space can be used for classrooms. Fourteen classrooms are included in the design.

There will be, within the building, various check-out points. Full co-operation by the student body in taking proper care of books and equipment is desired.

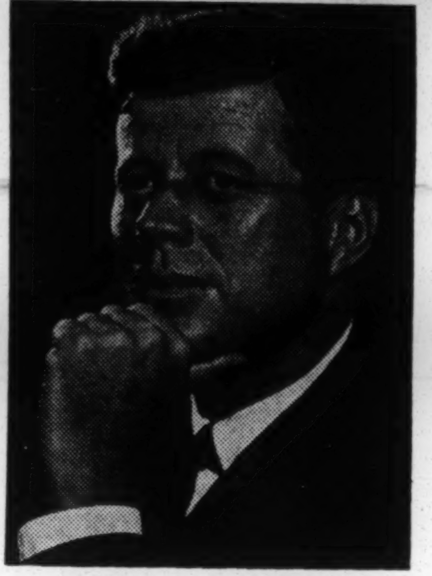
The building is certain to be an architectural asset to both the campus and the lakefront, as well as an inspiration to students and an attractive lure to scholars.

topics of national or international importance. A banner to be hung at the contest will read, "John F. Kennedy Memorial Oratorical Contest—Let the word go forth from this time and place . . . That the torch has passed to a new generation of Americans."

The act provides that a Morale Commission Committee will be set up in order to handle the arrangements for the contest. A $25 savings bond will be presented to the first place winner, and those placing in the top three positions will receive certificates.

The contest will be held at a date as close as possible to the anniversary of the assassination of the late President. A plaque will be placed in the of-

the president of SGA.



JOHN F. KENNEDY

Circle K Holds Installation Banquet; District Governor Delivers Address

William Short, newly-elected governor of the LaMissTenn Circle K District, delivered the keynote address at the annual LSUNO Circle K banquet held recently.

Short emphasized the significance of Circle K as an organization dedicated to strengthening the democratic, American way of life. He went on to say that the best way to achieve this is through service to the university, the nation, and the world.

Governor Bill then gave a brief history of Circle K, which was founded in 1936, but not officially chartered by Kiwanis until 1955. Short cited the growth experienced by the district in the last ten years. He also stressed the important role to be played by Circle K in the coming years. The club honored him with a standing oration.

Dean E. Frank Massingill was presented with two plaques, one from the district (for which he was director) and the other from the LSUNO club (for which he is faculty advisor), for outstanding service and dedication.

The officers for the 1964-65 year were formally installed by Dean Massingill. The officers include Michael Kettenring, president; Bowman Brach, vice-president; Louis Chapaton, corresponding secretary; Kirk Carney, recording secretary; and John Hauslauer, treasurer.

Kettenring, in his first official act as president, presented a plaque to Henry Kirsch, out-going president for his excellent work this year. Under Kirsch's leadership the organization received the "outstanding club" award at the district convention in Jackson, Miss.

Included among the guests were Mr. David Nelson, president of the Greater Gentilly Kiwanis Club, and his wife; Mr. J. J. Fraychinaud, Kiwanis sponsor for the LSUNO club and his wife; Lt. Robert Cricchio, past president of the club; and Miss Carroll Ditta, club sweetheart.

At the banquet eight new members were installed into the group.

———o———

Dr. Reinecke Elected Marketing President

Dr. John A. Reinecke, associate professor and chairman of the department of management and marketing, has been elected president of the New Orleans chapter of the **American Marketing Association.**

Dr. Reinecke was elected at a recent meeting of the group at International House. He succeeds Dr. Clinton Phillips, acting dean of the college of business administration at Tulane.

A native of New Orleans, Dr. Reinecke was awarded a B.B.A. degree from Loyola and M.B.A. from Tulane. He joined the LSUNO faculty in September 1959 after receiving a doctorate in business administration from the University of Illinois.

Other officers include Edward B. Randolph, William B. Reilly corp., vice-president; Merlin M. Warden, New Orleans Public Service Inc., secretary; and William P. McHugh, Robert Kottwitz Advertising Agency, treasurer.

ROBERT SMITH

Chemistry Club Elects New Officers

Officers for the 1964-65 academic year were elected at the last meeting of Chi Sigma, the Chemistry Club of LSUNO. The new officers for the coming session are: Bob Smith, president; Bob Towns, vice-president; Gene Schaeffer, secretary; and Chris Foret, treasurer.

The group plans a party for graduating seniors in the club and a trip to the Michóud Plant in the beginning of the fall semester. Anyone desiring to join the club must be enrolled in the Science Division, have a one point average in all chemistry courses taken and an overall one point average.

Summer-Study Scholarship Awarded LSUNO Graduate

Karl M. Petersen, Jr., a graduate of LSUNO, is among four south Louisiana college students who have been awarded summer-study scholarships to Great Britain by the New Orleans branch of the English-Speaking Union.

Petersen, a 1963 graduate of LSUNO, received a National Defense Education Act fellowship for graduate study at LSU Baton Rouge.

Other recipients are Miss Lynne A. Lagarde, a junior at St. Mary's Dominican College; Charles A. Suhor, a graduate of Loyola and the Catholic University of America; and Miss Judith Worley, a senior at Southeastern Louisiana College in Hammond.

Dr. Cresap S. Watson, chairman of the Department of English and Speech and president of the E-SU, said that, although the summer programs are designed primarily for graduate students or persons aleady holding a bachelor's degree, undergraduates with outstanding records are accepted.

Dr. Watson further stated that the scholarships are financed each year through E-SU sponsored flights to England as well as through donations of members.

Miss Lagarde and Miss Worley will study "Twentieth Century English Literature" at the University of London, while Petersen and Suhor will go to Oxford for lectures on "History, Literature and the Arts of Seventeenth-Century England."

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Graduate Courses In Business To Be Offered In September

LSUNO has announced the inauguration of a program leading to the Master of Business Administration degree. The new degree program will begin in September. The announcement was made by Dr. John E. Altazan, dean of the college of BA.

Some of the courses to be offered during the first year are managerial accounting, research methods, intermediate microeconomic theory, a seminar in marketing, and foundation work for students holding the bachelor's degree in areas other than business.

Students planning to enter in the fall will be required to take an admission test for graduate study in business to be administered July 11. Applications for admission may be secured from the office of the dean of academic affairs and coordinator of graduate work on the LSUNO campus.

The new program will be conducted and administered by the LSUNO business administration faculty.

Dean Altazan said the decision by the university administration to enter graduate work in business resulted from a study of educational needs in the New Orleans area.

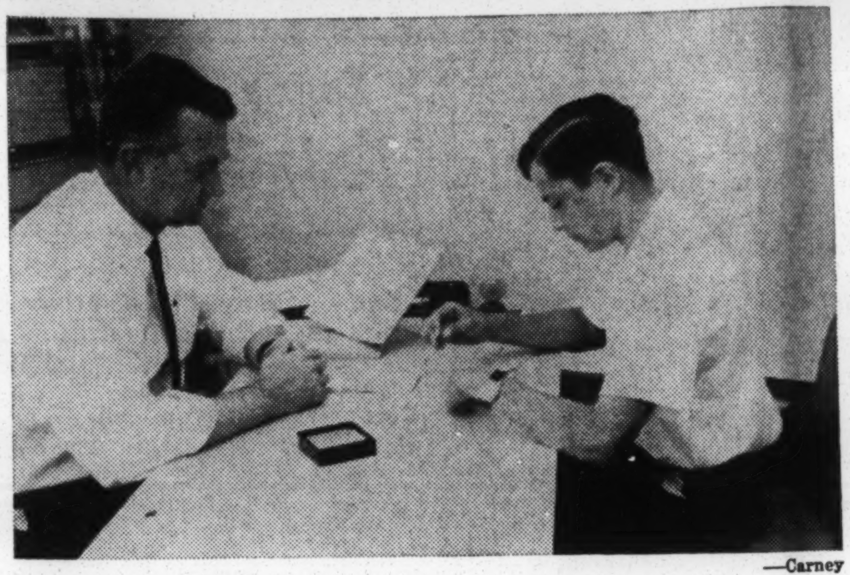
"Increased emphasis on graduate work in business administration is one of the striking developments in higher education in the post-war year," the report said. "Not only have more students from the undergraduate business schools been seeking advanced degrees but a substantial number of persons with undergraduate degrees in other areas are taking graduate work in business administation as well."

The report said an increasing number of persons in search of promotion in industry and government are returning to the university campus for graduate degrees since it is generally recognized that a baccalaureate degree is no longer sufficient preparation for superior positions in accounting, economics, marketing, management, finance, and business research.

"These developments," the report continued, "are a natural outcome of the increase in size and complexity of modern industry and government. The demands upon management in business and in public service are certain to increase in intensity in the future.

"In addition to meeting the needs of the community, LSUNO also faces the challenge of providing its own undergraduates with the opportunity to continue their education. A number of LSUNO graduates went on to graduate school and many of these would have preferred to remain at LSUNO for advanced work.

"LSUNO, as the only segment of the state university in this area, and its college of business administration have an obligation to the people of Greater New Orleans to provide this vital service," the report concluded.



—Carney

DAVID K. FOOSHEE (left), clinical psychologist in the Special Education Center is shown giving the therapy to a young student.

Education Center Completes First Year; Expansion Seen For Summer Months

By ARNOLD INNISS

In this year, the first for LSUNO's Special Education Center, the center has enjoyed tremendous success. The success, however, has also pointed out the need to increase this well-trained staff.

According to Dr. Alfred Stern, director of the center, the school had received approximately 300 referrals by May 1. About 150 are completed and about 50 are in process. The remainder will be handled during the summer months and carry over to next school year.

By January the center already had as many cases as could be conveniently handled. However, since that time, the staff has taken a number of special cases which required immediate attention.

Dr. Stern cited plans to provide graduate teaching this summer, with the first area of training concerning the men-

Garrison Blasts Outgoing State Administration

In a recent speech before Pi Lambda Sigma Legal Fraternity District Attorney Jim Garrison rapped Governor Davis, Attorney General Jack Gremillion, and the Pardon and Parole Boards for their handling of matters such as the Martin and Hebert case.

He said the establishment winked at armed robbery, murder, narcotics peddling, and the like, but the one thing that they could not tolerate was defamation.

He expressed disapproval of the entire Davis Administration, calling it a "day-to-day experiment in malfeasance."

Garrison concluded on an optimistic note, stating that those who felt that John McKeithen would be just another Governor in the Jimmy Davis tradition were in for a surprise.

TAKE
HIGH Style
HONORS
on graduation day!
AUTHENTIC

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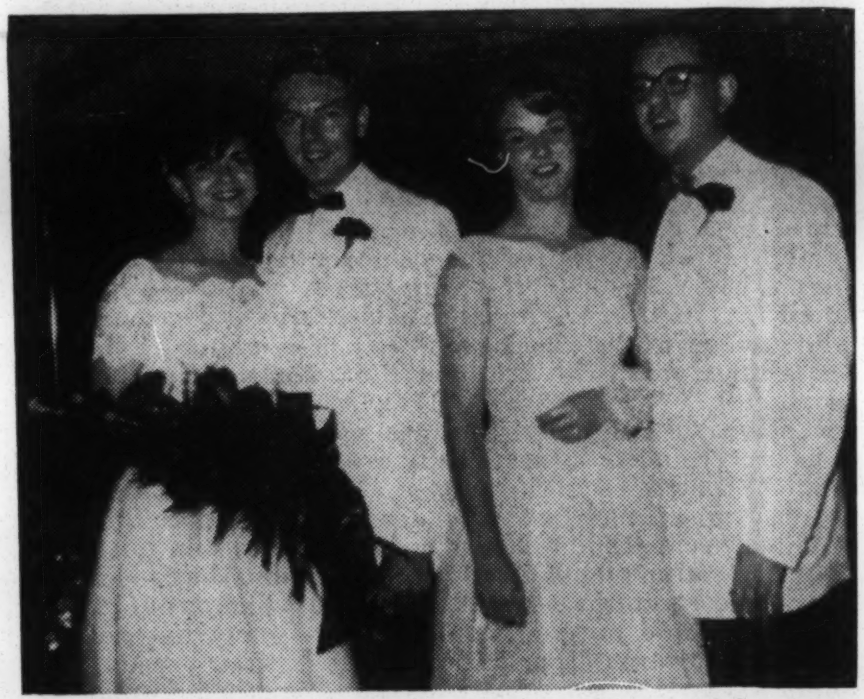
Dr. Stern cited plans to provide graduate teaching this summer, with the first area of training concerning the mentally retarded. He also hopes to add additional courses as needs and staff permit. This year members of the staff have participated as speakers before a number of community organizations, in an effort to inform the public of the services and programs of the center.

"The work we are doing," Dr. Stern said, "is educationally oriented. Efforts have been made to harmonize school-home relationships. We have received excellent cooperation from both parents and schools."

In reference to the year's work, Dr. Stern said, "It has been a very stimulating and challenging year for all of us, and we hope to be of continuing assistance to the parents and schools in the parishes which we serve." The center accommodates the parishes of Jefferson, St. Bernard, and Plaquemines.



MISS EMMY GALLOWAY, left, new TKE sweetheart, with her escort; Miss Gayle Kountz, last year's sweetheart, and Mike McNulty, TKE president.

Galloway Chosen TKE Sweetheart

The Red Carnation Ball of Tau Kappa Epsilon was the scene of the crowning of Emmy Galloway as the sweetheart for the coming year. Miss Galloway is in Junior Division and is a member of the Order of Dianna, an affiliate organization to TKE.

Miss Gayle Kountz, the sweetheart of 1963-64, presented Miss Galloway with a bouquet of red carnations, the fraternity flower.

Also included in the program was the presentation by Mike McNulty of a plaque for outstanding service during the past year to Gene Dunn, the past president. The presentation was made on behalf of the entire chapter.

The ball was held in the Lynn Park Country Club and decorations were made by the Order of Dianna.

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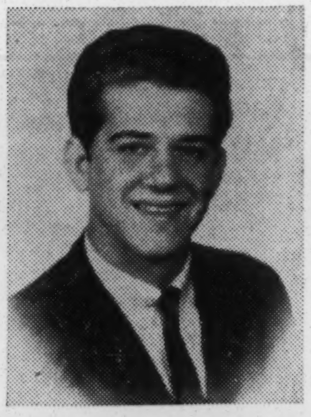

PLAYBILL

FILMS

National	**"Young and Willing,"** British drama about the younger set. With Virginia Maskell and Paul Rogers.
Peacock	**"Point of Order"**—a documentary of the Army-McCarthy hearings. Don't miss this very important film.
Gentilly Art	**"Billy Liar."** British comedy-drama of a youth who retires from reality into daydreams. With Tom Courtenay and Julie Christie.
Neighborhoods	**"The Best Man,"** Gore Vidal's behind-the-scenes coverage of a presidential nominating convention. With Henry Fonda, Cliff Robertson, Edie Adams, Margaret Leighton, Shelley Berman and Lee Tracy.
Martin Cinerama	**"It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World,"** the long-run chase comedy. With a large cast, wide screen, color, and reserved seats.
Loew's State	**"From Russia With Love."** Starring Sean Connery and Daniel Bianchi, beginning May 20.
Saenger	**"The Flesh Eaters,"** a horror film. The subject matter of this picture will take you to that point that is midway between life and death. The only people who will not be sterilized with fear are those among you who are already dead.
RKO Orpheum	**"The Empty Canvas,"** drama based on Alberto Moravia's novel about a young artist, his model and his mother. With Bette Davis, Horst Buchholtz and Catherine Spaak.
Joy	**"The Brass Bottle"**—fantasy about a liberated genie. With Tony Randall, Burl Ives and Barbara Eden. Wide screen, color.

THEATRE

Civic	**"Oklahoma"—the famous Rodgers and Hammerstein Broadway musical. Don't miss this opportunity to view this exciting production.**
Le Petit	**Le Petit presents the musical "Guys and Dolls" featuring Rivet Hedderel, John DuBois and Julianne Perlt. The musical will run from May 22 to June**

'Empty Canvas' Is Barren

By MAURICE KOWALEWSKI

When going to see the **"Empty Canvas,"** be sure to bring plenty of popcorn and **"No-Doz,"** for this poor man's **"La Dolce Vita,"** from Bette Davis' supposed New Orleans accent, to its atrocious background music, proves that hokum is not dead after all.

Based on a novel by **Alberto Moravia,** the "plot" concerns a mixed-up, poor little rich boy (Dino, played absent-mindedly by **Horst Bucholtz**), his all-too-understanding mother, (played understandingly by **Bette Davis**), and a nymphomaniac, (Cecilia, played nudely by **Catherine Spaak**), who, for no apparent reason, gets the biggest kick out of destroying every man that she comes in contact with.

Movie begins—Hero leaves home to find himself. Hero meets girl. One hour, and forty-three fornications later, hero unsuccessfully attempts to kill himself because girl can never really be his. Hero grows up and loses his infatuation with girl. Movie ends.

The only thing left for the audience to do is to wonder how **Bette Davis** could allow herself to appear in such a trashy motion picture.

Language Prizes Given By Dept.

Awards for special achievement in foreign languages were presented Tuesday by the language department in conjunction with two plays "La Cueva De Salamanca" in Spanish and "Hans Im Gluck" in German.

Prizes were presented by Dr.

If You're White, You're Right

By TERRENCE ADAMS

Since jazz is the only creative area in which the Negro must be dealt with on his own terms, and since New Orleans is a good example of a city bursting with jazz musicians, disenfranchisement, and Negros, perhaps it would be interesting to offer reflections and a prospectus on the local scene, as it were.

White fans have spent the last few years running back and forth trying to find nebulous jazz clubs before they folded. Some of these bars were designed to attract the jet set of the grange; others were tax losses or fronts for illicit activity, and one or two of the least successful tried to make it on music alone.

Other white fans have spent the last few years running back and forth trying to find whether they'd be busted if they entered the few Negro bars that allowed race mixing, contrary to city ordinance.

Negro fans have spent the last few years running back and forth.

It would seem that there just isn't a large enough economic base to support a full time jazz club. Yet Larry McKinley has a somewhat successful jazz radio program, and jazz concerts seem to meet with good return. Why then is it impossible for musicians to find regular employ in local bars? The answer's blowing in the wind.

THE LAND OF COTTON

The Chamber of Commerce likes to brag about New Orleans respectable population, but like Jon Hendricks says, "You go upper nowhere at all." That is, due to our government's benevolent protection of white boys; this roaring metropolis is really two rather insignificant towns, each one with nothing to say. Thus the actual potential among the communities for economic support of a jazz club is minor.

Although the legal proclivities remain established facts, several members of the hard core of whites have been allowed to enter at least two of the more bourgois Negro night clubs, but their presence was seldom felt and both clubs have ceased operations anyway.

No jazz club, white or black, has been able to survive in New Orleans. Yet jazz concerts make money.

The Smith brothers, or sisters, were enlightened to the local economic facts of life some time ago. Perhaps this was due to the insistence of some of their prospective performers. In any case, both of their jazz concerts this year, Dave Brubeck, and Nancy Wilson-Julian Adderly, were good successes. And it's obvious that if they programmed the more well known jazz groups, like Miles Davis or Ornette Coleman, they would be assured of continued

	er. With Bette Davis, Horst Buchholtz and Catherine Spaak.
Joy	**"The Brass Bottle"**—fantasy about a liberated genie. With Tony Randall, Burl Ives and Barbara Eden. Wide screen, color.

THEATRE

Civic	**"Oklahoma"**—the famous Rodgers and Hammerstein Broadway musical. Don't miss this opportunity to view this exciting production.
Le Petit	Le Petit presents the musical **"Guys and Dolls"** featuring Rivet Hedderel, John DuBois and Julianne Perlt. The musical will run from May 22 to June 7, the last three performances being open to non-subscribers.
Le Petit	Acting classes will be resumed at Le Petit. Classes will begin the week of June 13, concluding with an all student program on Aug. 22. Dan Mullin, associate professor in the Tulane Univ. Department of Theatre and Speech, will direct the program for students 15 years and older. An introductory meeting will be held June 1 at 8 p.m. at the Little Theatre.

MUSIC

WWMT-FM Radio	Weekdays. Music, 9 a.m.-3:30 p.m. Classical music, 4-5 p.m. and 9-11 p.m. Saturday: Stereo programs, noon-midnight: Classical music music, 2-3 p.m. Sunday: Religious programs, noon-1 p.m.

SPECIAL ATTRACTIONS

City Park Stadium	Bonanza's **"Little Joe"** will star in Farhad Grotto Annual Western Rodeo on May 22-23-24. Proceeds from the affair will go to the benefit of cerebral palsy children of greater New Orleans.
Delgado Museum	An exhibition, made up of paintings, drawings, and artifacts is now being shown at the Delgado museum. The works, a private collection, represent the personal taste of a discriminating New Orleans couple, Dr. and Mrs. Richard W. Levy. The works will be at the Delgado museum through May 31.

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Language Prizes Given By Dept.

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Prizes were presented by Dr. Paul Brosman to: Susan Meisner (French 51), Madeline Rasmussen (French 52), Robert Tiller (French 55), Betty Jean Fricken (German 51), Alexander Granzin and Patricia Behlar (German 52), George Antoine (German 55), Charles Ruffino (Latin 52) and Henry O'Quin (Russian 51).

AUGUSTA CICCIO

Phi Chi Theta Elects Ciccio

Augusta Ciccio has been elected president of Phi Chi Theta, women's professional fraternity. She was installed at last week's meeting. Other officers in the group include Lynn Latapie, vice-president; Carla Surla, treasurer; Caolyn Sconza, recording secretary; and Mary Otell corresponding secretary.

Augusta Ciccio's past activities on campus include: secretary of the Student Government Association, a member of Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities, Associate Editor of the **TRIDENT**, and a member of Alpha Zi Delta Sorority.

minor.

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The Smith brothers, or sisters, were enlightened to the local economic facts of life some time ago. Perhaps this was due to the insistence of some of their prospective performers. In any case, both of their jazz concerts this year, Dave Brubeck, and Nancy Wilson-Julian Adderly, were good successes. And it's obvious that if they programmed the more well known jazz groups, like Miles Davis or Ornette Coleman, they would be assured of continued success—not because the communist consiracy bought blocks of tickets, but because of old-fashioned race mixing.

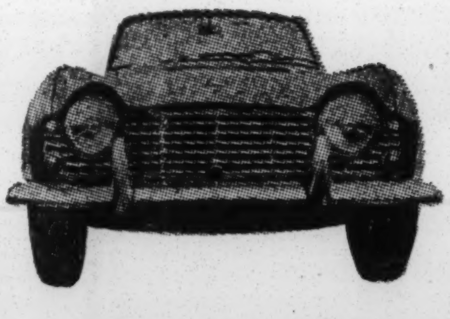
OLD TIMES, NOT FORGOTTEN

As race distinctions are slowly broken down, divisions of class will appear, and perhaps rightly so. It is true that both of the aforementioned concerts were marred by three or four Negroes insistence on getting drunk and yelling through most of the performance. Certainly this left a bad taste with the white folks who were having their first impersonal social experience with Negroes. But the vestiges of the past have a way of remaining contemporaneous, and will continue thus, for a long time to come.

It's this sort of thing, and the well founded apprehensions concerning the more woolly areas, that will foster new economic sanctions on the poor of all races in the new south.

Although an integration leader once said that the issue would be decided in the bedroom, clearly the solution didn't lie in the cotton fields. And I would submit that successful interaction at cultural events, most of which would hopefully be beyond my ken, could offer a somewhat painless first step towards flouridation because that breeds class solidarity. And it is indeed true that I would be doing my part listening to the juke cross the street from the Willow Street All-White School each afternoon; but I'm still afraid of being clubbed to death by the traffic boys.

TRIUMPH



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JAMES BOND, secret agent 007, is distracted by an insistent young lady in "From Russia With Love." Sean Connery stars in the Ian Fleming thriller.

Around And About

'From Russia With Love' Is Scorching Follow-Up

By ANDY KREUTZ

James Bond is back! And **"From Russia With Love,"** adapted from the Ian Fleming best-seller, is a scintillating sequel to "007's" screen debut in **"Doctor No."**

In this yarn, **Sean Connery** as the incalcuably perfect secret agent, is spun into the inevitable web of intrigue with **Daniela Bianchi** as tantilizing Tatiana Romanova, **Robert Shaw** as combination protector and assassin Red Grant and **Lotta Lenya??** as a washed-out lesbian named Rosa Klebb.

Bond deliberately walks into the tender trap, carefully baited with the prospect of capturing a Russian decoding machine for the British and with the lures of black-ribbonned, blonde-tressed Tatiana.

The plot, writhing with surprises, sifts through a sabo-

• GRADUATES

(Continued from page 1)

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Bachelor of Science

Clifton A. Adcox, Gilbert Louis Aime II, Douglas Delano Allardyce, Leroy Joseph Aucoin, William Edward Baldwin, Jr., Joseph Arlin Bautsch, Joseph Louis Beauchamp, George Joseph Becker III, Lawrence Michael Berner, Ronald Robert Bernhard, Norman John Berthaut, William Tyler Bevington, Thomas Farris Bibb, Kenneth Robert Bird, Wayne Harold Blackmon, Andrea Joan Boehm, Linda Van Zandt Bonck, Thomas Michael Boudreaux, William Joseph Bravender, William Bernard Brueggeman, Andrea John Capaci, Allan Claude Civello, Joseph Lawrence Cottone, Thomas Dennis Crombie, Robert David Cummiskey, Jr., Frank Daroca, Jr., Henry Frank Decossas, Jr., Joan Elizabeth Dowty, Milton Joseph Durabb, Jr., John Robert Falgoust, Louis John Flattmann, John Coloze Garza, Lloyd Heywood Gautreaux, Raymond Joseph Gomez, Jr., Thomas Andrews Gonzales, Dennis Louis Good, Ernest Hamilton Gould, Jr., Elizabeth Marie Hamalainen, Abren Francis Hebert, Jr., Lionel Andrew Hotstream, Joyce Jacqueline Hunter, Sherrol Ann Johnson, Glenn Conway Kirsch, Henry Cleveland Kirsch, Rosalyn Lillian Klotz, Philip Joseph LaGrange, Robert Charles Lake, Kenneth Odell Levy, Vincent Joseph Liuzza, Jr.

Thomas George Lukowski, Esther Lavonne Mackey, Jerlene Mary Mancuso, Edward Thomas Manthey, Jr., Ferdinand Marcel Mariande, Donald F. McClure, Robert Craig McCoy, Louis Sawyer Nunes, Daniel William Osborne, Anna Robinson Patterson, John Edmond Pechon, Richard Allen Pennock, Sr., Lauve Evariste Poche, Jr., Thomas Oswald Porteous, Jr., Errol F. Putfark.

William Joseph Rapp, Rita Ann Robichaux, Anthony Joseph Saladino, John Martin Schmitt, Joseph Cieutat Seidel, Jules August Sevin, Jr., Edward George Standige, Jr., Myron Jerry Thompson, William Presley Townsend, James Vinterella, Jr., Alan Joseph Wells, Herman Charles Woessner III, Joseph J. Yodanza, John Joseph Zamora III.

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts

Marilyn Ann Adragna, Carole Lee Andrews, Louise Marie Arnoult, Marilyn Joan Arruebarrena, Deanna Mary Belmonte, Jane Gurry Buckman, Carolyn Theresa Bulot, Dorothy Ann Ceruti, Gibson Charles Chighizola, Carol Ann Cook, May Helen P. Crawford, Carol Gremillion Curet, Audrey Tassin Eckerle, Susan Agnes Enloe, Joan Geraci, Lurlyn Lillian Gonzalez, Cecile Marie Gremilion, Josephine Ann Habans, E. Roland Hall, Jr., Lydia Broussard Hanberry, Charles Raymond Hancock, Jane Gillis Hatch, Jane Ann Hooper, Iris Ann Johnson, Beverly Paulina Jones, Marie Sylvia Kass.

Michele Eyraud Kiefer, Joan Richard Knight, Nora Mary Lake, Joan Ann Lamare, Peggy Ann Foye Laplace, Leta Pugh Lay, J. Walter LeBon, Jr., Marie Josephine Dake Lord, Jo Ann B. Lotz, Carolyn Reid McCullough, Nancy Rose Miller, Gladys Welch Milliner, Gloria A. Monninger, Lonnie Allen Moore III, Marilyn Ann Muniz, Marian Victoria Owen, Caroline Poulard Perkins, Edwin Roger Pillault, Jr., Patricia Ann Resor, Barbara Jean Sallettes, Wanda Kuns Schenewerk, Betty Arnold Simmons, Frances Layne Sloan, Constance Evelyn Weber, Joan Catherine Weser, Carol

Journalism Class Invades Judge Babylon's Courtroom

By ELLIOTT SEYMOUR

The New Orleans night court was recently host to about 30 LSUNO students. No, they were not arrested for drunken disorder—the students were members of Mr. David Zinman's Journalism classes (plus interested friends).

The Journalism students went to cover the night court session, and afterwards they interviewed the judge.

Judge Babylon presided over night court and this wily old gentleman, who is a rare combination of ultra-conservatism, humane-liberalism, simple honesty and humor, was a delight to talk to.

The judge informed the students that the New Orleans night court was the only one of its kind in the United States. The only other existing night court is in New York, but it only reviews the cases brought before it; it does not prosecute.

Judge Babylon, well-known for his wit and humorous remarks, is the judge, jury and prosecutor in his court, but even with all this power he has maintained a reputation of fairness, honesty and concern for the accused.

He particularly noted that it is his job to protect those people arrested because, as he said, "The policemen have to turn in something, and sometimes bad arrests result." He also added, "Most of these people are sick. Contrary to common belief, you just can't lie around on steps and in gutters without getting tuberculosis."

Night court begins at 10 p.m. and it runs until the docket is cleared. An example of how long this can take can be found in the case which involved six girls from Newcomb college. The judge pointed out that around 1948 some 65 communists were living in one four-room apartment. The 65 included six girls from Newcomb and some boys from Dillard.

The case began at 2:15 one morning and ran through to 9:30 a.m. with the judge having to face a whole battery of lawyers by himself. He also pointed out that this "red brief" was looked into by the Kefauver communism investigation committee. Of course, he added, the only charge to get them on was disturbing the peace.

Judge Babylon also pointed out that things can happen in strange and unexpected ways. He related the story of his friend who arrested a man in a gas station for running a red light a block further back.

It turned out that the man was a bootlegger, and in that particular state a reward was given for the capture of bootleggers. Also the officer got a reward from an insurance company because the bootlegger's car was stolen.

The judge chose night court because he feels it's interesting and worthwhile. Of course now his position is an elective one, and with a smile the judge said that even judges can poltick for their position during election time. He also added, "I believe I have a lot of friends," and I believe he has.

Gene Dunn Is La. 'Top TKE'

Gene F. Dunn, past president of Theta Mu chapter of Tau Kappa Epsilon at LSUNO, was named "Top Teke" in

Shaw as combination protector and assassin Red Grant and **Lotta Lenya??** as a washed-out lesbian named Rosa Klebb.

Bond deliberately walks into the tender trap, carefully baited with the prospect of capturing a Russian decoding machine for the British and with the lures of black-ribbonned, blonde-tressed Tatiana.

The plot, writhing with surprises, sifts through a saboteur's training school, the world's chess championship, rat-infested Turkish cellars, do-it-yourself bedroom movies, gypsy love quarrels, and adjoining compartments on a speeding train.

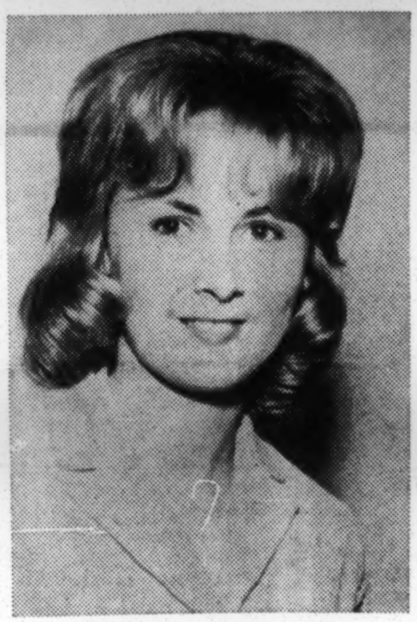
Our boy James makes his way and his women unaware that doom treads softly and carries a steel-grey Luger. Tension trails tension with breathing time barely couched between each scenario.

You get the impression that Bond is too cool. There can't be that much ice water flowing in his veins. But Connery manages to parlay everything in true Fleming fashion.

Though the screen version altered a few of the original episodes, such as the scrapping sequence on the train and the "kicks" that Rosa Klebb got out of the climax, the film does the novel justice.

As James again fades into the sunset, we may remind you that this flicker is worth the price of admission just to view its unique and exciting method of handling screen credits.

Until "Goldfinger" . . .



BETTIE COCREHAM

Phi Kappa Theta Selects Sweetheart

Alpha Phi Chapter of **Phi Kappa Theta** held its second annual Crimson Rose Ball recently in the Cypress Room of the Hilton Inn. Miss **Bettie Cocreham** was announced as the 1964-65 Sweetheart of **Phi Kappa Theta.** Mrs. Mary Collette, last year's sweetheart, presented Miss Cocreham with a sweetheart pin and bouquet of crimson roses, the fraternity flower.

Miss Cocreham, who attended LSUNO for two semesters, is presently a senior at LSUBR majoring in business administration.

The members of Miss Cocreham's court were Misses Charlotte Hudson, Ginger Bernier, Carol Scheffer, and Angele Demestre.

May Helen P. Crawford, Carol Gremillion Curet, Audrey Tassin Eckerle, Susan Agnes Enloe, Joan Geraci, Lurlyn Lillian Gonzalez, Cecile Marie Gremilion, Josephine Ann Habans, E. Roland Hall, Jr., Lydia Broussard Hanberry, Charles Raymond Hancock, Jane Gillis Hatch, Jane Ann Hooper, Iris Ann Johnson, Beverly Paulina Jones, Marie Sylvia Kass.

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Bachelor of Science

Leonard Louis Betzer, Sheryll Cascio Bourgeois, Lynne Emory Castle, Suzette Faustina Chachere, Marcia Ann Chalona, Barbara Lynn Dauterive, Edmond Charles Drouet, Kereigh Edward Fallon, Cynthia Jane Gilmore, Evelyn Inez Hebert, Patsy Delora Hicks, Ronald John Jefferson, Janice Hattie Kaltenbach, Jean Manale Knight, Lucy Margaret McClure, Claire Eugenia Orth, Joan Truehill Smith, Louis Albert Verret, Jr.

COLLEGE OF SCIENCES

Bachelor of Arts

Melanie Adler, Elmer Marcel Ducorbier, Betty Jean Fricken, Gary Bartlett Levy, Ralph B. Novoa, Philip Quartararo, Jr., Christian Phillip Ruppert III, Janet Ann Troyer.

Bachelor of Science

Warren Neil Beverung, Jr., Lanson Roy Chien, Alan Yale Cohen, Estrella Fernandez de Castro, Gary Emmanuel Dyson, Clifton Joseph Egle, Jr., Mary Ellen Everhart, Lawrence Thomas Guderian, Kerry Francis Harris, Leonce Everett Harris, Charles Bernard Hassenboehler, Jr. Marcel Leon Haulard, Sidney Clarence Hubble, Jr., Terry Ernest Ijams, Roy Miller Jenevein, Jr., Susan Jennings Johnson, Wayne Raymond Kempff, Michael John LeBherz, Owen Russell Lynch, Jr.

Kathleen Marie McGeown, Genevieve Edgard Naggiar, Henry Joseph Nuss, Jerelyn Ann O'Donnell, Michael Warren O'Shaughnessy, Gerald Joseph Pinero, Wallace Clark Pye, Salvador Ranatza, Jr., Kay Ann Richoux, Joseph Emile Robichaux, Jr., William Alexander Rock, Jr,. Louis Joseph Sardenga, Bennie Cox Strickland, Robin Whitney Strickland, Ross Anita Suggs, Arthur Francis Sullwold, Jr., Jacqueline Rita Terranova, Frank Anthony Ulm, Jr., Merline Robert Wilson, Jr.

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Gene Dunn Is La. 'Top TKE'

Gene F. Dunn, past president of Theta Mu chapter of Tau Kappa Epsilon at LSUNO, was named "Top Teke" in Louisiana at the third annual province leadership clinic held in Shreveport, La.

Dunn, one of the more active students on campus, was recently chosen "Student in the News" by **THE DRIFTWOOD.**

Theta Mu chapter also captured the award for "Greatest Improvement In Scholarship" and an award for submitting the name chosen for the province newsletter.

George N. Kallintzas, national historian of TKE, was feature speaker at the clinic. James Backstrom, province supervisor and Andrew Flores, assistant province supervisor and Theta Mu alumnus coordinated the arrangements and activities for the clinic hosted by the TKE chapter at Centenary College.

TKE boasts chapters at LSUNO, LSU, Southeastern, Northwestern, McNeese, Louisiana Tech and Centenary.

GENE DUNN

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TKE, Phi Kappa Gain First Place Tie By Scoring Shocking Upset Victories

Phi Kappa Theta coasted to a 2-0 upset win over first round champion Lambda Chi on Sunday, May 10, in the second of two games played on the St. Francis Cabrini diamond. In the first game Tau Kappa Epsilon pulled the biggest upset in Greek baseball history by downing Theta Xi, 3-2.

Right-hander Lester Vicknair led the Phi Kaps to victory in a game marred by bad throws and weak hitting which went the full seven inning limit.

Both sides went down in order in the first frame but in the top of the second the Phi Kappa cause came to life. After the lead-off man grounded out, singles by Mike Rodriguez and Andy Kreutz, and a walk to Sullwold combined to load the bases.

Two more free passes by Barney Pinschenat, LCA's hurler, plated the winning runs.

LCA mounted their first threat in the bottom of the second when two men reached base, but clutch pitching by Vicknair stemmed the tide.

The last LCA gasp came in the seventh when two walks put the tieing runs on base. Vicknair sealed the Phi Kappa win by striking out the last Lambda Chi batsman for the game's final out.

In the day's first outing a hard-hitting TKE crew scrambled to its first diamond victory in three years of competition.

In the second inning TKE scattered two hits and scored two markers to grab a 2-0 lead.

In the fifth, Ed Stempel, TKE's ace hurler, walked in two Theta Xi batters to knot the score at 2-2.

Greek Athletic Program Marks Another Banner Year

By DONALD DONNELLY

★ *Football*

During the 1963-64 campaign, the Greek Athletic League experienced a banner season which found each of its four members contributing liberally to the success that the league enjoyed. From Wayne Collier's touchdown strike to Don Marks in late September to Ron McNamara's bases loaded triple in early May, the GAL displayed an exciting brand of sports entertainment for its many followers.

As Autumn rolled onto the lakefront campus, the Greeks rolled onto the gridiron, demonstrating extremely rugged and aggressive play. A new champion was crowned in '63 as the Big Blue of Theta Xi dethroned Phi Kappa Theta's Black Plague.

The Xi-men captured the first round title, but, as in 1962, the Phi Kaps garnered second round laurels, thus necessitating a playoff between the league's most ardent rivals. In the championship tilt, Theta Xi's defensive might earned for them a hard-fought 12-10 victory. Not until the final moments, when Doug Schulte intercepted a PKT aerial, was the contest decided.

Mark Rodi of PKT edged Theta Xi's Herman Shultz for the individual scoring title, but the Xi halfback was honored as the league's outstanding performer. Phi Kappa Theta, led by Hernie Woessner and Buster Thiele, dominated the All-Star selections by placing eight gridders on the mythical squad. Theta Xi's Jeff Houin was among the six appointments that the Blue received. Tau Kappa Epsilon and Lambda Chi Alpha followed with three and two selections, respectively.

PKT avenged the grid defeat by taking the team title in bowling competition.

★ *Basketball*

A Sailor's First 'Luff'

By KIRK KREUTZIG

On Lake Pontchartrain where brisk winds cause flying spray and luffing sails, an enthusiastic core of LSUNO Mariners are providing some of the nation's top-ranking intercollegiate sailing competition.

The Sailing Club proudly boasts one of the finest competitive sailing records in the South. The Club has won the famed Baldwin Wood Regatta three years in a row, one time spectacularly

the contest decided.

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★ Basketball

Interest then turned to the roundball sport, and once again Theta Xi fielded a power-laden quintet. The Big Blue took honors in both rounds, displaying a well-balanced attack and strong bench. Led by Mike Becker and Sony Kern, the Xi-men rolled over one opponent after another, suffering but one setback the entire season. Big Emmett Poynot and reserve Sal Gutierrez provided the clutch performances that spelled victory. Kern, a freshman from Warren Easton, easily grabbed the league scoring crown.

★ Baseball

Lambda Chi became the surprise of the league as baseball came into focus. Behind the strong right arm of Barney Pinschenat and the timely hitting of Ron McNamara and Ken Gasperecz, the unbeaten LCA crew has captured the first round title.

Second round play has started with the coveted over-all sports trophy at stake. Theta Xi and Phi Kappa Theta have excellent shots at the award.

Next season the Greeks will again improve as they did this year. A new frosh class and more experienced players will strengthen the entire league. PKT and Theta Xi should continue their feud for top honors while Lambda Chi establishes itself as a darkhorse to be reckoned with.

TKE, winless wonders on the gridiron, hardcourt, and diamond, may still be a year away, but the free-wheeling Teke crew should once again provide the daffy-doings of the year. Two newcomers to the league, Poppa Kappa-Sava Kappa and Signa Phi Nothing, should battle hapless TKE for the cellar.

MIKE RODRIGUEZ (left) of Phi Kappa Theta moves in to stop Lambda Chi's Lloyd Gautreaux in LCA's upset win over PKT. Rugged, fast-moving action like this typified sports competition in 1963-64 Greek play.

seventh when two walks put the tieing runs on base. Vicknair sealed the Phi Kappa win by striking out the last Lambda Chi batsman for the game's final out.

In the day's first outing a hard-hitting TKE crew scrambled to its first diamond victory in three years of competition.

In the second inning TKE scattered two hits and scored two markers to grab a 2-0 lead.

In the fifth, Ed Stempel, TKE's ace hurler, walked in two Theta Xi batters to knot the score at 2-2.

A combination of a hit, an error, and two walks pushed TKE's winning run acorss the plate in the bottom of the sixth.

'Mural Baseball All-Stars Chosen

The selection of an intramural baseball all-star team has been announced by the members of the sports staff of **THE DRIFTWOOD,** who made the selections for the mythical nine.

Team members were selected impartially and quality of performance on the field was the only criterion used.

The 'mural league ended a highly successful inaugural season on Saturday, May 9.

The prime objectives of the league were to give anyone who wanted to play a chance to perform, regardless of ability, and to provide fun and enjoyment in the bargain. Judging on that basis the league was a complete success.

Competition was keen for team berths and the final selection was a hard one. The difficulty encountered in selecting the contingent is a testimony to the overall excellence and balance of play the league offered.

The team selected is:

P—Keith Dufour BA
P—Larry Navo, LA
C—Al Civello, BA
1B—Jim Mathews, JD
2B—Shields Stutts, Science
3B—Ferdi Mariande, BA
SS—Mike Rodriguez, LA
Util—Bill Bevington, BA
OF—Al Stolier, Science
OF—Larry Berner, BA
OF—Art McEnany, LA
Util—Walter Strata, Science

A Sailor's First 'Luff'

By KIRK KREUTZIG

On Lake Pontchartrain where brisk winds cause flying spray and luffing sails, an enthusiastic core of LSUNO Mariners are providing some of the nation's top-ranking intercollegiate sailing competition.

The Sailing Club proudly boasts one of the finest competitive sailing records in the South. The Club has won the famed Baldwin Wood Regatta three years in a row, one time spectacularly winning five races in a row to score twenty-seven points out of a possible thirty! The Sailing Club has won more than seventeen championships and regatta titles.

In 1960, a nucleus of ambitious sailors first organized the LSUNO Sailing Club. Inspired by the Univesrity's lakeside locale and the city's two distinguished yacht clubs, the University's only intercollegiate sport has grown overnight into the largest and most active organization on the campus.

The collegiate sailing program began in 1960 with the Mariners receiving a formal charter from the University. In the spring of 1962 the Club joined the 14-member Southeastern Intercollegiate Sailing Association (SEISA), and in the fall of 1963 became affiliated with the Intercollegiate Yacht Racing Union of North America (ICYRA of NA).

According to Commodore Steve Murray, "The LSUNO Sailing Club has one of the most active and rapidly expanding sailing programs in the nation."

Extensive and effective sailing instruction is being conducted each week. The classes provide instruction in the theory of sailing, small boat handling, rules of the road, marlinsike seamanship, water safety, and general seamanship. The student-conducted classes are highlighted by guest speakers, movies, and slides which help students to visualize particular situations while showing many thrills of boating and yachting.

A core of seasoned racing sailors has formed the intercollegiate side of the Club. It was in 1960 that the Mariners first tasted victory by winning the Mississippi State Fishboat Championships. Since then they have compiled the impressive racing record of six first place championships, six second place titles, two third place titles, and several fourth places.

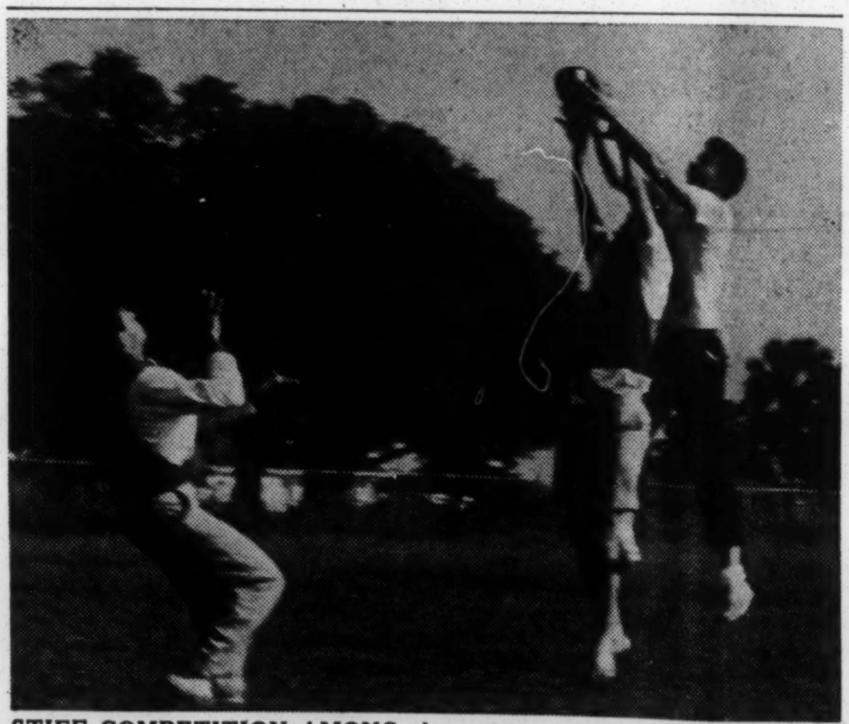
In a one-time stand in the Sugar Bowl Regatta, the Mariners placed higher than any other other Southeastern Conference School. They were the only SEC school to win at least one race. This year, as a non-collegiate entrant, Mariner Team Captain Bobbie Delgado won all three races to capture the Knarr Class trophy. Another entry sailed by Commodore Murray placed fourth.

This spring the LSUNO Sailing Club began an affiliateship with the New Orleans Yacht Club. Through the cooperation of NOYC, the intercollegians plan to create the most highly organized and developed sailing program in the South. Special NOYC memberships are being made available to the University sailors. NOYC Commodore Larry Sommers and the Board of Governors are encouaging the Mariners to participate in various yacht club regattas and functions.

As for future plans, the LSUNO Mariners are hoping to become an integral part of the new multi-million dollar East Lakefront Development Project being formulated by the Levee Board. The Sailing Club anticipates acquiring its own fleet of boats for training and competitive sailing. Already a program is underway to raise necessary funds.

The intercollegians expect to send teams to out-of-town regattas with financial support, and plan to host regattas of their own. Someday they hope to co-host the Sugar Bowl Regatta. For the present, some Mariners eagerly anticipate sending their best teams to the National Intercollegiate Championships in Vancouver, British Columbia, this June.

BA Captures Softball League Crown By Sneaking Past Liberal Arts, 3-2



STIFF COMPETITION AMONG the university's divisional teams was a trademark of the intramural league's inaugural season of play.

By JIMMY JOHNSON

The curtain closed on the intramural softball league's first season last Saturday when Business Administration defeated Liberal Arts 3-2 for the championship. In other action Science outlasted Education 4-1.

Keith Dufour gave up only four safeties en route to his third straight win of the campaign, making him the leading pitcher. The runs by LA were the first scored against BA pitching this year. Dufour struck out eight and issued only three walks.

BA jumped to a two run lead in the 4th inning. Two errors and a hit by Moore gave BA its two run lead, but these unearned runs didn't stand up for long.

In the 5th inning LA tied it up 2-2. A single by Barry-Daste, two errors, and a double by Larry Navo, the opposing pitcher, plated two runs, which were also on the tainted side. In the bottom of the 6th BA broke the tie. Three straight hits by Al Civello, Dufour, and Ferdie Mariande gave BA its championship.

Both Dufour and Navo pitched excellent ball and were prime candidates for the All-Star team.

In the other encounter, Science used four one run innings to defeat Education. Shields Stutts pitched a two-hitter for the slide rulers, striking out seven in the process.

Walter Strata supplied muscle with two walks and a booming triple. For the teachers Leon Na-

Formation Of Intramurals Sets 'NO Sports Milestone

By VINCENT PEULER

The '63-'64 academic year represented a true high-water mark for sports at LSUNO and there is no sign of an ebbing of the tide. Thanks are due, in large part, to the spirit and enthusiasm that have been generated by the organization of campus intramural competition.

An intramural sports program was little more than a dream when school opened last September, but determined action transformed the dream in-

match squeaker to win the overall league title.

The second phase of 'mural competition at LSUNO consisted of the formation of a softball

Sports Clips

By VINCE PEULER

• It's Been A Great Year For Sports

LSUNO's campus calendar has been liberally strewn for the past year with activities as abundant as they were varied. And some of the most impressive accomplishments were registered in the world of sports.

There were the thrills and chills of Greek football, basketball, and baseball—not to mention bowling. There was the historic inauguration of a highly successful intramural program. The Sailing Club continued to add honors to its already distinguished record. And there was much, much more.

The achievements of the past year are an inspiring indication of what people can do when they join forces in a spirit of determination and cooperation. There can be no more effective molder of campus unity and spirit.

The fraternities, the Student Council, the Morale Commission, Circle K, and interested faculty members such as Dean Masingill combined to make LSUNO's sports picture a bright one.

But most important of all were the efforts of the individual students who joined teams simply because they liked to play and found it a rewarding way to while away a Saturday afternoon.

Playing a minor but, it is hoped, worthwhile part in the whole effort has been THE DRIFTWOOD.

For the first time in its brief history **THE DRIFTWOOD** boasted a full sports page, guaranteeing complete coverage of LSUNO's sports beat.

First of all, there was advance coverage of all LSU pigskin matches, keeping in step with this paper's avowed policy of outlining the future, rather than rehashing the past.

Also, for the second straight year, members of the sports staff, thanks to the cooperation of LSUBR's athletic department, were able to view Tiger home games in person.

The weekly Pigskin Prognosis was begun and it is hoped that it will become a permanent fixture.

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An intramural sports program was little more than a dream when school opened last September, but determined action transformed the dream into a reality.

Through the cooperative efforts of the Student Council, the Office of the Morale Commissioner, and E. Frank Masingill, Dean of Men, an intramural football league was initiated on Sunday, October 6.

Teams representing Business Administration, Liberal Arts, Science, and Education were fielded. Junior Division was also represented by a four-team aggregation. Regular Commercial Athletic Association rules governed league play.

Funds to cover the expenses of equipment and preparation of facilities were appropriated by the Student Council and Dean Masingill.

On that historic October afternoon Liberal Arts downed Education, 12-0, in the first game of the young season. In the day's second action Business Administration trounced a spunky but outmanned Science eleven, 32-0.

From its lop-sided opening day victory Business Administration went on to win the first round championship by squeaking past a strong Liberal Arts team, 6-0.

Second round play ended in a three-way tie between Science, LA, and BA. Business Administration defeated Science but tasted a 12-6 defeat at the hands of a Liberal Arts band that won the second round championship.

BA downed LA in a revenge-match squeaker to win the overall league title.

The second phase of 'mural competition at LSUNO consisted of the formation of a softball league in early April. Again the credit for the initiating spirit belonged to the Morale Commissioner and his charges.

A donation of $100 from the Ford Motor Company, for equipment, and the cooperation of the T. L. James Co. in preparing a playing field, at no cost to the University, assured the league of a successful debut season.

'Mural softball play got off to a roaring April start, with the formation of a loop consisting of representatives from LA, BA, Science, Education, and the Junior Division.

At a special meeting regular baseball rules were set up for the season's play. In addition, a one hour, 15 minute or 7-inning time limit was imposed on all the games, which were scheduled for play on Saturday afternoons.

The season was highlighted by a struggle between the two diamond behemoths, BA and LA. Both teams boasted clean slates until Education blemished LA's record by clawing to a 3-3 deadlock.

This tie set the stage for last week's title match between BA and LA.

The overwhelming success of this year's intramural programs sould be of great satisfaction to those who took part and who hope for bigger and better things, starting next September.

lo, Dufour, and Ferdie Mariande gave BA its championship.

Both Dufour and Navo pitched excellent ball and were prime candidates for the All-Star team.

In the other encounter, Science used four one run innings to defeat Education. Shields Stutts pitched a two-hitter for the slide rulers, striking out seven in the process.

Walter Strata supplied muscle with two walks and a booming triple. For the teachers Leon Naard gave up all four runs on a like number of hits in four innings. Six Science stickmen ended up with K's, Navard accounted for four and Jimmy Johnson notched the other two strikeouts.

BUSINESS

	AB	R	H	RBI
Putfark, ss	3	0	0	0
Bevington, 1b	3	0	0	0
Berner, lf	3	1	0	0
Civello, c	3	1	1	0
Dufour, p	2	1	1	0
Mariande, 3b	3	0	1	1
Schully, cf	1	0	0	0
Moore, rf	2	0	1	2
La Rocca, 2b	2	0	0	0
	22	3	4	3

LIBERAL ARTS

	AB	R	H	RBI
Kreutz, 2b	3	1	0	0
Gutierrez, 1b	3	0	0	0
Navo, p	3	0	2	2
Mancuso, 3b	2	0	0	0
McEnany, lf	2	0	0	0
Rodriquez, ss	2	0	1	0
Johnson, c	3	0	0	0
Daste, cf	3	0	1	0
Odinet, rf	3	1	0	0
	24	2	4	2

SCIENCE

	AB	R	H	RBI
Strata, lf	2	2	1	0
Rinderle, cf	2	0	0	0
Stutts, p	3	1	0	0
Stolier, 1b	3	1	1	1
Decedue, 3b	2	0	1	0
Tighe, 2b	2	0	0	0
Sardenga, ss	2	0	0	1
Ditrapani, rf	3	0	1	0
Matti, c	3	0	0	0
	22	4	4	2

EDUCATION

	AB	R	H	RBI
Johnson, ss-p	3	0	1	0
Fink, 3b	2	0	0	0
Huxen, 1b	1	0	0	0
Ayres, 1b-2b	0	0	0	0
Jefferson, 2b-ss	2	0	0	0
Lemoine, rf	1	0	0	0
Scuhlte, rf	0	1	0	0
Ferry, cf	2	0	1	0
McCaffery, lf	2	0	0	0
Terry, c	2	0	0	0
Novard, p-1b	2	0	0	0
	17	1	2	0

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First of all, there was advance coverage of all LSU pigskin matches, keeping in step with this paper's avowed policy of outlining the future, rather than rehashing the past.

Also, for the second straight year, members of the sports staff, thanks to the cooperation of LSUBR's athletic department, were able to view Tiger home games in person.

The weekly Pigskin Prognosis was begun and it is hoped that it will become a permanent fixture.

Profiles of important sports personalities such as Arnold Palmer, Cassius Clay, Willie Pastrano, and a host of others bedecked "page 7."

Next September there will be a new Sports Editor and staff, striving to improve on this year's modest record. To them we tender a sincere "good luck!"

To you, the reader, we offer thanks for the kind words—and the criticisms. Both were sincerely appreciated.

• Some Season-Ending Predictions

Since this is the final issue of the year, it's especially tempting to make some predictions as a finale to the column, because nobody will remember them and thus won't be able to laugh in case the crystal ball should somehow go awry.

Of course there may be a few individuals who will save these words simply to be able to say "I told you so" at the right moment, but regardless, we'll hazard a few guesses—oops, we meant to say, scientific prognostications.

For a starter, the Yanks will best the St. Louis Cardinals in six games to regain their world title. The Dodgers will have to settle for a dismal fourth place in the NL.

The Bayou Bengals will sport a 9-1 record and a bowl invite by season's end, their only loss being a shocker to Ole Miss.

In the NFL it will be Green Bay and the Giants in the title match, with the Packers winning all the marbles.

In the AFL, Buffalo and San Diego will vie for championship honors; the old tea leaves indicate a Charger victory, for the second straight year.

These are just a few gems, but they'll have to do. Time has run out.

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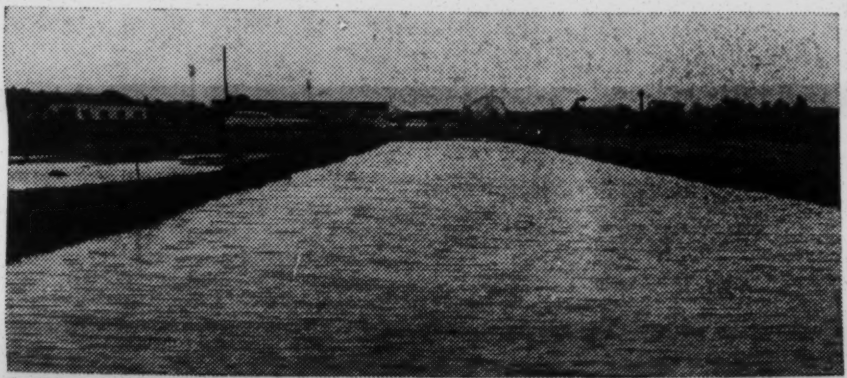
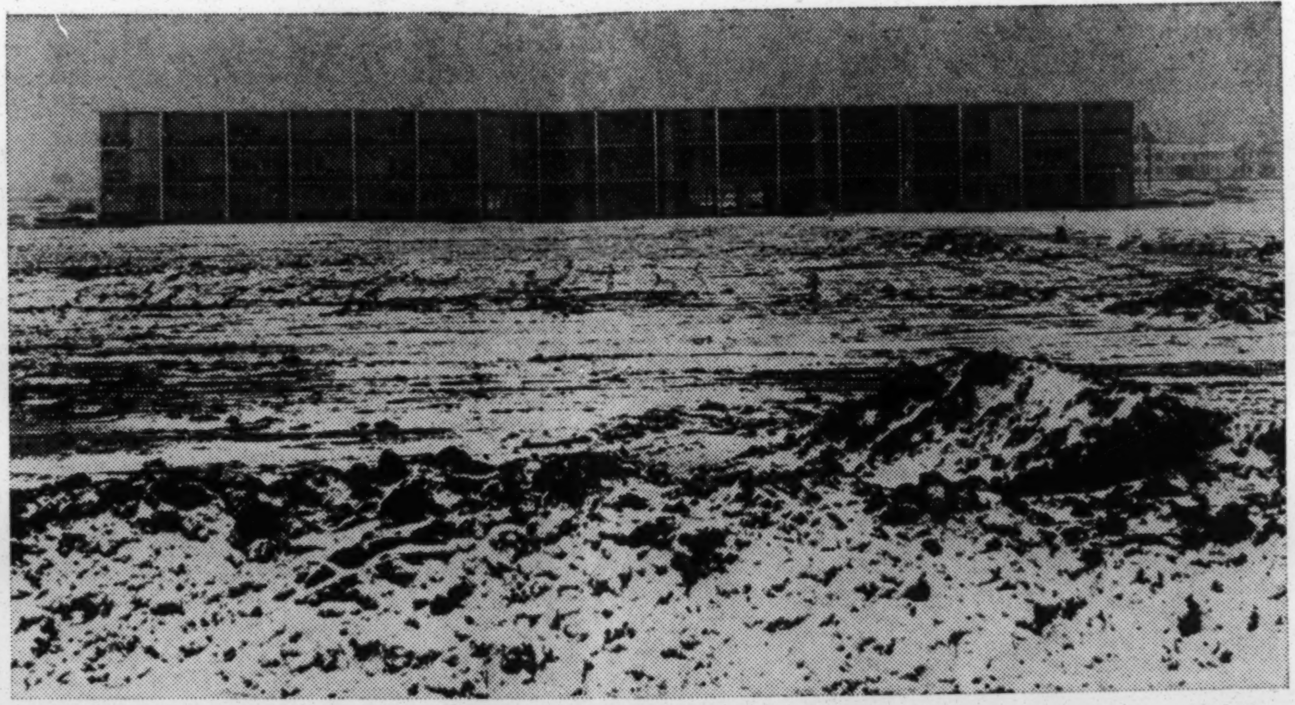
Pictorial Highlights Of The 1963-64 Academic Year

CANDIDATES
SUPPORT LSUNO

MAYOR VIC and former SGA president Harold Koretzky display bumper stickers on "Citizens Support LSUNO" Day, November 18, 1963.



LIKE THE EIRE CANAL—Deep crevices were frequently filled by torrential rains during construction daze. September to present.



HAPPY NEW YEAR—The weather man and Old Jack Frost turned the LSUNO campus into a miniature Siberia. Mounds of snow were heaped upon us and in this view the Liberal Arts building appears to be sitting on the top of Mt. Fujiama. December 31, 1963.

SHAKE OLD BUDDY—President John Hunter meets with Chancellor Homer Hitt on one of Dr. Hunter's frequent visits to the LSUNO campus. Caption by Kirk Carney. November 8, 1963.

OUR SWEETHEART—Rosemary Nelson, need we say more?

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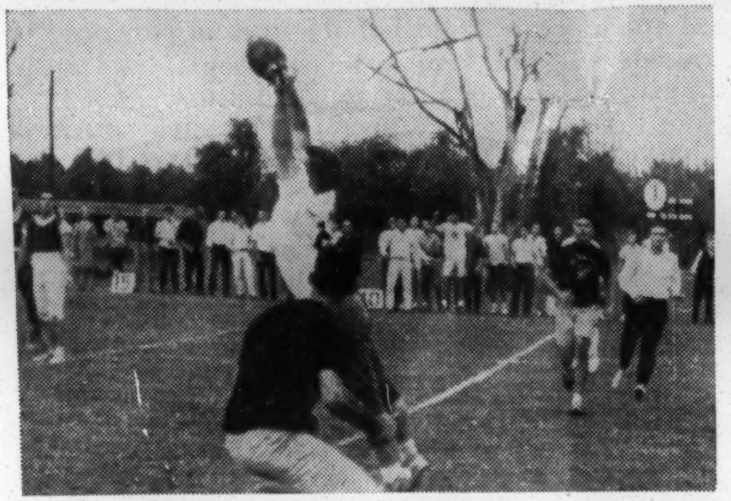
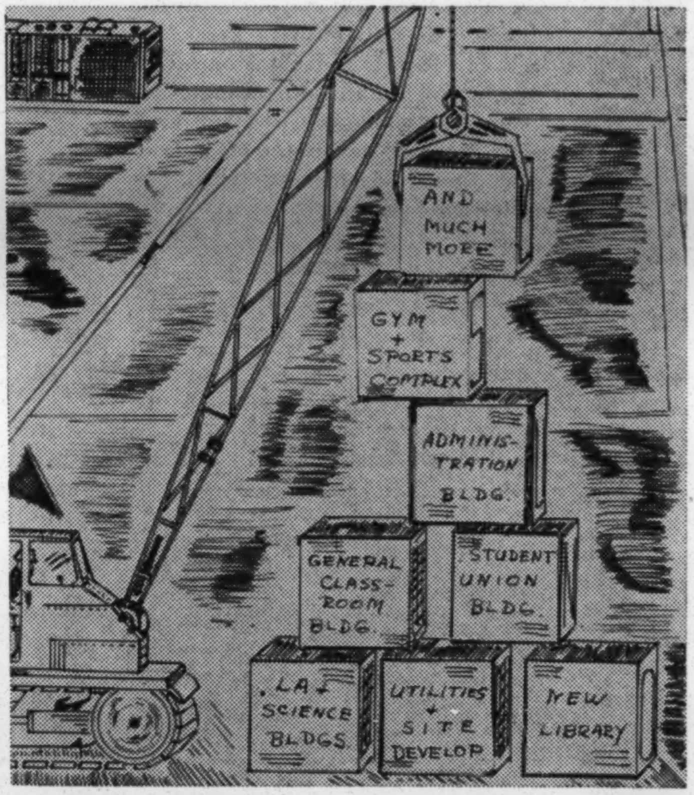


GREEK KINGPINS—Theta Xi finally ovecame a two year Phi Kap jinx to beat the "plague" in the most exciting game of the year, 12-10. November 17, 1963.

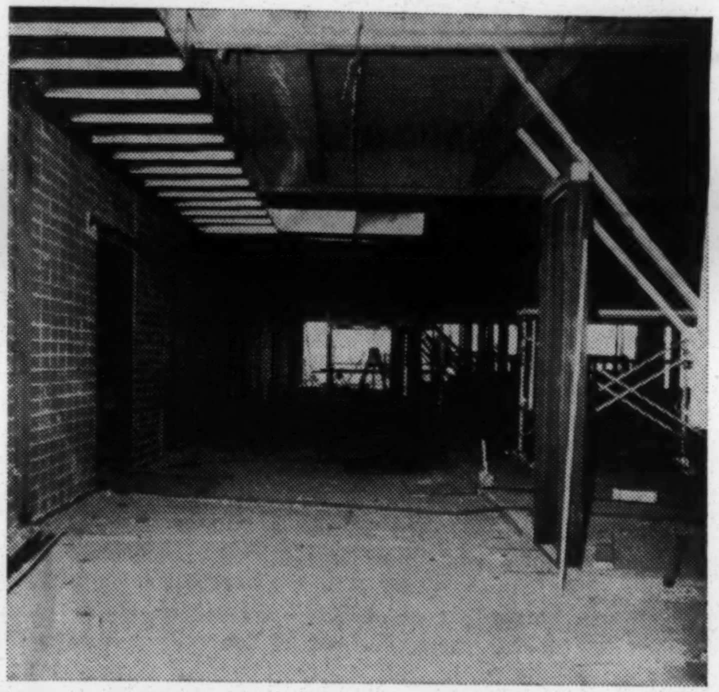
SLOW BUT SURE—An aerial shot of landscaping and site development in progress since August, 1963.

HONORABLE MEN—This year's student council pictured at a time of utter goodness. Watch the backbiting. September, 1963 through May, 1964.


AND MUCH MORE
GYM + SPORTS COMPLEX
ADMINISTRATION BLDG.
GENERAL CLASSROOM BLDG.
STUDENT UNION BLDG.
L.A. SCIENCE BLDGS.
UTILITIES + SITE DEVELOP
NEW LIBRARY

BUILDING BLOCKS—Cartoon illustration shows the progress of our capital improvement program. We need much more before LSUNO can be of greatest service to the city.

THAT'S THE ONE—That lousy, no good shrew is wrecking Pertruchio's life in "Taming of the Shrew," the best-attended play in the Workshop this year. Four people came. March 16-21, 1964.



DR. G.'S DREAM—Construction on the $2.5 million library is finally being completed with occupancy slated for June 1. Seems like it took forever.

OUR FAIR-HAIRED BOY—LSUNO student leaders discuss the university's future with Gubernatorial candidate John McKeithen. Governor McKeithen was the first to recognize LSUNO's needs in his trip to the campus. We've come a long way since then, haven't we? November 8, 1964.

IFC OFFICERS for the coming year are: (from left) Gaston Lemoine (LCA) treasurer, Sal Cusimano (PKT) secretary, Wayne Hill (TKE) vice-president, and James Donelon (Theta Xi) president.

SGA Convocation Honors Students For Extracurricular Activities

Student leaders at LSU in New Orleans were honored last week for outstanding work in the area of extracurricular activities.

The awards and certificates were presented at the annual Student Government Association convocation.

Awards and recipients were:

American Association of University Women award presented by the Metairie-Gretna branch: Nora M. Lake.

Student Council certificates: Robert D. Cummiskey, Louis S. Nunes, Allan J. Sanders, Philip J. LaGrange, Lonnie A. Moore III, Barbara J. Sallettes, Denis D. Kenney, Carol L. Brodtmann, Frank J. Speyerer, Gene F. Dunn, Kenneth F. Carter, Jr., Jacqueline V. Taylor, William Rock, Jr., Fortune A. Dugan, Amanda A. Beck, Eileen D. Lingener, Leonore F. Diamond, Ernest E. Tarantino, Gary B. Gaethe and Lester F. Vicknair.

Executive Department certif-

ic: Sylvia M. Barbarin, Jansses A. Campos, Kenneth F. Carter, Jr., Jerilyn E. Cutler, Robert E. Delgado, Catherine L. Faust, Walter H. Grashoff III, Mary L. Greenbaum, Janie M. Hughes, Judith A. Jorns, Margaret R. McDonald, Crossley O'Dell, Pamela D. Rhoton, Malcolm J. Schwab, Janet E. Sinclair, Mary B. Weigand, Mary Beverly Weigand, Joyce D. Wesley, William R. Wilson, Jr.

• HONORS

(Continued from page 1)

Lynne E. Castle.

English Faculty prize: Gladys W. Milliner.

Freshman Mathematics award: Melvin B. Shear.

Freshman Chemistry award: Joseph F. Englert.

Delta Epsilon Distinguished Achievement Award in Mathematics: Betty J. Fricken.

LSUNO Religious Council Essay award: Edward Douglas White.

LSUNO's Women's Club award: Betty J. Fricken.

Alpha Xi Delta award: Estrellita de Castro.

Craftsman Guild Design award: Richard A. Bergez.

Honor Student Honor awards: Delores M. Brady, Millicent Ann Bourg, Fortune A. Dugan, Betty J. Fricken, Henry M. O'quin, Wallace C. Pye.

T. H. Harris Foundation Scholarships: Kathleen J. Boisseau, Richard E. Corbeille, Robert H. Doepke, Carol A. Eckelmann, Joseph E. Englert, Bonnie E. Gonzales, Philip J. Hargis, Jr., Billy M. James, Annette M. Johnson, Michael J. Kettenring, Sidney O. Lambert, Mary F. McConnon, Francisco M. Merchan, Madeline F. Ortner, John N. Palmisano, Robert R. Schlumbrecht, Helen L. Schmidt, Kenneth J. Tardiff.

Alumni Federation Certificates of Merit: Marilyn A. Adragna, William B. Brueggeman, Lynne E. Castle, Betty J. Fricken, Thomas O. Porteous, Wallace C. Pye. Randlph E. Trumbach, Edward D. White.

Delta Zetas Stage Formal

Delta Zeta National Sorority recently held its second annual Pink Rose Formal. Members, alumnae, and guests of the **Theta Kappa** chapter attended the formal on Saturday, May 2, at the Vista Shores Country Club.

Awards for scholarship

MEMBERS AND SPONSORS of Alpha Epsilon Phi are shown at formal installation of the colony as a national sorority.

AEPhi Installed, Officers Chosen

Ceremonies were recently held for the formal installation of the LSUNO colony of Alpha Epsilon Phi sorority. This is the fifth national sorority on our campus.

Officers of the new colony are Adrien Gernsbacher, president; Lee Diamond, vice-president; Jackie Goldberg, secretary; and Elinor Raffie, treasurer. Others initiated included Melanie Adler, Judy Cohen, Rachelle Goethe, Ethel Etzkin, Susan Regenbogen, Linda Rosenblum, and Charlotte Schwartzman.

The ceremonies were held at the Newcomb College chapter's sorority house. Officiating at the installation was Mrs. Harold Miller, director of the fifth province of AEPhi. Assisting was Mrs. Henry E. Friedlander, colony advisor.

Honored guests at the reception following the ceremonies included Mrs. Teal Bennett, Newcomb advisor; Mrs. A. Frank Wolf, one of the founders of the Newcomb chapter; **Mrs. Ken Gormio**, president New Orleans Alpha Epsilon Phi Alumnae Association; and Mrs. Martha Wickett, dean of women at LSUNO.

Dr. Good Awarded Contract To Study Various Elements

Dr. Mary L. Good, professor of chemistry, has been awarded an **Atomic Energy Commission** contract to study a variety of complex compounds resulting from nuclear reactions.

Three-quarters of the more than $25,000 contract is fi-

Student Council certificates: Robert D. Cummiskey, Louis S. Nunes, Allan J. Sanders, Philip J. LaGrange, Lonnie A. Moore III, Barbara J. Sallettes, Denis D. Kenney, Carol L. Brodtmann, Frank J. Speyerer, Gene F. Dunn, Kenneth F. Carter, Jr., Jacqueline V. Taylor, William Rock, Jr., Fortune A. Dugan, Amanda A. Beck, Eileen D. Lingener, Leonore F. Diamond, Ernest E. Tarantino, Gary B. Gaethe and Lester F. Vicknair.

Executive Department certificates: Michael Kettenring, Richard LeCorgne, legal department; Gerard J. Haddican, Antoine A. Laiche, Jr., Brian J. Cotter, Rosemary Ann Nelson, public relations department; Ronald R. Bernhard, finance department; Francis J. Ferry, Marilyn J. Arruebarrena, executive directorship; Alan Cohen, cabinet member; Raymond C. Fink II, morale commission.

Honor Council certificates: Gary E. Dyson, William B. Brueggeman, Wallace C. Pye, Edwin R. Pillault, Jr., Delores M. Brady, Dennis H. Blackinton, Robert L. Towns, Baldwin S. Stutts, Beverly A. Bihler.

Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities: Harold I. Koretzky, Louis S. Nunes, Allan J. Sanders, Barbara J. Sallettes, Marilyn A. Muniz, Nora M. Lake, Augusta A. Ciccio, Evelyn I. Hebert, Carol L. Brodtmann, Shirley E. Pettingill, Henry L. Tebbe, Jack L. Whitehead, Jr., Delores M. Brady, Annette M. Johnson, Marilyn R. Blasini, William K. Carney, Beverly A. Bihler, Randolph E. Trumbach, Baldwin S. Stutts, Amanda A. Beck, Robert L. Towns, William Rock, Jr., Gary E. Dyson, Fortune A. Dugan, Richard J. Majeste, Alan Cohen.

Morale Commission award: Denis D. Kenney.

Talent Night awards: First place individual, Nancy A. Renick; second place, Jack E. Belsom; third place, Mary Rose Gervais, first place group, the Augustine Twins; second place, the Beagles Combo; third place, the Sugar Shack Duet.

Plaques for the Morale Commissioner, Thomas R. Barrow; Honor Council Moderator, Randolph E. Trumbach; Coed Vice-President, Jerlene McCall; Immediate Past President, Isadore H. Koretzky; Vice-President, Henry L. Tebbe.

Certificates for Leadership Clin-

Jorns, Margaret

Crossley O'Dell, Pamela D. Rhoton, Malcolm J. Schwab, Janet E. Sinclair, Mary B. Weigand, Mary Beverly Weigand, Joyce D. Wesley, William R. Wilson, Jr.

William B. Brueggeman, Lynne E. Castle, Betty J. Fricken, Thomas O. Porteous, Wallace C. Pye. Randlph E. Trumbach, Edward D. White.

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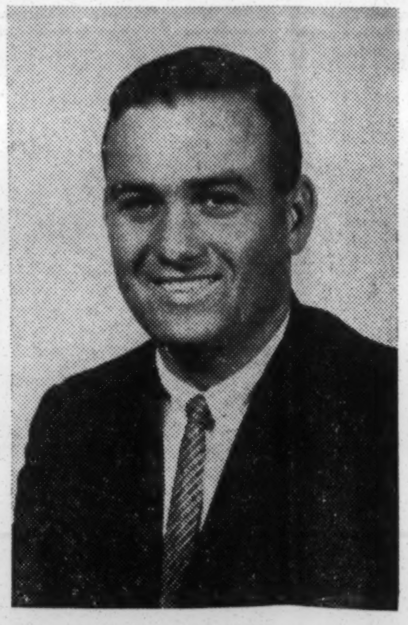
Awards for scholarship were presented: Penny Bourg received the chapter member high scholarship award; Sybil Boudreaux and Corinne Kambur tied for the highest grade average for the pledges.

The **Delta Zeta's** give special honors to one pledge and one member who are outstanding. These honors, decided by secret ballot, are traditionally awarded at the Rose Formal. Sybil Boudreaux was chosen the outstanding pledge of the year; she was presented with the pledge paddle with her name engraved on it.

The "Dream Girl" of Delta Zeta is a very special presentation: she is chosen by her sorority sisters as the girl who is described by the words of the song, "Dream Girl." This year, the "Girl of the Lamp so True . . ." is Shea Stein.

Outgoing officers were presented. New officers were announced. They are: **Shirley Pettingill,** president; **Carol Skelton,** pledge trainer; **Lois Brady,** rush chairman; **Andrea Nicolaides,** recording secretary; **Rosemary Allardyce,** corresponding secretary; **Penny Bourg,** treasurer; **Jo Ann Cheleno,** historian; **Lynette Jerry,** Pan-Hellenic delegate. Committee chairmen are: Raven Coleman and Claudia Fernandez, social chairmen; Charlotte Hudson, activities chairman; Judy Gerstner, standards chairman; Ditty Nicolaides, scholarship chairman; Corinne Kambur, press chairman. Officers and chairmen were installed following formal initiation.

The president was presented with a bouquet of pink killarney roses; officers and committee chairmen were presented with single killarney roses, the flower of **Delta Zeta.**



DALE BOUDREAUX, was recently elected president of Theta Xi Fraternity, Beta Xi chapter. Other officers include James Donelon, vice-president; Bob Delaneunille, treasurer; Mike Becker, house manager; Emmett Poynot, corresponding secretary; Jean Caillouet, scholarship officer; Jeffrey Houin, pledge master; Leonard Nelson, social chairman.

● McKEITHEN

(Continued from page 1)

of Caddo Parish, who waged a full-fledged campaign. The Republican threat was turned back, however, and McKeithen now assumes the governorship for which he waged such a strenuous fight.

Governor and Mrs. McKeithen are the parents of six children, Jay, 20; Fox, 18; Rebecca, 16; Melissa, 10; Pamela, 8; and Geneva Maude, 6. His mother and father, Mr. and Mrs. Jesse J. McKeithen, make their home in Columbia. Mr. McKeithen has a brother, Dr. E. E. McKeithen of Hodge, and twin sisters, Mrs. R. F. Meredith of Calvin and Mrs. W. W. Williams of Beaumont, Texas.

Dr. Good Awarded Contract To Study Various Elements

Dr. Mary L. Good, professor of chemistry, has been awarded an **Atomic Energy Commission** contract to study a variety of complex compounds resulting from nuclear reactions.

Three-quarters of the more than $25,000 contract is financed by the AEC and the remainder by the university.

Dr. Good will investigate the complex compounds of the man-made elements which result from nuclear reactions on uranium and plutonium.

Contract monies provide for summer salary, expenses and supplies, as well as travel. It also provides for a full-time post-doctoral research associate, two graduate and two undergraduate assistants.

Dr. Good will travel to Vienna, Austria, in September under AEC travel grant to address the Eighth International Conference on Coordination Chemistry. She will speak on ways and means of identifying specific metal complexes in water solutions. The meeting is sponsored by the International Union of Pure and Allied Chemistry.

Dr. Good, a native of Texas, is widely published in the field of complex ion chemistry. She received her doctorate from the University of Arkansas and joined the LSUNO faculty in 1958. She was recently named to the 1964 listing of Who's Who of American Women.

JEROME TELES (center), new president of Alpha Theta Epsilon is shown with: Michael Kettenring, representative, Elsa Pizatti, secretary-treasurer, Ken Tardiff, vice-president, and Emil Koretzky, representative.

Teles New Prexy Of Honor Society

The Alpha Theta Epsilon Honors Society is proud to announce its new officers for 1964-65. Succeeding Fortune A. Dugan as president is Jerome Teles, a junior mathematics major, and succeeding Robert L. Towns as vice-president is Kenneth Tardiff, a junior biology major. The other officers are Elsa Pizatti, secretary-treasurer, and Michael Kettenring and Emil Koretzky who are the new representatives.

The purpose of Alpha Theta Epsilon is threefold: to recognize academic accomplishments, to foster intellectual programs, and to serve to improve the level of scholastic achievement on the campus. In accordance with these aims the Society sponsors lectures and debates which are held on campus. Many of the members are also officeholders in the Student Government Association as well as many other organizations on campus.

In addition, Alpha Theta Epsilon emphasizes continuance of education in graduate school. The society takes great pride in the fact that most of its members go on to graduate school.

Hi—I'll be working for THE DRIFTWOOD next year, will you?

Applications are being accepted daily in Bldg. 7, Room 109.

FINAL EXAMINATION SCHEDULE

Second Semester 1963-64

Class	Examination Time	Examination Date
8 MWF	4:00 p.m.- 6:00 p.m.	Monday, May 25
9 MWF	1:30 p.m.- 3:30 p.m.	Saturday, May 23
10 MWF	10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Tuesday, May 26
11 MWF	1:30 p.m.- 3:30 p.m.	Friday, May 22
12 MWF	8:00 a.m.-10:00 a.m.	Wednesday, May 20
1 MWF	4:00 p.m.- 6:00 p.m.	Thursday, May 21
2 MWF	8:00 a.m.-10:00 a.m.	Friday, May 22
3 MFW	4:00 p.m.- 6:00 p.m.	Wednesday, May 20
4 MWF	10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Wednesday, May 20
8 TThS	10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Saturday, May 23
9 TThS	8:00 a.m.-10:00 a.m.	Monday, May 25
10 TThS	1:30 p.m.- 3:30 p.m.	Monday, May 25
11 TThS	4:00 p.m.- 6:00 p.m.	Friday, May 22
12:00-1:30 TTh	1:30 p.m.- 3:30 p.m.	Thursday, May 21
1:30-3:00 TTh	8:00 a.m.-10:00 a.m.	Thursday, May 21
3:00-4:30 TTh	1:30 p.m.- 3:30 p.m.	Wednesday, May 20

GROUP EXAMINATIONS

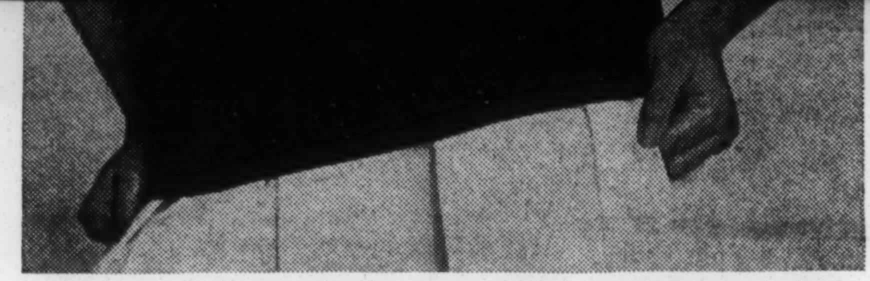
Class	Examination Time	Examination Date
Biology 1 and 2	10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Monday, May 25
Chemistry 1, 2, and 2B	4:00 p.m.- 6:00 p.m.	Saturday, May 23
Chemistry 12	10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Thursday, May 21
Education 51	1:30 p.m.- 3:30 p.m.	Tuesday, May 26
Health and Phys. Ed. 41	8:00 a.m.-10:00 a.m.	Saturday, May 23
Mathematics 1	8:00 a.m.-10:00 a.m.	Tuesday, May 26
Mathematics 2 and 7	10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Friday, May 22

EVENING DIVISION EXAMINATIONS

Class	Examination Time	Examination Date
6:30 MW	6:30 p.m.- 8:30 p.m.	Wednesday, May 20
8:00 MW	6:30 p.m.- 8:30 p.m.	Monday, May 25
6:30 TTh	6:30 p.m.- 8:30 p.m.	Tuesday, May 26
8:00 TTh	6:30 p.m.- 8:30 p.m.	Thursday, May 21

NOTES:

1. Classes meeting MTWThF, MTThF, MW, MF, or WF will take examinations at the time scheduled for MWF.
2. Classes meeting TTh, or ThS will take examinations at the time scheduled for TThS.
3. Examinations scheduled as group examinations will be assigned rooms by the departments concerned.
4. Regular examinations will take place in the regular classrooms.
5. Examinations in Books and Libraries 1 will be given at the last class meeting.
6. Last meeting of evening classes will be Monday, May 18, 1964.



Hi—I'll be working for THE DRIFTWOOD next year, will you?

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6:30 TTh	6:30 p.m.- 8:30 p.m.	Tuesday, May 26
8:00 TTh	6:30 p.m.- 8:30 p.m.	Thursday, May 21

NOTES:

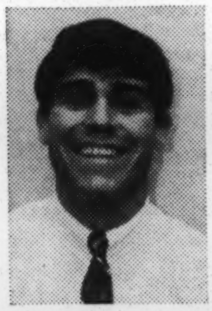
1. Classes meeting MTWThF, MTThF, MW, MF, or WF will take examinations at the time scheduled for MWF.
2. Classes meeting TTh, or ThS will take examinations at the time scheduled for TThS.
3. Examinations scheduled as group examinations will be assigned rooms by the departments concerned.
4. Regular examinations will take place in the regular classrooms.
5. Examinations in Books and Libraries 1 will be given at the last class meeting.
6. Last meeting of evening classes will be Monday, May 18, 1964.

Editor Announces Tabloid Staff Positions For The Coming Year

Andrew R. Kreutz, re-appointed editor-in-chief of **THE DRIFTWOOD,** has announced his selections for the tabloid's editorial staff for the 1964-65 academic year.

Stepping into the newly-created position of associate editor is Kirk Carney. Carney has served as managing editor during the past year and as a news writer in 1962-63.

After attending graduate school for a master's degree in journalism, Carney plans to make newspaper work his career.



Succeeding Carney as managing editor is Elliott Seymour, who during the past academic term, served as sports writer and later as news editor.

Seymour, a sophomore majoring in psychology, plans to get his master's in psychology and then enter the seminary.

Gerard Haddican takes over the post of business manager from Jack Whitehead. Haddican, who headed the SGA public relations department, is a sophomore majoring in economics. Haddican handled the bulk of student government news during the past year.

Lili Sikorski, who worked as a feature writer during the past term, succeeds Gary Dyson as feature editor. Miss Sikorski is a junior majoring in pre-law.

Before coming to LSUNO, Miss Sikorski attended the Universities of Hawaii, Michigan, Vienna, Loyola, and Brigham Young.

Filling the position of news editor is Jane Boisseau. Miss Boisseau, who is majoring in English, served as news writer during the past year.

She succeeds Elliott Seymour in this post. This semester she received a T. H. Harris scholarship, and last semester she earned a 2.8 average.

Succeeding Vincent Peuler as sports editor is Donald Donnelly. A pre-law major, Donnelly gained valuable experience as a sports writer during the past semester.

At Behrman high school Donnelly was a sports writer.

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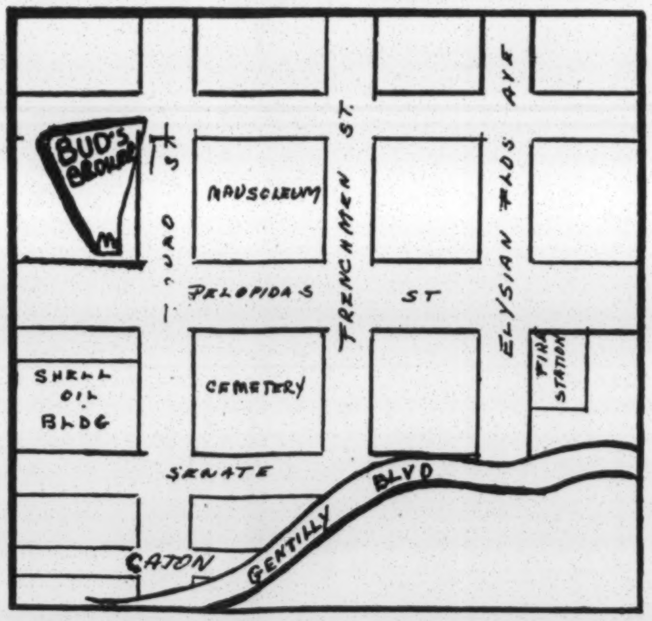

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197-MAGAZINE

TTS-Machine 1

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By MARGARET LONG

ja resurgent ku Klux Klan rides this summer across the South. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has counted nearly 200 cross burnings in recent fonths. Since the organization of a Mississippi Realm of the Klan late last year, that sate has had six killings, several shootings and many beatings of Negroes, besides the disappearance of three civil-rights workers. Reporters and civil libertarians attribute recent violence over Negro demonstrations in Jacksonville, and St. Augustine, Fla., and in Tuscaloosa, Ala., to Klan "mentality" and incitements, if not to Klansmen directly. The Klan "mentality," as well as the Klan itself, is already a force in Alabama politics, and may become so in Mississippi. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith estimates the Invisible Empire's membership at between 48,000 and 65,000—and growing.

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Actually, there are about a dozen different Klans. Georgia has a proliferation of them, notably an Atlanta group, led by Grand Dragon Calvin Craig, and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan headed by an attorney named James Venable. There is a North Florida Klan led by Gene Fallow of Jacksonville. Tennessee has its Dixie Klans, and North Carolina has its faction.

Dominant among these splinter groups is the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Llans, Inc., which was organized three years ago by Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa. Mr. Shelton seeks to create a "new Klan image."

K

The Knights have long been looked upon, locally, with scorn—ignorant poor whites, rednecks and roughnecks, far less respectable than members of the White Citizens Councils. The Imperial Wizard has brought to the Klan a new, soft-spoken line, adorned with talk of history, heritage and re-

7

The Knights have long been looked upon, locally, with scorn—ignorant poor whites, rednecks and roughnecks, far less respectable than members of the White Citizens Councils. The Imperial Wizard has brought to the Klan a new, soft-spoken line, adorned with talk of history, heritage and research.

The new voice advocates Christian tolerance and Americanism, warns of a Communist conspiracy to integrate and mongrelize the white South, professes nonviolence and predicts "racial war."

Particularly interesting is the constant inclusion in Mr. Shelton's talk, and in the new Klan literature, of ideas and phrases from the Negro movement—"nonviolence," "massive rallies," "demonstrations," "economic boycotts" and "voter registration to get these politicians out of office." The new Klan plan for "Caucasian communities" on a "reservation" somewhere in Alabama is suggestive of the Black Muslims' segregationist proposal to evacuate several Southern states of whites and give the area over to a Negro nation.

The three-room suite of the United Klans, in an old downtown office building, is quietly furnished with old desks, modern chairs~~, sofa~~ and draperies, photographs of Gov. George Wallace—and with Mrs. Shelton, a smiling young woman with dark eyes in a friendly face, who works all day with "Bobby." Mr. Shelton's purple satin robe with many-colored ~~stripes and~~ insignia hangs in a plastic garment bag next to a Confederate flag beside his desk. An American flag stands on the other side. A red-trimmed, white-satin robe—presumably that of an Exalted Cyclops—hangs on another wall.

Mr. Shelton is a slight, but broad-shouldered, man of 35, with a long, beautifully cut face, light blue eyes and a soft voice. His expression is melancholy and he occasionally emphasizes his speech with a grieved frown of his fair eyebrows.

He is a native of Tuscaloosa, where his grandfather was a farmer and storekeeper and his father is now "a retired merchant." It has been said that they were both Klansmen. Mr. Shelton denied the story.

"That may have gotten started from my belief that a person is born a Klansman," he said. "To a degree, it is a religion, a faith, a belief. A man may subscribe to its principles and live under it, and, in the heritage and background of the Klan—the only organization by and for Americans—sentimentally, in this way we are all members."

italics

198-MAGAZINE

TTS–Machine 1

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He graduated from high school, took some correspondence courses and worked at a local rubber company, first in the plant and then as a salesman, and later sold automobile air-conditioning. (A friend of his said: "Bobby gave up a $10,000-a-year job; he lost it for his work with the Klan. No one has given up more than they have, and I don't see how they make it. He wants nothing for himself.")

He served three years in the Army, in Berlin during the Airlift and at the time of desegregation in the armed services—"a great educational opportunity."

The Klan, Shelton said, "is my entire dedication." He has no time for sports, hobbies or other pleasures except occasional visits from Klan friends at home, and his exercise is "running all over the country." The Sheltons have two daughters and a son, aged 7, 5 and 2.

ADL

Shelton smiled at ~~a mention of the published~~ estimates of Klan membership. He said 65,000 "is closer to the neighborhood of the Alabama Klan alone."

"Secrecy in the business of membership is one of our biggest weapons," he said. "If we boast about it then we lose advantage." He said the Klan is "very active" in states in the Norht, East and West, is well-organized in Alabama, Louisiana, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Georgia, and is having a "great increase in membership and activity in Mississippi, where it is now open and aboveboard." California membership "is very strong," he said, but "we can't come out openly, because the Communist conspiracy is strong and the Klan must not show its hand.

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"We've ~~ad~~ a very rapid increase since we got chartered, an increase more than we can take care of. We do not have the desire of a rush of volume membership. We don't want people of an emotional, crowd feeling, or leaders to satisfy that excited emotional feeling, that can stomp and talk at meetings, and then they'll go out and beat or kill a nigger. No, we wish to provide satisfaction ~~of~~ people in a more constructive manner."

to

He said his new Klan "has a staff of 13 or 14 men—several lawyers, members of church boards and bank boards." Dues, he said, vary with local klaverns.

TTS–Machine 10

grevilius, 2, june 25, 1964— —
magazine—8 on 9 x 10½— —

"The Klan image," Shelton went on rapidly, "has been so misrepresented in various new medias, misrepresenting that the Klansmen are living on a theory of hate and fear . . . Th Klan symbolizes the Reconstruction. We try to keep the Klan today on the same pedestal of history, of the Reconstruction past, when there wer no laws to defend the Southerner under the cruel heel of Federal oppression.

"We are promoting mass education on the general program to the general public to inform them who our enemies are, what they are, the methods employed and how they ar to be countered. Though not a political organization, we realize that, utilizing the law of self-preservation, to survive w must be involved in politics, to extend the Klan program of voter registration."

The Klan education progra he said, has "many stages." One of them is "research on textbooks in schools."

"It is one means of the conspiracy to formulate an alien ideology among young children," and the Klan "contemplates to execute a program of the true writing of history." School officials, he explained, are often innocent of the conspiracy's distorting hand in school books, "and when it is called to their attention, many of them do not have a knowledge of what is taking place in our schools."

He did not name any objectionable books, but said: "The most liberal trend is in the hgher echelons of intellect. . . We find types of fellow travel ers in various walks of life . . We'll formulate a list of completely falsified textbooks, the constant attempt to create in a young child the beliefs that Southerners have always been backward, hating the nigra an unprogressive."

"The Southerner," he declared, "has progressed with the nigra on his shoulders farther than any other section of the country in every area of civilization and society. The War Between the States resulted, particularly in the Southeastern part of the Unite States, in the South being parched by burning and destroyed in Sherman's march. The South had to completely rebuild and revamp our civilization. And we had to carry the blunt weight of him, the nigra, in the uphill struggle against unfair freight rates, carpetbaggers, scalawags and Federal laws against us."

The North, Shelton observed "is jealous of the South, our progress beyond them, of man individuals moving South to enjoy our production, our attitudes and our labor forces."

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199-MAGAZINE

TTS—Machine 10

He said Southerners and
Klansmen "have no hate for
the nigra." They believe "ther e
is a place in society for all
persons and ˑaces, but you can =
not pass or legislate class and
social equality. The nigra mus t
study and try to gain this
level, rather than force it by
legislation. . . . He has far
more economy in the South,
more business and private own =
ership, more homes owned by
nigras than in any other part
of the country."

Mr. Shelton was for years a
member of Local 351 of the
United Rubber Workers. He
said he believes in unions, but
feels that they are "at the na-
tional level, infiltrated and rot =
ten . . . with no regard for the
Southerner, and control and
manipulate us for advantage
and capacity in the North. Wa l=
ter Reuther is an admitted
worker to set up a Socialist
republic, a Socialist America."

Shelton considers the Negro
movement for integration and
the national labor movement
to be intertwined in a con-
spiracy to take Southern union
dues "to finance Communistic
(tr) rpograms of integration in the
South. Using the money and
using the nigra as a tool, they
continue to utilize and use M.
[L. King the Rev. Dr. Martin
Luther King Jr.], Shuttles-
[worth the Rev. Fred L. Shut-
tlesworth of the Southern
Christian Leadership Confer-
ence] and the N.A.A.C.P. to
be more militant participants
in racial demonstrations, and
[they the Communists in turn]
slip into the background and
wrest control.

(tr) "I frimly believe," he went
on, "that M. L. King will be
eliminated by his own people
—will be assassinated.

"The nigra is beginning to
realize that when his people
are desegregated, that where
the movement has taken hold,
that they are affiliated with
known Communists, and that i t
brings about the destruction of
his own economy, and the nig-
ra businesses had to close their
doors. Many well-meaning nig-
ras know their own people are
being used by Communists."

The Imperial Wizrd shares
the current fashionable con-
cern with poverty and unem-
ployment, and offers the solu-
tion of restricting immigra-
tion.

"Cheap labor from foreign
countries and a flood of im-
migration creates more prob-
lems," he said. "In foreign
countries they look on Americ a
as a place to get milk and
honey, but their loyalty re-
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ernment. Some of them return
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tax is "a necessary method,
disregarding race. We require
thod of selecting in-

"Cheap labor from foreign countries and a flood of immigration creates more problems," he said. "In foreign countries they look on Americ a as a place to get milk and honey, but their loyalty remains for the motherland across the waters. They are ~~a~~ not for our republican form of government. Some of them return to the motherland and still receive their Social Security."

The Klan believes the poll tax is "a necessary method, disregarding race. We require some method of selecting individuals intelligent enough to elect the leadership to enact the laws that govern us." Shelton himself "would advocate some aptitude test similar to those given men in the armed services, and then they could not holler discrimination."

He conceded gravely: "If a nigra had the ability to pass such tests, he should have the right to vote. You have the immoral aspects of nigras who do not have the ability to writ e their names and can be controlled by a carton of cigarettes or a carton of beer; some whites, too, can be controlled. We must select citizen s who have the ability to vote for leadership which will enact (tr) alws for not only you and I but future generations."

The Klan is deeply concerne d over the welfare program known as Aid to Dependent Children.

bright
Of charm

"Most nigra women have a better contract with the welfare and A.D.C. than unions have with management," Mr. Shelton offered, with ~~another~~ a rare; quick smile. "A mother gets $30 for each illegitimate child, and then some of them, their children, are getting the same check for her illegitimate grandchildren. And they make the rounds of all the surplus food, welfare offices and churches, and the more illegitimate children they have, the better they can live. Go to the reciprocants of welfare and you'll see the TV antenna on the house, and a good sound auto in the front yard. They drive late-model Cadillacs and Buicks to the surplus-food lines. Should we carry the tab to support such families?"

correct
spelling?

The Klan program to buy up tracts of land and settle white people in Caucasian communities to avoid integration is "still in the planning stage, in the future," Shelton said.

"We are researching the possibilities and our legal staff is at work on it, and we're interested in it because we're coming under a governing dictatorial body. These reservations will be a sanctity, where a man is to continue to raise up a family and have his beliefs respected."

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TTS—Machine 10

Unlike most white segregationists, the Imperial Wizrd a does not profess love for Negroes in their place. Mrs. Shelton has "a white lady" who takes care of her children because he wants them "raised i n a Caucasian atmosphere."

"I have a lot of nigras I'm in contact with, who pass on information to us and who hav e no regard for this movement," he said. "It is infringing on their own beliefs and principles, and they are intimidated and harassed. They say they have a boycott here and they have their own goon squads to harass and intimidate Negroes and snatch packages out of their hands and threaten them.

"They threaten more demonstrations. I welcome them; it shows their ignorance and stupidity. If they flout the laws, we are going to see that they uphold the law. As long as the police can handle it, we'll give them the opportunity, and if they can't, we'll use whatever means are necessary. They wil l not be allowed to openly flout the citizenry of this town or any town."

He expects a "spontaneous rise" in Negro activity "when the moon comes full. My research shows that the full moon brings ~~our~~ out the animal instincts, increases their excitement, and they become violent, restless, inclined to get in trouble and brawls."

I asked Mr. Shelton about cross burnings in Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama and about attacks, some by sheete d men, on Negroes.

"The Klan has not brought about any propagation of violence and intimidation," he declared. "In many cases, nigras are told that the Klan is responsible for violence against them; stories are exaggerated. The conspiracy will stoop to no level. The violence may be associated, yes, but it is not Klan work. There are, also, a number of Klans."

Of current Klan attitudes toward Catholics and Jews, he

"The Klan has not brought about any propagation of violence and intimidation," he declared. "In many cases, nigras are told that the Klan is responsible for violence against them; stories are exaggerated. The conspiracy will stoop to no level. The violence may be associated, yes, but it is not Klan work. There are, also, a number of Klans."

Of current Klan attitudes toward Catholics and Jews, he said: "A foreign section of a sect or belief, or allegiance to a religious body—in some case Catholics have been pushed to the limit. Leander Perez [the Louisiana segregationist who was excommunicated by the Roman Catholic Church for his war on parochial-school desegregation], rather than bow to his dynosee ~~(??)~~ was excommunicated; he would not be loyal to a mandate or ruling rather than his conviction.

correct? Not "diocese"?

"The argument as to why Jews don't belong to the Klan is belief in Christ. We are a Christian, Protestant fraternal organization, and they believe in the Messiah, Jehova and other figures, but not Christ. If a Jewish person is a Communist person, we should not be considered anti-Semitic for exposing this person. And many Jews have been found in the Communist conspiracy."

The Klan wants "each race t promote its own culture, to inculcate race pride." But, he added, desegregation "is disrupting and breaking down all connections and communications, so people who five years ago would think nothing of throwing 50 cents or a dollar into the hat of a nigra now won't do it."

White Emancipation, Too

Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision desegregating the public schools, many public and private agencies have directed their efforts toward improved Negro education in the South. But no comparable attention has been given to the related subject of white education in Southern schools and colleges or to the social structure that conditions the learning process.

A report in today's Times Magazine, plus a comment a few days ago by the outgoing president of the Southern Historical Association, paint a disturbing picture of the educational scene in Mississippi. The article by Margaret Long, a Southern novelist and editor, reveals the deeply ingrained prejudice against Negroes held by an intelligent white youth. Nothing that has happened in the United States or the world—as seen from Mississippi—has shaken this youth's conviction that "the Negro is inherently unequal."

The explanation for this frozen thought pattern comes to light in the comments made by Dr. James W. Silver, the University of Mississippi historian. He condemns the closed society that fosters unreasoning "obedience to an official orthodoxy almost identical with the pro-slavery philosophy." Ironically, he says that while Negroes have made gains, the white Southerner has sealed his own mind in the century since Emancipation.

Read together, the Long report and Professor Silver's bold remarks tell us that there is a need for white emancipation, too, in Mississippi—emancipation from the moral and mental sickness of a society built on the degradation of its Negro fellow citizens.

Founded
1909

THE **PROGRESSIVE**

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN • ALPINE 7-4626
MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

June 12, 1964

Margaret Long
Editor
NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Maggie:

Thanks for your letter (delightful, breezy, and informative as always) and the two articles.

I have regretfully decided against the Birmingham piece--at least for the time being. It has some fine reporting in it, but it does ramble a bit and seems to me to lack a sharp enough focus. Most of all, however, and this may sound subversive, I am getting a bit tired of, if not downright bored with, Birmingham. I want to make this suggestion, however: in the fall, after Dr. King's sorties during the long, hot summer, you might be able to pin a new piece on his leadership drive and incorporate much of your observations in this piece.

Now, as for the shorter piece on the untidy outsiders who invade the south each summer, I like it and want to use it in our August issue. It seems to me highly readable, tartly done, and very Long-ish. It should, as I say, be used in our August number--July is now going to press. It seems to me you ought to add a paragraph or two somewhere near the beginning or the end on anything pertinent you have observed thus far this summer. You say in your letter: "If it's not too late we might tie it in to the precipitation of students and adults to Mississippi this summer, with a cautionary paragraph or so, and possibly some SNCC plans to clean these people up, since they are screening them so carefully." In view of your suggestion and my own hunch for a bit of up-dating, I am returning the manuscript for that purpose. It would be most helpful if you could get it back to me at your earliest possible convenience--no later than June 24--so that we can clear the decks for it for our August issue.

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HI WAY

November 1964

PRESENT STATUS OF THE KLANS IN THE SOUTH

There has been a significant resurgence of the Klans throughout the South. In our opinion, this increase in Klan activity and membership has come about as the Klan focalizes the objections to the Civil Rights Bill.

Included in the general term of the Civil Rights Bill, is the loss "of our southern way of life", "breakdown of our customs and traditions", "the grab for pure power by the Federal government", "the protection of states' rights", and other cliches and platitudes of this nature. With the exceptions noted below, the intensity of the Klan thrust is specifically pointed to defeat the Negro drive for equality which is taking place.

As you know, for some time during the latter part of the 1950s, the Klan reached a low point and, for all intents and purposes, was no longer an effective instrument throughout the South. With the coming of the social revolution of our time, the Klans grasped this issue and have used it as the vehicle on which their new found strength is based.

The Klans have used most of the arguments known as the segregationist line in their drive to regain power and recruit members. There have been straight-out appeals to pure segregation. There are appeals to fight Communism. There are appeals blatantly anti-Semitic -- "The Jews are responsible for the race mixing". These are but some of the exhortations that the Klans have used with the basic theme always being white supremacy.

It is estimated that Klan membership throughout the South has risen approximately 5,000 to 10,000 persons in the last year, with a total of between 45,000 to 65,000 Klan members. In many cases, the Klans have spread into areas of the country that have not seen Klan activity for many years. Using the Civil Rights issue, Klan organization is taking place in West Virginia, Indiana, Minnesota, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and California. This is not to suggest that there are not other places where the Klan is seeking to re-establish itself. These are merely the areas of most intense activity.

The largest group is THE UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., headed by Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Alabama. This group has for some time been attempting to change its image into one of so-called respectability. This Klan has announced that it has purchased land in Alabama where white segregated private communities will be established. In addition, through the organizational structure of this Klan, insurance of all kinds is being sold so that the income can be used for Klan activities.

Affiliated with this Klan are a number of other Klan groups which will be outlined below. In addition, other Klan groups in Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, are part of the UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA.

The Grand Dragon for Georgia is Calvin Craig, and in Georgia there are 40 Klaverns with an estimated membership of from 7000 to 8000 persons in THE UNITED KLAN.

The Grand Dragon for North Carolina of THE UNITED KLANS is Robert Jones. There are approximately 25 Klaverns in the North Carolina area with about ~~800~~ 6000 to ~~900~~ 7000 members.

The Grand Dragon for South Carolina of THE UNITED KLANS is Robert Scoggins.

The Grand Dragon for Alabama of THE UNITED KLANS is Robert Creel.

THE UNITED KLANS have been trying to spread into Louisiana and Mississippi. It is reported that in Louisiana they are meeting with some success, but, so far, all indications show that they have not made much inroad into the Citizens Council areas of Mississippi.

2 THE NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., with headquarters in Tucker, Georgia, is headed by Atlanta attorney James Venable. In addition, Venable is the head of the Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, Inc., The Committee of One Million Caucasians to March on Washington, and, with Wally Butterworth, The Christian Voters and Buyers League, which produces and disseminates viciously anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-government records which, among other things, are used as Klan recruiting devices and to further the other groups, which are all for the same purpose.

3 The major emphasis of THE NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., has been in bending most of their efforts toward this March on Washington as this has been a very lucrative program for them. While some recruitment

has been taking place, much of their stress has been on activating chapters of this organization throughout the Midwest. In each of the areas where Governor George Wallace has been involved in primary campaigns, this group has flooded the area with material and has been receiving responses and money. They use the responses to create a new mailing list and attempt to use these people to start Klan chapters in their respective areas.

4 THE FEDERATED KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is headed by William Hugh Morris of Buchanan, Georgia. This group has a very small membership, no programming and lacks power. It is, at present, merely a paper organization.

5 THE U.S. KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is now headed by H. J. Jones, a roofer who lives in Jonesboro, Georgia. This group has only one chapter with approximately 100 members from the local East and South areas of Atlanta. This group, however, is considered to be very radical, weapons conscience and prone to violence.

6 THE IMPROVED ORDER OF U.S. KLANS, headed by Earl E. George, has two small chapters in Georgia; one in Ocala, Florida, and two in Alabama. They are associated with Shelton's UNITED KLANS. Jones' group, THE U.S. KLANS, actually split off from Earl George's IMPROVED ORDER because George was not doing anything. THE IMPROVED ORDER has relatively little membership, programming or influence.

7 THE ASSOCIATION OF GEORGIA KLANS is headed by Charlie Maddox of Savannah, Georgia, has two or three small chapters in the Savannah area

and is associated with Shelton's UNITED KLANS. This group is small and of little influence.

8 THE DIXIE KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is headed by Jack and his brother, Harry Leon Brown, of Chattanooga, Tennessee. This group has a few small chapters in the Northwest corner of Georgia, one relatively strong Klavern in Anniston, Alabama, headed by a man named Adams, but most of their strength is in the Chattanooga, Tennessee, area. They also are associated with Shelton's UNITED KLANS but work closely with other Klan groups.

9 UNITED FLORIDA KLAN, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is headed by Jason Kersey in the Jacksonville area. This group is associated with Shelton's UNITED KLANS but does not have a large membership or much influence.

10 They have been superseded by a group called simply THE KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, headed by a Gene Fallow of Jacksonville, Florida. This group has been attracting members at a very high rate, is considered to be an extremely radical group and very dangerous. It is thought that an effective persecution of the bombers from this group may stop their growth and slow down the organization. There is no indication that they are associated with any other Klan group.

11 THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC., is headed by Robert L. Hodges of Columbia, S. C., and this group is

picking up members as part of the general resurgence of the Klans throughout the South.

This listing is certainly not meant to indicate where all of the local chapters in each state are, and where we have used the expression "This group is small and of little influence", this is a relative statement in relation to the other Klan groups.

It is our considered opinion that from now through the rest of the Summer there will be a ~~small~~ surge of Klan activities such as public meetings, cross burnings, recruiting drives, etc.. It is to be noted that each facet of political or social upheaval which, in any way, can be interpreted as a set-back to the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, is eagerly grasped and used by the Klans at present.

There are no clearly defined lines that each individual follows by being a member of a particular Klan group. In many cases, these people are also members of other extremist groups and, in effect, a complex web has been formed with such organizations as the National States Rights Party and the Citizens Councils, etc.. The more violence prone of the Klan groups such as Venable's already are advocating that a race war will be the only solution, and they are sowing the seeds for this violence, if it comes.

Times Sunday Mag.

A resurgent Ku Klux Klan rides this summer across the South in a patchwork garb of new soft talk of nonviolence ~~and the~~ ~~Communist integrationist conspiracy~~ and old cross-burnings Concurrent ~~coinciding~~ with Negro abuse.

The "new image" of the revived Klan is motley montage of well-tailored suits and bow ties, satin robes of Wizards and Cyclops and familiar bed sheets of lesser Knights; the threadbare work clothes of poor whites hollering "Kill the niggers!" in an Atlanta demonstration, and new Klansladies dispensing charity to needy and thankful Negroes in Mississippi. The new voice warns of ~~that~~ the Communist ~~Conspiracy~~ Conspiracy to mongrelize the white South, disclaims hatred of minorities, predicts "racial war" and plans a segregated "all-Caucasian Community" ~~or "reservation"~~ in Alabama to escape integration.

~~Meantime, the Student Nonviolent Coordinadting Committee~~

~~Meantime, Dr. Martin Luther King, leading an uprising in St. Augustine where whites~~

~~Meantime, Negroes~~

~~Meantime in St. Augustine, whites~~

~~Meantime white attacks on Neg~~

Meantime in St. Augustine, white attacks on demonstrating Negroes and private beatings and house-burnings, ~~without hooded and robed trappings~~, persuade Dr. Martin Luther King that "the Klan has taken over St. Augustine," and Federal District Judge Bryan has [illegible] and rebuked questioned the ~~sheriff about Klansmen deputies~~. J. B. Stoner, Atlanta Klan lawyer, has spent weeks in the ancient ~~Florida city leading~~ white demonstrations and haranguing segregationists.

The student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee of Negro insurgent leaders tots ~~has counted~~ up more than 180 cross burnings, six killings, several shootings and many beatings of Negroes in Mississippi since the organization there of a ~~Mississippi~~ "Realm" of the Invisible Empire late last year, and a recent rash of home and church burnings since the state-wide Negro Council of Federated Organizations brought in hundreds of

A ~~resurgent Ku Klux Klan rides this summer across~~ the South, in axxxxx new patchwork garb of new soft-talk

A resurgent Ku Klux Klan rides this summer across the South in a ptchwork

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"outsiders" ~~---students, teachers, artists, lawyers and other white and Negro experts~~ to run Freedom schools for voter registration. ~~Thxxxx Two white missionaries to Mississippi and a young Negro xxx Mississippian, arrested at Philadelphia and~~ rel

The June 21 disappearance of two of these young "outsiders" and a young ~~Mississippi~~ Negro Mississippian ~~civil rights worker~~ at Philadelphia, Miss., remains as ~~mxxpkz~~ unexplained as the periodic assissination of Negro leaders since the Mississippi civil rights movement began. In April the Sheriff of Neshoba County ~~said at Philadelphia~~ reported 12 cross burnings as "well-organized" and "a sign of the Ku Klux Klan."

Reporters and civil rights leaders attribute street violence over demonstrations in Jacksonville (where five Klansmen ~~are~~ were indicted for bombing a Negro home last winter), St. Augustine and Tuscaloosa, Ala., to Klan "mentality" and incitements, if not to Klansmen directly. Other observers regard the National States Rights Party, an outcast Klan group called "Acirema" (America spelled backwards) near Atlanta, and other ~~bxxxx of~~ zealots banded together to save the white race, as equally as ~~and in some cases, more~~ threatening as ~~than recognized Klan groups.~~ Klans.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, authority on what information can be gleaned from the off-and-on-again secret and historic order of the Klan, fears an emotional and spontaneous move into Mississippi this summer by ~~Knights of the~~ Klansmen rallying violently from other states to combat the non-violent education ~~committee of~~ program of COFO and its outside allies.

8

At ~~any rate, the new Empire is still large/ Invisible, and its "image" various, because, as~~ The ADL counts them, there are about a dozen Klans. They range from the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., with its Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton, ~~and~~ its national office in Tuscaloosa ~~with~~ and its a mild, new "image" of tolerance and political preaching, to the violently excitable new Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Gene Fallow of Jacksonville, sometimes called the North Florida Klan.

Georgia Klans include Grand Dragon ~~Calvin Cla~~ Calvin Craig's Knights associated with Shelton's Klans, and the National Knights of the KKK, Inc., out of Tucker, Ga. headed by Attorney James Venable, an able lawyer well-born to an old Georgia family. Mr. Venable is now devoting most of his ~~efforts~~ talents to organizing ~~the~~ a Caucasion March of One Million on Washington, which ADL regards as "a very, very lucrative program for them."

~~Chattanooga has Dixie Klans, Inc., and Anniston, Ala., as a strong Klavern somehow associated with Shelton's big United Klans and working with lesser ones.~~ The United Klans of North Carolina, with 28 Klaverns and ~~6,000~~ maybe 6,000 to 7,000 members, is credited with helping ~~to~~ defeat liberal candidate L. Richardson Preyer in the recent gubernatorial primary, where "moderate" Dan K. Moore won ~~with~~ with the support of the segregationist candidate in a second primary.

Klans or "Klan mentality" are obviously a force in Alabama politics, and in Mississippi, ~~hitherto kept~~ where the racist police state was hitherto maintained by locally respectable White Citizens Councils which now appear too "moderate" for activists against Negroes.

ADL estimates a ~~total~~ Klan membership between 48,000 and 65,000. ~~but Mississippi~~ Some Klan leaders claim 100,000 members in Mississippi alone. Klansmen do not disclose mbr. fees or dues, but ADL figure it's a big & paying business.

since the reorganization of a Mississippi Realm of the Invisible Empire late last year. Civil ~~Rigx~~ rights workers and reporters attribute street violence in ~~StxxAugustine,xTx~~ Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Tuscaloosa, Ala., to Klan "mentality" and incitements, if not to Klansmen themselves and five Jacksonville Klansmen were arrested by FBI men and charged with bombing a Negro homelast winter. The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, authority on what information can be gleaned from the 90-year-old secret order, fears a s[illegible] move into Mississippi this summer from ~~Klansmen~~ Knights from other states rallying [illegible] violently to combat the nonviolent Negro education~~al and political~~ program of the Mississippi Committee of Federated Organizations recruiting hundreds ~~of~~ "outside" students, teachers, lawyers, actors and other white and Negro experts to ~~conduct~~ run Freedom Schools and cultural and ~~politic~~ political programs for disfranchised Negroes.

Organized in Tennessee 90 years ago to intimidate ~~superstitious~~ emancipated Negroes in political ~~control in~~ eminence many southern states during Reconstruction, the Klan reached half a million members and was disbanded by the Imperial Wizard, General Nathan Bedford Forrest in 1869, The Klan ~~disappeared~~ almost disappaeared for a couple of generations, but revived at a meeting on Stone Mountain near Atlanta during World War I with new ~~aims~~ anti-Semitic and Anti-Catholic as well as anti-Negro aims, and before long acquired a dread name for lynchings, tarring & feathering ~~of Negroes,~~ and beatings of white and colored persons who incurred their moral, racial or religious distaste. ~~The Klan attains~~ There were 4,000,000 members in 41 states in the ~~xixxxxxxx~~ Twenties, with awesome political influence not only in the South, but in Indiana and other states and in national elections.

The violence and hatred of Southern ~~Klans,xwith~~ Klans, composed largely of ignorant poor whites and roughnecks

The violence and senseless prejudice of southern Klansmen, mostly ignorant poor and whites and roughnecks, and the laug hable

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Caucasian March of One Million on Washington, which ADL regards as "a very lucrative program for them." ~~ADL~~

ADl also notes The Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klans, Inc., out of Chattanooga, with a strong Klavern in Anniston, Ala., someway associated with Shelton's United Klans and working with others, ~~and~~ The United Klans of North Carolina, with 25 Klaverns and 6,000 to 7,000 members ~~who~~ exerted s9me influence in the recent Gubernatorial primary, but by no means prevailed, as Dr. I. Beverly Lake, campaigning on race, lost out to L. Richardson Preyer and Dan K. Moore, who campaign against each other in a second primary. Dr. Lake has endorsed Moore against Preyer, who is campaigning moderately, assured of ~~with~~ the Negro vote, "for lines of communication between the races." So, the Klan "mentality" is still working in the North Carolina race.

ADL believes Shelton's United Klans to be the biggest and most

A resurgent Ku Klux Klan rides this summer across the South, in a patchwork of new trappings, soft-spoken new talk and sometimes solemn burning of a new and permanent aluminum cross.

The "new image" of the revived Klan is a confused picture comprised of well-tailored suits and nice bow ties, ~~purple~~ satin ~~and white and red~~ robes of Imperial Wizard and Cyclops and the familiar bed sheets of lesser Knights, the shirt-sleeved shabbiness of poor whites hollering "Kill the niggers!" in an Atlanta demonstration, and new Klansladies dispensing charity to needy and thankful Negroes in Mississippi. The new voice warns of the Communist Conspiracy to integrate and mongrelize the white South, professes nonviolence, preaches "education and voter registration," predicts "racial war" with vows to "die to save the Caucasian race" and plans a segregated "all-Caucasian community" or "reservation" in Alabama to escape from integration.

Meantime, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee of Negro insurgents has counted up nearly 200 cross burnings, six killings, several shootings and many beatings of Negroes in Mississippi since the organization of a Mississippi "Realm" of the Invisible Empire late last year. Civil rights workers and reporters attribute recent street violence over Negro demonstrations in Jacksonville and St. Augustine, Fla., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., to Klan "mentality" and incitements, if not to Klansmen directly. Five Klansmen were arrested by Federal Bureau of Investigation agents and charged with bombing a Jacksonville Negro home last winter.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, authority on what information can be gleaned from the off-and-on-again secret and historic order of the Klan, fears an emotional and spontaneous move into Mississippi this summer by Knights of the Klan from other states rallying violently to combat the non-violent Negro education program of the Mississippi Committee

COFO, which has recruited

of Federated Organizations, ~~now recruiting hundreds of Federated Organizations recruiting hundreds of~~ "outsiders," students, teachers, artists, lawyers, actors and other white and Negro experts to run Freedom Schools ~~and~~ or cultural and political programs for disfranchised and badly schooled Negroes.

Organized in Tennessee 90 years ago to intimidate emancipated Negroes in political eminence in many southern states during Reconstruction, the Klan got a membership of half a million and then disbanded at the edict of the Imperial Wizard, Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, in 1869. The White Knights subsided to nearly nothing for a couple of generations but rose again at a meeting on Stone Mountain out of Atlanta during World War I, and pronounced ~~hot~~ new ideals as anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic as the old anti-Negro precepts. Before long the Knights acquired a dread name for Negro lynchings, tar and featherings and beatings of white and colored persons who incurred their moral, racial or religious indignation and distaste. In the Twenties the Klan had about 4,000,000 members is 41 states, and awesome political influence not only in the South, but in Indiana, ~~particularly~~ and other northern states, and in national elections.

The violence and illiterate prejudice of southern Klansmen, most of them ignorant poor whites and impassioned rednecks and roughnecks, and the laughable hugger-muggery of the solemn hierarchy of the mystic order---Imperial Wizard, Genii, Cyclops, Grand Dragons, Furies, Goblins and Klubbs (chaplains) to cite a few---gradually did the Klan in in the South, with the brisk assistance of anti-mask laws rendering sheeted and masked crimes less feasible in many states.

By 1958, Klansmen were few, feeble and risible.

The ADL and Negro civil rights workers date the recent revival and revamped "image" of the Klan from first consideration of the civil rights bill in Congress. Robert Moses, head of COFO in Mississippi, says the Klan rose again there upon the assassination of President Kennedy.

At any rate, the new Empire is still pretty Invisible and it's image is pretty various, because, as ADL counts them, there are about a dozen different Klans. They range from the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., with its Imperial Wizard, Robert Shelton, ~~[illegible]~~ its national office in Tuscaloosa, Ala., ~~and~~ it's mild new "image" of Christian tolerance, Americanism, non-violence, ~~the~~ and its holy war on the Communist Conspiracy and for States Rights, to the violently excitable new Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Gene Fallow of Jacksonville, sometimes called the North Florida Klan, and ~~to~~ a proliferation of little Klans in Georgia.

Georgia Klans include Grand Dragon Calvin Craig's Knights associated with Shelton's United Klans, and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., out of Tucker, Ga., headed by Atlanta Attorney James Venable, ~~The curious Mr. Venable---~~an able lawyer well-born to an old Georgia family, ~~which gave Stone Mountain to the United Daughters of the Confederacy for the ill-fated and still-projected Confederate Memorial on the grim and formidable face of the great, granite pile---~~is now devoting most of his Klan efforts to organizing the Caucasion March of One Million on Washington, which ADL regards as "a very lucrative program for ~~him~~ them".

ADL also notes The Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klans, Inc., ~~[illegible]~~ in Chattanooga, with a strong Klavern in Anniston, Ala., ~~[illegible]~~ sameway associated with Shelton's big Klan and working with lesser ones. The United Klans of North Carolina, with 25 Klaverns and an ADL-estimated 6,000 to 7,000 members, exerted some influence in in the recent Gubernatorial primary, but by no means prevailed; ~~as~~ Dr. I. Beverly Lake, campaigning on race, lost out to L. Richardson Preyer and Dan K. Moore, Racist who now campaign against each other in a second primary. Dr. Lake has endorsed Moore against Preyer, who is campaigning ~~moderately~~ with assurance of the Negro vote and with careful ~~soft~~ cries for maintaining "lines of communication between the races. So, it seems clear the Klan "mentality" at an

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any rate, is having its effect in North Carolina ~~[illegible]~~ politics. And the Klan mentality, as well as members, are a force in Alabama politics, and may become so in Mississippi, hitherto kept racist, police-state and oppressive to Negroes by the locally respectable White Citizens Council which now appears "too moderate" for white Mississippi activists against Negroes, ~~the~~ against federal government and against most humanity except what they suppose to be "Caucasian," in the new phraseology.

~~A visit with~~ Robert Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, organized three years ago and apparently the reigning fraternity of Knights, ~~did~~ also, indeed, ~~show~~ present a "new Klan image", including a lot of ~~[illegible]~~ grave preoccupation with history, "research" and similar borrowings from ~~[illegible]~~ big-mouthed commercial, professional and academic spokesmen of our time.

~~More startling, however, was the constant inclusion in Mr. xxx Shelton's talk and the~~

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More startling, however, was the constant inclusion in Mr. Shelton's talk and in the new Klan literature of ideas, aims and jargon from the Negro Movement--- ~~[illegible]~~ "non-violence", "massive rallies," "demonstrations," "economic boycotts," and "voter registration to get these politicians out of office." Further, the new Klan plan for "Caucasian communities" is ~~xxx~~ ~~[illegible]~~ suggests the Black Muslim segregationists' proposal to evacuate several southern states of whites and give them over to Blacks.

Letter To a Columnist

(To understand this letter to Kays Gary of the Charlotte, N.C., Observer, the reader should know that the letter came to Mr. Gary from a white child who is living in a neighborhood which in the last four years has changed from predominantly white to predominantly Negro.)

Dear Mr. Gary:

My name is Max. I am eight years old. I need someone to play with because I am an only child. My mother and father have told me that you know the stork. If you see him tell him to send me a little WHITE brother or sister or both.

Sincerely,
Max L
North Graham st.,
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Max:

Your mother and father are right. I do know the stork — twice as well as they do, in fact. But I have not seen him for a long, long time and to tell the absolute truth I have not been looking for him.

The stork and I agree. Boys need little brothers and sisters. You will have a hard time convincing those who already have them of this need but it is true.

Just like you, I had no brothers or sisters. Unlike you, I had no trouble finding somebody to play with.

My best friends at your age were two little boys who went away every Summer. They were white.

In the Summer I had a friend whose name was T. C. He was brown. His Mama cooked for some people down the road.

T. C. was a pretty good runner and wrestler. He was better at climbing trees. And when we picked blackberries he picked them twice as fast as I could and it made me mad.

"Don't you mind," he said. "I can't help bein' a gooder picker'n you."

And then he would give me some of his berries so we would have the same.

★

Somebody to play with? We "kicked-the-can" and shot marbles and built dams in the creek. We'd go prospecting for gold, but instead of gold we found muscadine vines to swing on and green apple trees and wild plums and tummy aches.

We also found baby terrapins and baby rabbits in their nests and smooth, round stones and we made slingshots.

One time we found a big turtle only we called it a cooter, but we didn't try to catch it because T. C. said if it got a-hold of your toe it wouldn't turn loose till it thundered and there wasn't a cloud in the sky and nobody wants to drag a cooter around on his toe for no tellin' how long. So we poked at it with a stick and I admired T.C.'s wisdom when it grabbed hold of that stick.

Besides being a good slingshot maker, T.C. knew how to carve the bark off a sapling to make a pretty stick. He gave 'em to his mother to stir clothes with in the wash pot. These were his gifts to her.

But I could read better than T. C. and sometimes he would listen. One day we walked to his school. It was better than two miles out there and it was a ramshackle place with a busted stove. Everybody who went there had to walk or they did walk, anyway. Our school had a furnace and buses.

★

The matter of color came up only twice in my memory.

One time his Mama made us wash our hands before giving us a piece of pie and I told T. C. he was lucky because if he didn't get his hands clean nobody would know it.

"Huh," he said. "Mama, she can tell. She 'bout rub your hide off!"

The other time was when we were cutting flips in the cotton seed house at the gin and a man hollered:

"Hey! You little niggers get outta there!"

We ran. We ran till we gave out of breath and flopped down on a bank of honeysuckle and T. C. said: "How come he said that? You ain't no nigger!"

His chin was trembling and his eyes were wild, then wet, and all of a sudden he started crying.

We didn't know what we were crying about, but it was bad, all right, and I said the only thing I could think of.

"You ain't no nigger, T. C. He's the nigger!"

"No, he ain't," T. C. sobbed, rocking his face down in the honeysuckle. "He ain't no nigger. He's as white as you."

That, Max, is the last thing I remember about my friend. He walked to his ramshackle school with the busted stove and I went to the brick school with the furnace where the buses rolled.

A lot of things have happened since then and there have been two wars. The only thing I know is that if he's alive he is about my age and he may be a bad man or he may be a good man. I can only remember him as a little boy and he was a good boy.

I have written all this because, no matter where you live, there must be a good little boy to play with. Your mother and father, though, must decide. Meanwhile, I'll try to get your message to the stork.

Sincerely,

KAYS GARY

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WHENCE CAME THIS MIGHTY OAK? (THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION)

The seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution were planted in 1619 when the first slaves were brought to Virginia. The seed began to germinate when the first slave became a Christian, for no matter how much the institutional church has dragged its feet, it has been the Christian faith that has caused the Negro to persevere for 250 years of struggle to grow this revolution, and it has been the fact that Negroes were Christians too that has nagged at the consciences of the slaveholder and the segregationists and has produced white southern abolitionists and integrationists.

The seed pushed toward the surface of the ground when the first Negro became free; perhaps earning his freedom by work aside from his slave tasks as hundreds did; perhaps being set free by a benevolent owner. The seedling burst through the ground in several slave revolts of the 17th century. It was nurtured when Negro Crispus Attucks became the first American to die in the Revolutionary War and when 5000 Negro troops marched with Washington. It has been fertilized down through the years by the ringing words about freedom and equality in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. The seedling was tenderly cared for by Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth, William Loyd Garrison and the abolitionists.

The fragile seedling became a lusty sapling when Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation and sank its roots deeper into the soil of America when 179,000 Negro troops served in the Union Army. It was watered by the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

The drouth of segregation laws and separate but equal laws upheld by the courts lasted from the 1890's to the 1950's. (Woodward's *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, documents that the development of segregation laws came to full flower in the 1890's though beginning a decade or so earlier. Likewise the supreme court demolition of "separate but equal" began in the

1930's and reached full flower in the 1950's.) This drouth only slowed the growth of the sapling. Ralph Cregar, a liberal in Little Rock, in Look Down The Lonesome Road, says that the protest movement springs out of segregated institutions, so perhaps in the 20th century the segregation laws actually fed the movement.

The sapling was fed by the scientific achievements of George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington. Washington's philosophy of accomodation did not set it back as much as his scientific and educational achievements furthered it.

The young oak grew by Negro participation in World Wars I and II and the Korean War, and was given a tremendous boost by the integration of the armed forces under Truman and Eisenhower. It was nourished by the Negro churches, Negro colleges, and the NAACP. It was spurred on by lynchings, riots, and injustices. It was encouraged by white liberals who sometimes suffered alongside their Negro brethren.

The sapling was given another tremendous boost by the world revolution against colonialism and the freedom of 51 new nations since World War II--most of them people of color.

So in 1963 and 1964 we have a mighty oak of the Negro revolt. The tragedy is that most white Americans and many Negro Americans don't know enough about the above facts (and the many volumes behind these facts) to know where this mighty oak came from. They think it came from the supreme court decision of 1954, or from "outside agitatiors", or from the Communists. They don't know that this mighty oak has been growing for 245 years.

~~The new~~

Most striking aspect of the "new" Klan is its incopporation ~~in literature its literature and talk~~ of ideas and phrases from the Negro Movement. Imperial Wizard Bobby Shelton at Tuscaloosa, speaks softly and fluently of "non-violence", # "massive rallies"," "demonstrations," #economic boycotts" and "voter registration to get these politicians out of office." His new Klan plan for "Caucasion communities" on a "reservation" somewhere in Alabama has interesting ~~startling~~ precedent in the Black Muslim segregationist proposal to evacuate whites from several southern states to make room for ~~to give them over to~~ a black state.

801 Cherry Rd
Rock Hill, S.C.
July 21, 1962

Dear Miss Long:

If my check covered a subscription above the cost of sending copies to certain designated Police chiefs, please send the subscription to

Mr. Tom Mabry
1450 Ebenezer Rd.
Rock Hill, S.C.

Many thanks

Sincerely,
Hawley Lynn

JOHN D. HENDERSON
COUNTY LIBRARIAN

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES
PUBLIC LIBRARY
320 WEST TEMPLE STREET
POST OFFICE BOX 111
LOS ANGELES 53, CALIFORNIA

WILLIAM S. GELLER
ASST. COUNTY LIBRARIAN

August 31, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Will you please send us gift copies of the publications listed below, if they are available in the quantities indicated, for use in our branch libraries throughout Los Angeles County.

If you cannot supply this material will you please inform us?

Very truly yours,

John D. Henderson
County Librarian

By Virginia Ossen
Virginia Ossen
Chief Central Services Librarian

VO:jmc

1 copy The unequal badge: Negro policemen in the south.
1 copy Executive support of civil rights.

Cn 232 4/62 rev.

sent 9-10-62
MG

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

1046 BARONNE ST.
SUITE NO. 2
NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.
PHONE 523-2901

September 4, 1962

Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us 100 copies of the Anthropologists' statement on race, and bill us for same.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac, Jr.

HC:ild

Sent 9-11-62
MG

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Washington, D.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit). EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Harold T. Hunton (Brooklyn); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis). BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Elmer Paul Brock (Wilmington); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); Dr. James T. Carey (San Francisco); Daniel Cassey (Detroit); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); Robert Andre Dumas (Toledo); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); John J. Farrell (Chicago); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); Dr. Charles L. Hayes (Greensboro); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); George S. Lima (Providence); James K. Luger (Minneapolis); William McCoy (Portland); John A. McDermott (Chicago); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Dr. Ferdinand L. Rousseve (Boston); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele, Jr. (San Diego); William H. Thompson (Little Rock); Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh). EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann. DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE: Henry A. Cabirac, Jr. (New Orleans).

Box 138
Anderson, S. C.
September 5, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Some time ago I read your review of the book "Race & Reason" by Carlton Putnam.

I was so impressed by your analysis, that I would appreciate it very much if you would send me two copies of this review.

Sincerely,

W.H. Farmer
W.H. Farmer

sent 9-11-62
ma

Boston University

CHARLES RIVER CAMPUS • 725 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE • BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

CHENERY LIBRARY

September 4, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us a list of your publications and/or any free or inexpensive material you have available. We wish to acquire useful material for our information files.

Very truly yours,

Zimmerman

for Joseph H. Dayag
Head, Reference Department

Sent pub list 9-11-62
MG

201 BOUNDARY STREET
MONTEVALLO, ALABAMA

September 7, 1962

Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta
Attention Mrs. Long

Dear Fellow Workers:

Thanks for the 50 (49) copies of June New South. Young Adult groups in the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches will have them as individual mail. My strategy is to cultivate this community in a pretty broad cross section, depending on the run of current events on the race issue to confirm our interpretation, as indicated in the mailings. This probably for a year before undertaking to form a Council unit.

From the list of Council publications you mailed me some time ago will you please send me the following, a sample copy of each:

L 28
L 29
L31
This I Believe (By an Atlanta doctor, I think
Segregation versus the Space Age--M. Wright
SRC Reports the Changing South
L 1

You have mentioned possibly free literature for my work. This contribution by the central office I should appreciate. As you probably do not know, I am a retired Methodist pastor 81 years old in coming November. My work among the forty Negro churches of this-- Shelby-- county calls out all the resources I can share in this work. I go every Sunday to two Negro churches, am heartily welcomed have had most gratifying results from my efforts.

Despite the conflicts and the backsets I'm sure we are winning.

Sincerely yours,

A. M. Freeman

Sent 9-11-62
MG

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 10, 1962

Mr. Frank J. Menhart
15493 Indiana Avenue
Detroit 38, Michigan

Dear Mr. Menhart:

Enclosed you will find the Southern Regional Council publication list.

Please let us know which of our publications you wish to see and we will be happy to send them to you.

We appreciate your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to Miss Long

/mg

Enclosures

15493 Indiana av
Detroit 38 Mich
Sept 4 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn St N.E.
Atlanta 3 Ga.

Dear Sirs.

Would you be so kind as to send me any literature you have on degration as I am very interested in this field.

Thanking you

I am.

Frank J Menhart

men hart

sent L1 + pub list
with note 9-10-62 MC

send L1 + pub list
write note make carbon / staple
to letter received + put in
Sept file

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

September 11, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Ave., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Late in 1960, George McMillan wrote a report on a study on "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement" for your council. I would appreciate receiving a copy of it, if it is available.

Thank you for your kind attention in this matter.

Cordially,

Morris Janowitz

Morris Janowitz,
Professor

MJ/fln

Sent 9-13-62
MC

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
McKeldin Library
College Park, Maryland

Sept. 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, 5, Georgia

Gentlemen:

With reference to our order no: L-58859 dated 8-3-62
for: Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
by George McMillan

Please take immediate action on the matter(s) indicated by checkmark(s) below:

____ Shipment not yet received; overdue; kindly send at once or report.

____ Shipment not received; please cancel.

____ Shipment received, but we lack invoice; please send at once in quadruplicate, or advise us promptly if no charge is due.

____ We have received invoice for item, as indicated above; shipment not yet received; kindly send at once.

X Other:
We ordered 4 copies but received only one copy. Please send the other three (3) copies as soon as possible. Thank you.

Yours truly,

Albert M. Turner

Albert M. Turner, Head
Acquisitions Department

Sent
9-18-62
MG

AMT:rf

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
Public Administration Collection
Princeton, New Jersey

September 14, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We desire to obtain for the Public Administration Collection of the Library, Princeton University, the material listed below. If consistent with your policy, will you be kind enough to supply us with it?

If there is a charge for this material, please notify us before sending.

Your courtesy in forwarding it to us will be greatly appreciated.

No Charge

Very truly yours,

Helen Fairbanks

Special Librarian
Public Administration Collection

Executive support of civil reights. 1962.

Sent 9-18-62
MG

Camp Douglas, Wisconsin
September 15, 1962

9/25/62

Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

$1.00 CR
RHA

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for the pamphlet on current materials. Will you please send me the following single copies:

The Negro and Employment Opportunities
In the South - 20¢
A Virginia View of "Race and Reason" 5¢
A Southern View of the South - S.C.7.
The City and the Negro ——— 20¢
A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal - SCF.
Racial Violence and Law Enforcement - 25¢
L-20 Problem Solving Through Race Relation Committees
L-24 Address by Malcolm Bryan -
L-19 - What Price Tag for Massive Resistance -

Yours truly,
(Miss) Etta G. Tierney

Sent 9-25-62
MG

Attention Mrs Lord

9-24-62
Sent material
Check subscription O.K.

201 BOUNDARY STREET
MONTEVALLO, ALABAMA

Sept 18, 1962

So. Regional Council,
Atlanta,

Dear Fellow Workers,

The pkt of several sample copies of SRC publications received yesterday.

Please send me at once, as a donation or bill me, 125 copies of This I Believe. Am mailing it to church people - 3 preachers, 50 Methodist families, 68 Baptist families and 15 Presbyterian families. I'll append a note in the letter. "The Composition of The Council" will come later when I try to organize. Any other samples you think I might use please let me know -

Sincerely,

H. M. Freeman

P.S. I'm not getting New South regularly. Am a paying member of Ala Council

North Carolina Council on Human

from the desk of:

Harry S. Jones

September 18, 1962

TO: Southern Regional Council

I would appreciate your sending me, if you can spare them, thirty additional copies of Report L-36 - Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations.

H.S.J.

Sent 9-21-62
MG

September 19, 1962

Miss Susan Ballentine
328 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Miss Ballentine:

Under separate cover, we are sending you our publications list and two copies of our magazine, New South.

Our research department keeps records on hotels, parks, movies, and other facilities which have been desegregated, but this is not available in published form. The September New South will carry a report on desegregated recreational facilities.

We will be happy to send you information from our files on any subject you are specifically interested in.

We appreciate your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to Margaret Long
Director of Information

MG/s

328 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.
Washington 3, D.C.
September 11, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I understand your organization has pamphlets available dealing with desegregation of various public facilities. I would like any of these you could send me, also any material you have available for distribution.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Susan Ballentine

Sent material
9-19-62
MO

Memo

MG -

send pub list

L-1

NS - May & June '62

also

note - saying research department keeps records on hotels, parks, movies, etc., which are desegregated but this is not available

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

226 Luckie Street, N.W. • JAckson 5-8654

in published form, as yet.

Sept. NS will carry a report on desegregated recreational facilities. We would be happy to send info from our files on any subject she is specifically interested in.

GRESHAM METHODIST CHURCH

R. JAMES REID, MINISTER

Sept. 11, 1962

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me one copy of the pamphlet "Albany" by Howard Zinn. Also include a note as to the cost and we shall forward the amount.

Sincerely

R James Reid

no charge

Sent 9-24-62
MG

8700 SOUTH EMERALD CHICAGO 20, ILLINOIS STEWART 3-8620

Sent 9-19-62. MG

HG -

Send "Albany"
publication list
L-1 ("Aims & Origins")

NS - June issue
" last July-Aug '61 - Freedom Ride issue

write a note saying we would be happy to send single copies, NS

over

regularly carries announcements
of recent publications, & we
write her to subscribe. Mention
a new report on Albany is
forthcoming from us, and
Chicago City Missionary Soc.
19 S. LaSalle St., Chi. 3, Ill
. has published a recent one if she cares to write

September 18, 1962

Miss Dallas Lindgren
1481 Ashland Avenue
Saint Paul 4, Minnesota

Dear Miss Lindgren:

In a separate envelope, we are sending you our report on Albany, Georgia and our publications list. We will be happy to send you single copies of those which interest you.

We are also sending copies of our magazine, New South, which regularly carries announcements of our recent publications. We invite you to subscribe.

There is a new report on Albany forthcoming from us. The Chicago City Missionary Society has recently published a report on Albany. If you would care to write for it, the address is:

Chicago City Missionary Society
19 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois.

We appreciate your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to Margaret Long
Director of Information

MG/s

1481 Ashland Avenue
Saint Paul 4, Minnesota
September 11, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

While I attended the Encampment for Citizenship this summer in New York City, I came in contact with a booklet published by the Southern Regional Council on the current situation in Albany, Georgia (giving background information on the current problems). I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy of this booklet. If there is a charge on this item, please let me know. Could you also send me a price list on any other materials you distribute. Thank you.

Yours truly,

Dallas Lindgren

(Miss) Dallas Lindgren

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS *

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

TO: Southern Regional Council

FROM: ACHR

Please send 100 copies of Report No. L-36, September 12, 1962, entitled "Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations.

Sent 9-21-62
MG

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SEC.

* *A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL INSTITUTE
DELHI, NEW YORK

DIVISIONS
AGRICULTURE
BUSINESS
CONSTRUCTION
FOOD ADMINISTRATION
GENERAL EDUCATION

September 21, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sir:

I would appreciate receiving a copy of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights and Executive Support and Civil Rights. If possible, I would appreciate receiving your publications.

.35

.50

ok on mailing list
PF

Sincerely,

Seldon M. Kruger

Seldon M. Kruger
Associate Professor and Head,
Department of Social Science,
General Studies Division

SMK:ab

Sent material with bill
10-1-62

The New York Times TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 NY LACKAWANNA 4-1000

Sept. 21, 1962

put on mailing list 10/25/62 - BP

Dear Mrs. Long:

Many belated thanks for your kindness in sending me that generous packet of SRC publications. I found them all very useful, and particularly appreciated Mr. Zinn's long piece on Albany. I thought it was exceptionally well done, and wonder whether one of the good magazines wouldn't be interested in having him bring it up to date for wider consumption?

The racial situation seems to have suddenyl grown terribly bitter and confusing; I hope it's the sign of last gasps, not a strengthening segregationist effort. I've been working lately with this Mississippi situation, and find to my embarrassment that I've got awfully involved with it emotionally--not a good habit for an allegedly "nonpartisan" journalist. I see no alternative for strong, decisive Federal action, and it seems we're finally getting just that.

At any rate, many thanks for your kindness, and my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Jonathan Yardley

"ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT"

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MV

[illegible]

September 24, 1962

Dear Mr. Wright:

Long before now I should have written to thank you for your contribution to our Civil War symposium. I hope you will approve of the way your essay and the others have been handled. We think they make up a very distinguished publication.

Please let us know if you would like additional copies, or would want us to mail copies to some of your friends.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Les

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Around-the-World-in-80-Days

Thanks. Could use about 25 copies if available.

M.A.W.

Sept 25

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
DAVIS, CALIFORNIA

September 25, 1962

Dear Sir,

The **INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS LIBRARY** would appreciate the receipt of the publications noted below if available for free distribution to libraries. If this material may be obtained only by purchase, will you kindly quote the price before sending?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Clyde Baker

Clyde Baker
Librarian

Southern regional council
  Executive support of civil rights. March 13, 1962.

Sent 10-3-62
MG

Mary — send Albany —

Please send to following persons:

Dr. William A. Johnson
Dept. of Religion
Trinity College,
Hartford, Conn

Mr. J. Ronald Spencer
Trinity College
Hartford, Conn

Mr. Peter Morrill
Box 102
Hartford Seminary Foundation
Hartford, Conn

Miss Sue Lehrer
308 Donlon Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y.

Sent 9-26-62 MO

Mrs. H.T. Chatfield
Bradford, Vt.

The Lehrers
17 The Intervale
Roslyn Heights, N.Y.

from Jock Chatfield
Field Sec.

Mr. George Will
805 W. Hill St.
Champaign, Ill.

MEREDITH COLLEGE
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

THE LIBRARY

September 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta
Georgia

RHA 10/3/62

Gentlemen:

You will find enclosed 50¢ in stamps. Please send two copies of the publication noted below.

Sincerely yours,

Hazel Baity

Hazel Baity
Librarian

Price, Margaret. The Negro Voter in the South.

Sent 10-3-62
MG

26 Barton Street
Woonsocket, R.I.
September 27, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a college senior taking a course in social problems. A requirement of the course is a term paper for which I have chosen the topic of desegregation in schools.

So that I might have a better understanding of the subject, I would appreciate it if you would send me copies of the following material:

L-11 Little Rock Report
L-15 Types of Desegregation Plans
L-20 Problem Solving through Race Relations Committees
L-21 Public Schools and Community Development
L-23 Desegregation in Higher Education
Action Patterns in School Desegregation
Southerners and Schools
The Truth about Desegregation in Washington Schools
The Easy Chair
Changing Patterns in the New South
Three Views of the Desegregation Decisions
Desegregation in Baltimore City Schools
South Carolinians Speak

Thank you for your assistance.

Yours truly,

John Fagan
John Fagan

Sent 10-3-62
mc

October 1, 1962

Professor George A. Chandler
Department of Sociology
The Principia
College of Liberal Arts
Elsah, Illinois

Dear Professor Chandler;

Under separate cover we are sending The Negro and the Ballot and Report on Freedom Riders.

The New South is our monthly magazine. Did you want us to send all eleven copies published in 1952?

Please let us know which issues of New South you would like and we will be happy to send them to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to Margaret Long

MG:s

The PRINCIPIA
COLLEGE of LIBERAL ARTS
ELSAH, ILLINOIS

A unit of
The PRINCIPIA
Saint Louis
Missouri

15 September 1962

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I should appreciate very much your sending me a copy of each of the following reports or pamphlets for use in connection with a sociology course entitled "Problems of Minorities:"

The New South, 1952

The Negro and the Ballot, 1959

Report on Freedom Riders, 1961

sent
10-1-62

Yours sincerely,

George A. Chandler

George A. Chandler
Professor of Sociology

The PRINCIPIA is now building a new UPPER SCHOOL and a new LOWER SCHOOL.
Friends everywhere are invited to take part in this historic, progressive step.

October 2, 1962

Mr. Alexis C. Ferm
P. O. Box 373
Fairhope, Alabama

Dear Mr. Ferm:

We have just mailed copies of A Hundred Years Later to the people whose names you sent us.

We appreciate your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to Margaret Long

MG:s

ALEXIS C. FERM
Box 373
Fairhope, Ala.

Oct. 1, 1962.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Romm 201, 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

For the enclosed dollar would it be possible to dend a copy of "A Hundred Years Later" to each of the following?

Mr. & Mrs. Iskander Hourwich
43 Fifth Ave. ,New York 3, N.Y.

Mr & Mrs. Hans Riedel,
1117 Xenia Av. Yellow Springs, Ohio.
a
Mr.&Mrs. Zachary Shaw
539 San Benito Ave. Menlo Park, Calif.

Miss Hazel Council,
Daphne, Ala.

Mr. & Mrs. Connie Council,
Fairhope Ave. Fairhope, Ala.

Sincerely,
Alexis C. Ferm
Alexis C. Ferm

1 00 Cash
RKA
10/2/62

Sent
10-2-62
mo

CLAIM NOTICE

Date Oct. 3, 1962

to: New South On a subscription placed

(Name of magazine.)

through F. W. FAXON COMPANY, INC.

83 FRANCIS STREET
BOSTON 15, MASS.

we have failed to receive: 1962, V. 17, #5

Please supply to complete our file for binding. reference.

We paid FAXON for J-D, 1962 on Nov. 14, 1961

(Inclusive dates or volume numbers.)

URGENT - PLEASE!

Name of Serials Department
Louisiana State University Library
Address Baton Rouge 3, Louisiana

(Be sure to list as per publishers mailing stencil.)

Sent 10-19-62
MG

ATTENTION PUBLISHER:

We are enclosing a copy of a letter sent to us by one of our subscribers. The missing issues are urgently needed to complete file on a continuous subscription placed by us. Please send issues directly to subscriber or advise if extended.

If further information is needed, please return the attached correspondence.

F. W. FAXON COMPANY, INC.

Subscription Agency
83 Francis Street
Boston 15, Mass.

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Order Department
University of Michigan Library
Ann Arbor, Michigan

****
Purchase Order #300828

Date Shipped 10-3-62

The Negro and employment opportunities in the South 3 vols.

1 copy - vol. 1	$.20
1 copy - vol. 2	.20
1 copy - vol. 3	.20
total --------	$.60

ORDER DEPARTMENT
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

ORDER NO. 13- 300828

FUND: Gen.-Dir.

Southern regional council.

The Negro and employment opportunities in the South.
Atlanta, Ga., The Council, 1961-62.
3 Vols.
(Southern Regional Council Employment studies in Southern cities)

DEALER:
Southern Regional Council
881 Peachtree St. NE
Atlanta 9, Ga.

CAT. & ITEM: 9-24-62
ORDERED: 5.00

[redacted]

THIS IS A PURCHASE ORDER - SEE OTHER SIDE FOR INSTRUCTIONS

☐

The PRINCIPIA
COLLEGE of LIBERAL ARTS
ELSAH, ILLINOIS

A unit of
The PRINCIPIA
Saint Louis
Missouri

9 October 1962

Sent 10-15-62 MG

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Miss Margaret Long

Dear Miss Long:

Thank you indeed for your letter of October 1, initiated by Miss Godwin, and for the copies of the two publications mentioned therein, which came a couple of days later.

At the time of my original request I had not realized that "The New South" was (probably I should say "is") a periodical, and I am grateful to have this called to my attention. It appears that the specific issue in which I am interested is that of July 1952.

Thank you also for the listing of materials currently available from your office; this I have taken the liberty of marking with red brackets to show the publications I would appreciate your sending me as soon as practicable. One copy of each is desired, except that I would like two of each of the four items pertaining to Putnam's "Race and Reason", as marked.

A dollar bill is enclosed to cover the charges on those few items which are not available free.

Yours sincerely,

George A Chandler

George A. Chandler
Professor of Sociology

10/17/62
Cash $1.00
LK

The PRINCIPIA is now building a new UPPER SCHOOL and a new LOWER SCHOOL.
Friends everywhere are invited to take part in this historic, progressive step.

SRC PUBLICATIONS

a listing of current materials
relating to race relations and
allied subjects available from

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Summer, 1962

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, a review of the current administration's first year of civil rights action. 1962, 52 pp. SC 50¢.

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, a 48-page report sent to President John F. Kennedy with an 18-point proposal on executive power in furthering civil rights. 1961. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

THE CITY AND THE NEGRO, by Charles E. Silberman. Migrations from South to North and rural to urban as reported in Fortune, March, 1962. Reprint, 9 pp. SC 20¢.

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON, 22-page report based on a survey by Prof. Art Gallaher, Univ. of Houston, Nov., 1961; CHATTANOOGA, Dr. Major J. Jones, research coordinator, Feb., 1962; and ATLANTA, Prof. Carl Holman, research coordinator, May, 1962. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

②

A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON," by Benjamin Muse. A refutation of Carleton Putnam's views on superior-inferior race. Reprint from New South, Dec., 1961. SC 5¢, Q 3¢.

② A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. In his article reprinted from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette (March 18, 1959) Lofton pitts arguments from James McBride Dabbs' The Southern Heritage against Putnam's segregationist views. SCF, QRR.

ALBANY, by Howard Zinn, Prof. of History & Social Science, Spelman College. A first-hand account of the "Albany Movement" for desegregation in that Georgia city. (Mimeo.) 35 pp., 1962. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE UNEQUAL BADGE, by Elliott M. Rudwick, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Southern Illinois Univ. A 14-page survey of the number of Negro policemen employed in the South and their status in 130 communities. 1962. SC 10¢, Q 6¢.

L THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, by Leslie W. Dunbar. In his article reprinted from the Autumn 1961 Virginia Quarterly Review, SRC's Executive Director examines the changing climate of southern thinking. SC 10¢, Q 7¢.

L THIS I BELIEVE, by Haywood M. Hill, M.D. The eloquent message a southern Presbyterian elder delivered to his church school class. 1961. SCF, Q2¢.

L RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan. A study drawn on Chattanooga, Little Rock and Montgomery. 1960. SC 25¢.

L SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS. In question and answer form the facts confronting the South on this issue. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

L RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Myer. Racial news in the press. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

L THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH (1957) and THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT (1959), both by Margaret Price. Statistics and specific local examples. SC -57 20¢, -59 25¢, together 40¢.

L MAP, showing percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states as of 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

L THE FREEDOM RIDE - MAY 1961. A chronology of it and reactions to it. (Mimeo.) SC 25¢.

L THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT: A RECAPITULATION, a summary of sit-in activity from February 1960 to September 1961 and its results. (Mimeo.) SC 15¢.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar. A 12-page legal analysis of the 1954 decision reprinted from Southern School News. SC 10¢

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida. "A picture of the material advance of the South in recent years ... and of the possible return of the South to her early position of national leadership." 1960. SC 10¢, Q 8¢.

THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSION, by the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Assoc. Secy. for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 1959. SC 5¢.

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED ... A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, by Warren E. Gauerke & Donald Ross Green. 40 pp., 1959. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE, by Marion A. Wright. A probing address by a former SRC President. SC 5¢.

THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS. Articles reprinted from the Washington Post. SC 10¢.

GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION. A detailed report published by the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities points to "separate but unequal." 56 pp., 1960. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

ARE SOUTHERN MINISTERS FAILING THE SOUTH? by Robert Paul Sessions. An Arkansas pastor critically appraises his colleagues. Reprint from The Saturday Evening Post, May 13, 1961, SC 5¢.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH, by Harold C. Fleming. Reprinted from The New York Times (April 3, 1960), this is SRC's former Executive Director's view of southern change and its effect on our image abroad. SCF, Q 2¢.

SANCTUARIES FOR TRADITION: VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS, by Mary Ellen Goodman. What "massive resistance" does to education by a member of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. (Mimeo.) 27 pp., 1961, SC 10¢.

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger. How a white father and son in Little Rock came to champion equal rights and opportunities for Negroes. 60 pp., 1960. SC 25¢.

THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James. Detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools. 173 pp., 1957, Simon and Schuster. SCF, QCWC.

THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS, by William Faulkner, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Cecil Sims. Three papers read before the Southern Historical Association, 1955. 29 pp. SCF, QCWC.

THE EASY CHAIR, by Harry S. Ashmore. The story behind the Little Rock headlines reprinted from Harper's Magazine June, 1958. SCF, QCWC.

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, compiled by the Rev. John B. Morris. Short essays on race relations by South Carolina "moderates." 89 pp. SCF, QCWC.

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey. 276 pp., 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. SCF, QCWC.

DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS. A 32-page report by the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems & Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. SCF, QCWC.

WHEN A CITY CLOSES ITS SCHOOLS, by Ernest Q. Campbell. Study of Norfolk, Va., citizens at a time when schools were closed there conducted by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the Univ. of North Carolina. 159 pp., 1960. SCF, QCWC.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORTS THE CHANGING SOUTH. A collection of reprints illustrative of SRC's program in public information. SCF.

NEW BUSINESS WAYS IN THE SOUTH. Reprint from Business Week, Aug., 5, 1961. SCF

LEADERSHIP REPORTS (all mimeographed unless otherwise noted, SCF, QRR)

L-1 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

L-5 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA, excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, Gen. Mgr., Special Controls Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Va., June 12, 1959.

L-12 VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION IN SOME SOUTHERN SCHOOL DISTRICTS. Statistics from six states, 1954-59.

L-14 A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA. News reports of the Virginia Education Association's actions in the desegregation controversy. 1960.

L-16 ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, Frank H. Stallings, Assoc. Prof. of Education, Univ. of Louisville, Jan. 26, 1960.

L-17 DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. The findings of some border and Southern school districts which have desegregated. 1960.

L-19 WHAT PRICE TAG FOR 'MASSIVE RESISTANCE?' Two articles by Frank Trippett on the economic effects of Virginia's policy reprinted from the St. Petersburg Times, June 24 and 31, 1960.

L-20 PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES. Where and how this has been effective. 1960.

L-21 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, address by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., stressing importance of leaving education to educators. Nov., 1960.

L-22 A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial group appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply race relations leadership. Dec., 1960.

L-23A DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Fact sheet covering 1935 - 1961.

L-24 ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, concerning racial problems and economics. Feb., 1961.

L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE. Reprint from the Washington Post, March 22, 1961.

L-26 ADDRESS BY GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY. Remarks on the industrial climate of Georgia. July, 1961.

L-27 THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY? Aspects of the option taken in parts of

Virginia and North Carolina not to desegregate schools. Oct., 1961.

L-28 ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT. Nov., 1961.

② L-29 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ON RACE. Scientists reject theories of Negro racial inferiority. Nov., 1961.

L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA, reprint from the Jackson (Miss.) State Times, Nov. 3, 1961, and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION, reprint from the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 25, 1961. Two editorials from centers of Deep South resistance.

L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH. Reprint from the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 16, 1962.

② L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON," by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Asst. Prof. of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La. 1962.

L-33 A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." March, 1962.

L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. May, 1962.

Index to price code

SC - single copy   SCF - single copy free
Q - price per copy in quantity
QRR - quantity rates on request
QCWC - quantities considered without cost

Mr. & Mrs. David Allen
Eglise Methodiste
Sandoa, Sac privé
via Elisabethville,
Katanga

Gave to Bowman
10-15-62
MG

New South Complimentary

10/10/62

October 10, 1962

Mr. William F. McCabe
Box 122, Plassman Hall
Siena College
Loudonville, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McCabe:

In the absence of Mr. McGill, we are answering your letter to avoid any delay in getting the material you desire. As he will be out of town until November 1st, we are asking the Southern Regional Council to send you some material.

Sincerely,

Secretary to Mr. McGill

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Box 122
Plassman Hall
Siena College
Loudonville, N.Y.

10-15-62
Sent him
pub list +
some material
MG

October 6, 1962

Dear Sir,

For a term paper in my Sociology course at Siena College, I have been assigned the topic, "The New Negro: Contrasts since the Supreme Court Ruling of 1954". In view of your widely praised writings on the problem of integration in the South, I wonder if you could send me some objective information, such as pamphlets and the like, pertaining to my topic. Also, could you refer me to some other sources for my research. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

William F. McCabe

October 15, 1962

Miss Ada M. Field
1409 New Garden Road
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Miss Field:

We are sending you ten copies of A Hundred Years Later.

We certainly do appreciate your kind words about this issue, and your interest in increasing its circulation.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to Margaret Long

MG:s

1409 New Garden Rd.
Greensboro, N.C.
Oct. 9, 1962

Dear Friends;

The special issue of New South, One Hundred Years After, merits very wide reading. Please send me as many copies as a dollar will buy. Many thanks,

Ada M. Field

ck $1.00
10/17/62
LK

Sent
10-15-62
MG

MG - send 10 copies.
maybe a thank-you note
for her kind words & such

October 19, 1962

Mr. J. Earl Williams
Assistant Professor of Economics
The University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Williams:

I'm sending you a few of our publications on the cost of discrimination, with a list of our publications in which you might find some other publications you'd like to see. If so, please let us know and we will send you any you want. We don't charge for this stuff, except in quanity.

You asked about "the economic cost of desegregation," and I wonder if you meant to write "segregation?" We don't have much on the cost of desegregation, but we might get up something like preparation, police protection and the rather heavy expense some states and localities have incurred in fighting desegregation. Before we go into this, though, will you straighten me out on whether this is what you want?

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:mg

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

October 12, 1962

Miss Margaret Long
Editor, New South
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

I am to appear on a couple of programs within the next five or six weeks in regard to the economic cost of desegregation, as well as a discussion of the over-all social problem of race relations in the south.

While I have some familiarity with the subject and am familiar with some sources, I felt that your organization might have one or more publications, such as the economic cost of a dual education system, which might be available.

I would appreciate it if you would forward any material which you think would be useful; and I would, of course, be willing to pay whatever charges you usually make.

Very truly yours,

J. Earl Williams

J. Earl Williams
Assistant Professor of Economics

JEW:mjs

October 19, 1962

Dr. W. Sprague Holden
Chairman, Department of Journalism
Wayne State University
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Dr. Holden:

Mr. Dabbs has sent me your letter to him with your questions about desegregation. I think we are able to answer, to some extent, most of your questions.

I am sending you separately some of our publications which have some of the information you want, with our publication list. If you find anything else you want on this list let us know. There is no charge for these materials except in quanity.

I'm enclosing a note from Miss Bond in our research department with answers to three of your questions. Your article sounds extremely interesting and I hope we will be able to see it.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:mg

Enclosure

- Please give Mr. Holden such information as you have readily available. Thanks
J. M. D.

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

October 8, 1962

DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM

Mr. James McBride Dabbs, Director
South Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I am in the process of writing an article for a foreign periodical on the present state of integration in the South. The uglier picture of violence, such as that currently at the University of Mississippi gets the headlines in the foreign press and attempts are seldom made to indicate a hopeful side of the picture. It is my hope to present this in the article I am planning.

Can you give me specific information about such things as these:

The number of states, or areas within states, which are still resisting the Supreme Court order for desegration of schools.

What other universities are likely to follow the ugly Mississippi pattern?

What examples of progress can you cite in the integration of restaurants, lunch counters, transportation and other public places.

Are there any cities which can be pointed to as excellent examples of progress in desegregation?

What cities and places in the North are troublesome or are likely to be?

The foregoing questions will indicate the sort of information I am seeking. Perhaps there are pamphlets, reports, or other material which you publish or are available elsewhere. If some of it is available in public libraries, the titles, publishers and dates of issue would probably be sufficient -- I could look them up in the Detroit libraries. I will be willing to pay for pamphlets that do not have free distribution.

Because an article of this kind has a time angle on it, I would appreciate the earliest possible attention you can give my request.

Thank you in advance.

Sincerely,

W. Sprague Holden

W. Sprague Holden
Chairman
Department of Journalism

H/is

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY
NUTLEY 10, NEW JERSEY

HELEN TERRY
LIBRARIAN

10/24/62 October 22, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RHA 10/24/62

Gentlemen:

We are enclosing herewith 20¢ in coin for which please send us a copy of RACIAL ~~WORK AND~~ NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT.

Thank you!

Sent 10-26-62
[illegible]

Very truly yours,

Helen Terry
Librarian
per O.L.

Foreign visitors

October 24, 1962

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Program Director and General Secretary
U. S. South Africa Leader Exchange
Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Mr. Loescher:

We have your letter of October 22 and shall see that Professor Olivier and Mr. Chyte do get all of our publications.

I am sorry that I missed you when you were in Atlanta recently. From all that I have heard you and your companions did an excellent job in Mississippi.

Incidentally, my daughter, Linda Dunbar, who is a sophomore at Swarthmore, worked here in the office last Summer helping principally to receive and escort foreign visitors. If you ever send any of your South Africans out to the college and need a campus guide, I am sure that Linda would be delighted to help.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER
EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

October 22, 1962

Program Director and General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Could you see that all of your publications are sent to Professor N. J. J. Olivier, Secretary in South Africa, United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., P. O. Box 225, Stellenbosch, South Africa? I am informed that presently he receives only New South.

I wish you could also send everything you publish to Quintin Whyte, Director, South African Institute of Race Relations, P. O. Box 97, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank S Loescher
Frank S. Loescher

FSL/r

CC: Professor N. J. J. Olivier

put on mailing list
11-21-62
gave Mr. Whyte
complimentary NS
subscription 11/21/62

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THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

October 24, 1962

Miss Margaret Long
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

I appreciated your letter of October 19 and look forward to receiving your publications on the cost of desegregation. You were right in questioning my phrase "The economical cost of desegregation." I had, of course, meant to write "segregation". Consequently, I am sure, with my present knowledge supplemented by the publications you are sending, that you will suffice me in my present endeavor.

Thank you so much for your help, and I look forward to meeting you sometime in the future.

Sincerely,

J. Earl Williams

J. Earl Williams
Assistant Professor of Economics

JEW:maj

REVIEW COPY

PUBLICATION DATE APRIL 21, 1962
PRICE $10.00

Please do not release review prior to above date.

WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING TWO COPIES OF ANY NOTICE CONCERNING THIS BOOK WHICH APPEARS IN YOUR PUBLICATION.

Thank you.

University of Kentucky Press
LEXINGTON

Sent
10-26-62
mc

201 Benedict Ave.
Thornwood, N.Y.
October 23, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

10/25/62
RHA

10/25/62

Enclosed please find 20¢ for your pamplet on "School desegregation: the First Six Years" (New South volume 15 No. 5).

Thank-you
(Miss) Heidi Barkentin

Student Office
National Student YWCA
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

telephone order
10-29-62
10-31-62

15 copies - THE FREEDOM RIDE - $.15 each

total $3.75

We are sorry but TRAGIC FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERNERS is an old publication and we have no copies left.

Thank you.

November 6, 1962

Mr. Thomas E. Mulligan, Jr.
New York State Civil War Centennial Commission
P. O. Box 1861
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Mulligan:

Leslie Dunbar wants me to thank you for your compliments on "A Hundred Years Later." I believe we can send you as many extra copies as you need. Will you tell us how many?

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML/mg

✓

November 6, 1962

Mr. W. Sprague Holden, Chairman
Department of Journalism
Wayne State University
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Mr. Holden:

The Southern Regional Council is an organization which really dates back to 1919. We were the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a group of Negro and white liberals which was reorganized into the Southern Regional Council in 1944. We are now a board of eighty some distinguished Negro and white Southerners, from business, education, and other professions. We do not have members but we work with state and local Councils on Human Relations, which are membership groups. These Councils are autonomous but, of course, we have the same interests and we give them a little money.

We are now committed to complete desegregation and public equality in the South and direct our persuasions to that end. We are an organization of fact finding and persuasion, I should say, and our research department is our most important function for its reports, reprints of important ideas and opinions and new findings on the state of race relations in the South.

We're enclosing a little history of the Southern Regional Council which also explains our purposes better than I have here.

I certainly hope we will have a chance to see your Australian story if you could arrange to get us a copy.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
ML/mg
Enclosure

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM

October 25, 1962

Miss Margaret Long
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

The information you sent me about the present status of desegregation is exactly what I wanted. Thank you for your prompt response and for your helpfulness.

My purpose is to do an article for an Australian publication which I have already queried; if it isn't interested I shall try another. My wife and I visited Australia for more than a year in 1956-57, a period which included the Autherine Lucy story; and we saw then how little understanding there was of the whole context of race relations in the United States. Foreigners read only the spot news about such events, and almost never see the complete picture.

I do have one more question for you. What is the makeup of the Southern Regional Council? Are you primarily a research organization? Who belongs? Is it bi-racial? How old is it? What is its membership? I first heard of it through one of our graduates, who works on the Michigan Chronicle, one of Detroit's negro weeklies. I'd like to include some detail about the Council in my story.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

W. Sprague Holden

W. Sprague Holden
Chairman
Department of Journalism

H/is

November 6, 1962

Mr. A. M. Freeman
201 Boundary Street
Montevallo, Alabama

Dear Mr. Freeman:

We are sending you 175 copies of "The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Aims." I'm sorry to be so slow but we have been terribly busy.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:mg

201 BOUNDARY STREET
MONTEVALLO, ALABAMA

Monday, October 22, 1962

Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia
ATTENTION MRS. LONG

Dear Mrs. Long:

As among the leaflets samples received from your office, I take it the best one to send now to the citizens and college staff here is
The Southern Regional Council--Origin and Aims.

Am late sending request for this month's distribution, waiting for a list of the college staff. The directory, which is due this week, will furnish me that. I am estimating 50 names in addition to my present college and community list of 125.

So if you will supply me with 175 copies, I'll get out every one of them, and then follow next month with the list of organizations which have endorsed the movement we are supporting

The present exceptional stir over integration in Alabama is, I believe, quite favorable to the cause. One body of city preachers came out last Friday with a strong statement of support for law observance in the integration issue:Huntsville.

Thank you and the Office for cooperation and support.

Yours truly,

A. M. Freeman

November 6, 1962

Mr. Everett J. Landers
Executive Director
Civil War Centennial Commission
State House
Trenton 25, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Landers:

Lewlie Dunbar has asked me to thank you for your good letter about our "A Hundred Years Later." We are proud of your compliments on it, and are delighted to send you fifteen copies.

Please do send us your booklet. We await it with interest.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML/mg

November 6, 1962

Mrs. Dale Lamb
2104 Lynn Road, NW
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Lamb:

Ralph McGill has asked us to send you some of our publications, and we have selected a few of the important ones which are on the way with a list of publications.

Do let me know if you see anything else of our list that you would like to see, and I will be delighted to send it to you.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML/mg

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

October 23, 1962

Miss Margaret Long
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Maggie:

Will you please send some of the material you usually mail out to people on inter-racial affairs to the following person:

Mrs. Dale Lamb
2104 Lynn Road, N. W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Best regards,

Ralph McGill

RM:gl

send pile

November 6, 1962

Mr. Floyd L. Haight, Chairman
Michigan Civil War Centennial
Observance Commission
22307 South Military
Dearborn, Michigan

Dear Mr. Haight:

We are happy to have your compliments on our "A Hundred Years Later," and delighted to send you fifty copies. I'll pass on the good word to our authors too.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long

ML/mg

MV - pls do
MA - file

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

send
NS
"Miss"

November 8, 1962

sent 1-7-63 mb

Dear Leslie:

I am glad to hear you are reprinting my Washington POST piece. If your supply is ample will ~~x~~you please send me 50 copies?

I am very much impressed with your description of a kind of bok that might be written about what has happened in the Negro movement since 1944. I would give you an "advance" on the basis of that paragraph. It is one of the best pieces of writing I have seen from~~x~~your hand.

I wish I could put everything aside and start work on the book you describe tomorrow morning. As you know, it is~~x~~ not that simple. But I am very grateful for your having given me a good idea with specific limitations, etc. I would like to do it and am going to mull it over for some time.

I agree with you that the violence book ought to include violence outside the South as well as within it. One reason I am not so eager to try it is that I somehow feel the phase of violence is coming to an end. That may not happen tomorrow. There is still Alabama.

Thanks again for your help. Hope you are feeling better.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta,~~x~~ Georgia

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK · GR 5-2121

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November 9,1962

NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please find enclosed 5¢ for which send us your pamphlet entitled "A Virginia View of Race and Reason" by Benjamin Muse. Also please send us a sample copy of the following:

1. L - 31 "Slipping Segregation" - Reprint from Wall Street Journal.
2. L - 32 "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." Statement from New York University Graduate School of Public Administration.

Thank you kindly.

Sincerely yours,

Lena Crawford

Mrs. Lena Crawford, Seacetary to
Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Secretary
Racial and Cultural Relations

Enclosure 5¢

Coin

RHA 11/21/62

Sent 11-21-62

18 December 1962
173 Gilbert Way, S.E.
Hapeville, Georgia

Mrs. Margaret Long
c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Long:

Will you please furnish me the complete mailing address of the publishers of the book From The Back Of The Bus by Dick Gregory. Since reading an article relative to this book that appeared in a Sundays Atlanta Journal & Constitution I have, thus far, been unable to procure it locally. Having discarded the paper that the article appeared in is the reason for this request of you as I do recall your name and your association with the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Trust this request does not inconvenience you and thanks very much for your assistance .

Yours truly,

Quillar Carmichael
Quillar Carmichael

December 18, 1962

Mr. Quillar Carmichael
173 Gilbert Way, SE
Hapeville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Carmichael:

FROM THE BACK OF THE BUS was published by E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 201 Park Avenue, South, New York 3, New York. The price is $1.95.

We are glad that we can help you and hope that you will call on us again.

Sincerely,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to Margaret Long

MG/s

MG

Nº 151868

HARVARD COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY
Harvard Square
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Date 12-24 1962

The above order number must appear on invoice and each package

FOR RESALE - Please enclose invoice with retail & discount

OMIT INVOICE ON DROP SHIPMENTS

To Southern Regional Council
Street State Capitol
City & State Atlanta Geo.

Wanted Ship Via

So. Regional Council
The Federal Executive and civil rights.

sent also;
Executive Power & Civil Rights

Albany

sent 1-4-63

WALTHAM SALESBOOK CO., WALTHAM, MASS.

HARVARD COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY
By

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
1879 Hall - Room 116

December 26, 1962

Order Department
Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I enclose a check for the pamphlets listed on the attached sheet in the total amount of $2.10.

Please send them to me at the following address:

Prof. Morroe Berger
Public Health Service Grant
1879 Hall - Room 116
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

1/2/63

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Morroe Berger
Morroe Berger
Professor of Sociology

MB/gn

ck $2.10
1/8/63
LR

Gentlemen: MG

December 27, 1962
Washington 1, D.C.

Please send me two copies of Southern Regional Council Reports the Changing South, 1960.

Sincerely yours,
Wm. Stuart Nelson
Howard University

sent 1-7-63 MG

Prof. Morroe Berger
Public Health Service Grant
1879 Hall - Room 116
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

letter 12/18/62

12/28/62

1 year subscription to NEW SOUTH beginning January 1963 expiring December 1963	$2.00
total	$2.00

Thank you.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

December 18, 1962

Order Department
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please enter a one year subscription to

New South

for one year, effective with the next issue. Please bill me as follows:

Prof. Morroe Berger
Public Health Service Grant
1879 Hall - Room 116
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Morroe Berger

Morroe Berger
Professor of Sociology

RHA
MG

December 31.
1962

Southern Regional
Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

I have seen notice of your "Zinn Report" in the "Southern Patriot" – The notice says copies are available – I would like to have a copy –

10¢ stamps
1/2/63
RHA

Yours truly
Hannah B. Fyfe

MRS. JAMES L. FYFE
316 South Euclid Avenue
Oak Park, Illinois

sent 1[illegible]-4-63
1-4-63MG

You do not speak of a charge I suppose this will cover postage?

Haywood Handicrafters
League - % O. Sanders
307 West Margin Street
Brownsville, Tennessee

Dec. 31

RHA
MG

Gentlemen,

I would like a copy of professor Howard Zinn's *Albany, a Study in National Responsibility* as mentioned in the December issue of the *Southern Patriot*.

I enclose a couple of 4¢ stamps for mailing it.

Eric Weinberger

8¢ stamps

1/2/63
RHA

PLEASE
USE THIS
HANDY LABEL
for your reply.
Just paste it on
your envelope.
Tear off here ►

sent 1[illegible]-4-63 MG
1-4-63

CLAIM NOTICE

Date 1/4/63

To: The New South On a subscription placed
(Name of magazine.)

through F. W. FAXON COMPANY, INC.

83 FRANCIS STREET
BOSTON 15, MASS.

we have failed to receive: Vol. 17, No 9 to date Late

went out 2tp reg. way 1-9-63 MA

Please supply to complete our file for binding. reference.

We paid FAXON for Current Issues
(Inclusive dates or volume numbers.)

Education Library
Name of Library.

317 Norman Hall, University of
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Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 4, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McMillan:

Under separate cover we are sending you ten copies of our reprint of your WASHINGTON POST story "The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed." We are also sending one copy of the October NEW SOUTH in which the article appeared.

If you would like to have additional copies of the magazine or the reprint, we will be glad to send them to you.

Sincerely,

Mary Godwin

Mary Godwin
Secretary to the Editor of NEW SOUTH

sent 1-7-63 MG

Dear Mary -- On the assumption there are plenty of copies, will you please send me 40 additional of the reprints and one more copy of NEW SOUTH? Thanks.

GeMcM.

MOREHEAD STATE COLLEGE

BUSINESS OFFICE

PURCHASE ORDER

1-7-63
MA
sent

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Order No. E. P. 6983

Date January 4, 1963

Deliver on or Before

Ship to MOREHEAD STATE COLLEGE

Johnson Camden Linrary Department

Morehead, Kentucky

THIS IS AN EMERGENCY PURCHASE ORDER—Read instructions below.

QUANTITY	UNIT	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
1		New South, V.17, #6 June 1962.		
		Stamps Enclosed. 20¢ postage 1/8/63 RH		
			Total Amount	

IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS TO VENDORS

1. Render invoice in duplicate on your form direct to:
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   M. S. C., Morehead, Ky.
2. On invoice refer to this order No.

Ione M. Chapman

Signed: Ione M. Chapman

~~Business Manager~~

Librarian

M.O $1.10
1/8/63
LK

Dear Sirs:

Please send the following literature:

① The City & The Negro (20¢)
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③ Map (1960) (25¢)
④ The Freedom Ride (25¢)
⑤ L-12 Voluntary Desegregation in Some Southern Districts SCF
L-16 Atlanta and Washington
L-17 Desegregation and Academic Achievement
L-25 New Census Look
L-28 Organizations Supporting Student Movement
L-29 A.A.A. Resolution on Race

Sent
1-7-63 MA

(OVER)

Total : $1,10

Thank you,

Mrs. H E Nelson
521 E Kenedy
Kingsville
Texas

LIBRARY
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY
FOUNDED IN 1693
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

January 10, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Room 201
S. Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us the issues of the periodical listed below, which we did not receive on our subscription.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Periodicals Department

NEW SOUTH Vol. 17 #7, 8, 9 July-October, 1962

THIRD CLAIM

1-14-63
MA

January 14, 1963

Office of the Librarian
Library
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Sir:

We have your notice (marked "third claim") requesting New South, Vol. 17, #7, 8, 9. Under separate cover today we are mailing these to you.

Please note that A Hundred Years Later is for July-August and is therefore #7 and #8. We have included #9, September, and #10, October also. We are expecting the November-December issue from the printer in a week or ten days, and you should receive it soon.

Recently we have begun reorganizing our mailing list for New South, under a more efficient system, and this has caused some disorganization. We hope to have this all correct and in operation within the next few weeks.

I am sorry you have had this difficulty; please let us know if you fail to receive subsequent copies.

Sincerely yo urs,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

February 1, 1963

Mr. G. Linnemann
La Porte High School
La Porte, Indiana

Dear Mr. Linnemann:

You will find enclosed a November-December, 1962 NEW SOUTH which contains a list of our most recent publications on page 25. Also enclosed is our Summer, 1962 publications list.

We can send you thirty copies of "A Hundred Years Later" for fifteen cents each.

Thank you for your inquiry.

Sincerely,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to the Editor of NEW SOUTH

MG/s

Enclosures

The Lipscomb Library
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

January 10, 1963

Gentlemen:

We failed to receive the following:

New South, all issues published since that of July - Aug. 1962

We shall appreciate your supplying the issues requested as soon as possible.

Mildred Johnson
Mildred F. Johnson
Reference Librarian

sent 1-14-63 MA

Our renewal July '62 - June '63 placed through Faxon.

15¢

G. LINNEMANN
LA PORTE HIGH SCHOOL
LA PORTE, INDIANA

Gentlemen:

Would you kindly tell me at what price I could obtain 30 copies of "A Hundred Years Later"? Have you a price list of other of your publications?

Thank you!

G. Linnemann

Mr. W. Judson King
President-Treasurer
Franklinton Center
Bricks, North Carolina

letter
2-11-63
2-26-63

One copy of each of following:

Albany, A Study in National Responsibility	-$.25
A Hundred Years Later	.20
The Unequal Badge	.10
Executive Support of Civil Rights	.50
Segregation Versus the Space Age	.05
A Study of Negro Farmers in S. C.	.10
Employment Studies	
Chattanooga	.20
Houston	.20
Atlanta	.20
Total	$1.80

Thank you.

J. H. LIGHTBOURNE, JR.
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ENFIELD HI 5-2146 AND HI 5-2147

February 11, 1963

Miss Margaret Long, Editor
The New South
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Miss Long:

The November-December New South has a list of pamphlets on Page 25 some of which the undersigned would like to secure: Among the free single copies I would wish all from L-31 to L-39.

I would also like the following of the priced titles:

Albany, A Study in National Responsibility - Howard Zinn

A Hundred Nears Later-

The Unequal Badge - Elliot M. Rudwick

Executive Support of Civil Rights-

Segregation Versus The Space Age- Marion Wright

A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina

Enployments Studies-

Chattanooga
Houston
Atlanta

These may be sent me C.O.D.

Very truly yours,

W. Judson King

W. Judson King.

April 15, 1964

TO: All Members of the National Lawyers Guild.

FROM: Ernest Goodman, President.

SUBJECT: Mississippi, and the Guild's Committee for Legal Assistance in the South.

Dear Guild Member:

The "Committee for Legal Assistance in the South" is the new name for what was formerly CASL. George Crockett and Ben Smith are Co-Chairmen of the Committee and George Downing and Len Holt are Co-Secretaries.

Crockett, Smith and Downing recently returned from a conference at Jackson, Mississippi where they were participants in what is, perhaps, the most exciting and promising development in the whole civil rights struggle in the South today: the proposed "Mississippi Project" to be sponsored and conducted in Mississippi this summer by the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations (COFO).

What is COFO?

In 1963, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Mississippi joined with CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the NAACP and several other voter and civil groups in that state to form a statewide civil rights organization. Since then COFO has continued under the leadership of Aaron Henry as President and Robert Moses (of SNCC) as Program Director.

What is The Mississippi Project?

This summer, SNCC, in cooperation with COFO, is launching a massive Peace Corps-type operation for the disenfranchised citizens of Mississippi. One Thousand (1,000) college students, teachers, technicians, nurses, artists and legal advisors from all sections of the country are pledging themselves to come to Mississippi to staff a wide range of programs that include voter registration freedom schools, operation of community centers and special projects.

How Will The Project Operate?

The Freedom Schools and Community Centers will operate essentially the same as the Peace Corps operates abroad--a combination of adult education, arts and crafts, work-while-you-learn projects, health and recreation centers and political science seminars.

Voter Registration will be conducted by workers deployed in teams of four (4) in every county, with larger concentrations of roughly 100 in the major urban centers. These workers will assist in developing local leadership and organization. They will encourage as many Negroes as possible to attempt to register on the county books and will assist in a campaign, launched in February, to register over 400,000 Negroes on "Freedom" registration books. The "Freedom" registration campaign, now in progress, involves establishing local registrants in every precinct in Mississippi with registration books resembling as much as possible the official books of the state. The "Freedom" registration books will serve as the basis for challenging the official books of the state and the validity of "official" elections this fall. Finally, voter registration workers will assist in the summer campaigns of Freedom candidates who are running for Congress against the present incumbents.

The Problem for Lawyers.

A problem of major concern to the delegates at the COFO meeting was how to assure maximum legal protection and assistance for the workers in such a campaign in a state that has only three (3) attorneys (all Negroes) who will accept the defense of civil rights cases, and where court-assigned attorneys refuse to raise constitutional issues.

Mississippi officials are preparing for all-out resistance. According to Newsweek (2/24/64), the Mayor of the capitol city of Jackson boasts of a "riot-trained police force" which is "twice as big as any city our size"; the acquisition of two "detention compounds" for "demonstration POWs; and a specially built "13,000 pound armored battle-wagon" ..."abristle with shotgunds, tear-gas guns and a sub-machine gun." In addition, the New York Times (4/7/64) reports pending state bills authorizing municipalities to restrict the movements of citizens in the interest of "public safety;" and making it a felony to threaten or coerce another from lawfully carrying on business, or to print or circulate any matter encouraging economic boycotts.

The problem of litigating these restrictions on freedom and defending those who insist upon their freedoms is further complicated by the fact that, while the state courts are open to out-of-state lawyers without the necessity of formal motion and admission, the right of out-of-state attorneys to handle such cases can be challenged by any two (2) local attorneys at any time. The local Federal Court rule requires formal motion and at least one Federal Judge in the past has required that a local attorney physically accompany any out-of-state attorney appearing in his Court. Two (2) proceedings sponsored by the Guild already are pending in which it is sought to have this local Federal Rule declared inapplicable in all instances where the inability to obtain local counsel is shown.

The Guild's Concern As A Bar Association.

The Guild is not a civil rights organization. It is a national bar association of attorneys, professionally and personally committed for the past twenty-seven years to the defense of the civil rights and liberties for all people.

The distinction is important because it explains why the Guild itself cannot become an integral part of a lay defense organization or association of such organizations. Our concern in the Mississippi Project is to attempt to redress the lack of available lawyers in Mississippi ready, willing, and able to handle civil rights cases. And we would hope that our example might bring an increasing awareness of their professional obligation to members of the Mississippi bar, which would permit us to reduce and eventually withdraw our commitment. Unfortunately, no indication of such a development has yet taken place.

The Guild's Program For Mississippi.

The Proposal: It is proposed that the Guild and its members make available the maximum legal assistance possible to those participating in the Mississippi Project.

It is further proposed that such assistance be coordinated through a field office to be established in Mississippi, with a full-time integrated staff, consisting of two (2) attorneys, two (2) law students and a secretary. The function of this staff is

A. to handle, on an emergency basis, all request for immediate assistance until such time as particular Guild attorney can be assigned.

B. to set up immediately a register of Guild attorneys who will accept full responsibility for particular cases assigned to them; and

C. to keep a progress docket of all Guild cases and render such on-the-scene assistance to assigned attorneys as possible.

The Register of Guild Attorneys: Services of Guild attorneys would be solicited and utilized on the following bases:

1. General Guild Attorneys are those attorneys who agree to come and stay in Mississippi for an extended period of a week or more. Such an attorney would be assigned to a particular community, county or district for the duration of the stay. He would be expected to handle, on an emergency basis, all cases referred to him in that community or district. This includes arraignments, preliminary hearings, releases on bail, summary trails in magistrate's courts and appeals and trials *de novo* in County Court. It also includes habeas corpus and removal proceedings. COFO would provide him with subsistance and the facilities for working. His legal services would be rendered gratuitously and the Guild would pay for his transportation to and from his Mississippi location. When the tour of duty of a General Guild Attorney is about up, another would be on hand to step immediately into his place.

2. Special Guild Attorneys are those attorneys who accept an assigned Mississippi case or cases for preparation in their own offices and who come to Mississippi for the single purpose of trying or presenting argument in the particular case assigned to him. In such instances the "work-up" of the case or group of cases will have been handled (as outlined above) by a General Guild Attorney or the staff attorneys on the scene. The Special Guild Attorney would be expected to try such cases on appeal and to follow the case to its ultimate conclusion (including higher appeals). He also might be called upon to prepare briefs and argue removal proceedings or juvenile court proceedings. His services also would be volunteered and the Guild would assume responsibility for his travel and other expenses incident to his assignment.

Attorney's Registration and Commitment Form.

1. It is believed that we can achieve and maintain a fair territorial coverage if we can provide a total of sixty (60) "lawyer-weeks" (one lawyer for one week) of service for our General Guild Attorneys. This presupposes one (1) fulltime General Guild Attorney in each of the five (5) Congressional Districts in Mississippi for each of the twelve (12) weeks of the Project, or five (5) attorneys for each week from June 2, to August 31. In addition, of course, we shall need as many Special Guild Attorneys as we can obtain.

2. It is imperative that registrations of volunteer attorneys begin now. I am enclosing the Committee's Commitment Form and ask that you execute it and return it as promptly as possible. In addition to indicating whether or not you or someone from your office will be able to go to the South (Mississippi), please specify with as much certainty as possible the dates and total period of time you or someone from your office can stay in Mississippi.

3. Each Guild member who registers will be used to the extent that our finances will permit; and he will be informed, as far in advance as possible, of the place where he is wanted and the time when he is expected.

4. If you cannot come to Mississippi for a week or more, please indicate your willingness to work on any of the other aspects of the Guild's Mississippi program.

General Observations

1. The Guild's function in Mississippi is to bring clients and attorneys together -- to "guarantee" a competent attorney for any civil rights defendant who request an attorney.

2. The Guild will interest itself in a person's defense only upon request by the person or a representative of the person. In such cases, the function of the Guild will be limited to assigning counsel and providing for counsel's travel expenses where the client or the attorney is unable to do so.

3. Each attorney assigned by the Guild is required to obtain a written retainer from his client appointing the attorney as attorney-in-fact (as well as at law) to do what in his judgment is necessary to the client's defense. This applies also in those instances where either of the staff attorneys mentioned above undertake to represent any person with respect to any aspect of his defense.

4. It is not the Guild's function to itself handle or be responsible for the handling or even the direction of any defense case. The Guild is not a Civil Rights defense organization. Once the attorney is recommended by us and is accepted and engaged by the client, the relationship of attorney and client is established and it is the attorney's case.

5. The full support of the Guild is pledged to the assistance and to the defense of any attorney who accepts a case at the request of the Guild.

Initiation of Program: We propose to initiate the Guild's Mississippi program by conducting our third conference for civil rights attorneys in or near Jackson, Mississippi, on June 5 - 7, 1964. In addition to our usual work-shop discussions, the conference would explore in detail the legal needs of the Mississippi Program and the implementation of the Guild's proposals to meet these needs.

Budget: The proposed budget for this program is estimated at $15,000.00; the larger part of which represents the allocation for travel to and from Mississippi. This budget can be reduced to the extent that attorneys or their offices pay for their travel or the travel is provided by the local chapter of the Guild.

Mr. Crockett - with the approval of his firm - will spend the entire twelve (12) weeks at the Mississippi field office. We desperately need an additional volunteer attorney whose circumstances will permit a similar commitment "for the duration."

The two (2) law students and the secretary in the field office would be paid a subsistence of $50.00 per week. Rent, phone, office supplies, office rent, auto expense, travel and miscellaneous expenses should be kept to $1,000.00 per month. We should anticipate travel expense averaging $150.00 round trip for sixty (60) attorneys to come to Mississippi. And the expenses for the initiating conference could be kept at about $800.00. Thus, we have the following minimum proposed budget for three (3) months:

Field Office Staff Salaries	$1,800.00
Field Office Operating Expenses	3,000.00
Initiating Conference	800.00
Round Trip Travel for 60 Attorneys	9,000.00
Miscellaneous Expenses	400.00
Total	$15,000.00

(The above budget does not include expenses for Special Guild Lawyers or for costs and expenses on appeals)

Conclusion.

The realization of the Guild's objective in Mississippi will require the personal commitment of every Guild member. All of us cannot go to Mississippi; but we can help make it possible for others to go. We can do this by immediately sending a substantial increase in our current tax-exempt dues payment to the Guild, specially earmarked for this project.

NEWS FROM
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112 April 22, 1964

WASHINGTON, D. C. - The American Civil Liberties (ACLU) has urged the U. S. Supreme Court to pass on the validity of the Louisiana Subversive Activities and Communist Control Act.

ACLU attorneys told the high court that it "has the obligation to lay down clear rules preventing the destruction of Negro rights on the pretext that those who claim them or defend them are subversive." This plea was made in a brief supporting the request of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, for review of a ruling against it in Louisiana.

SCEF is a Southwide interracial organization working to end segregation and discrimination. All of its records have been seized and two of its officers are charged with violating the subversive-activities law. The law partner of one of them is also accused.

These men are Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive director of SCEF; Benjamin E Smith, SCEF treasurer, and Bruce Waltzer. Smith and Waltzer are also Louisiana attorneys for ACLU and have given their services in many civil rights cases. Dombrowski and Smith are charged with being officers of an organization cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) of the U. S. Congress.

Smith and Waltzer are charged with being members of the National Lawyers Guild also on the ground that the Guild has been cited by HUAC. The Louisiana law states that this is all that is necessary to show a person guilty of subversion.

The ACLU attorneys told the Supreme Court that this case is of "special importance." They said in their brief to the court: "Decisions validating politically repressive legislation against one unpopular minority offer to local governments a continuing incentive to achieve, by indirection, denial of the federal rights of a regionally unpopular minority. By capitalizing on the legitimated aversion to communism, the appellees (officials of Louisiana) hope to create another obstacle in the way of Negro freedom."

This supports SCEF's claim that Louisiana authorities are using the subversive activities law as an excuse for destroying a civil rights organization. This contention has been supported by leading civil rights advocates in the South.

The case on appeal to the Supreme Court arose out of refusal of two members of a Three-judge federal court in New Orleans to pass on the constitutionality of the Louisiana law. One judge said the law is unconstitutional.

Filing the brief for ACLU were Louis Lusky and Melvin L. Wulf, New York, and Leonard Dreyfus, New Orleans. Lusky has written extensively on the failure of U. S. courts in the South to uphold the rights and liberties of integrationists.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD
2801 Cadillac Tower
Detroit 26, Michigan

FOR RELEASE: 12:00 Noon
Thursday, April 23, 1964

A "LAWYERS' PEACE CORPS" MOVES INTO MISSISSIPPI

The National Lawyers Guild launched its summer Mississippi Project at a luncheon meeting, Thursday, April 23, 1964, at Detroit's Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel.

The Project calls for lawyers to participate in a Peace Corps-type operation in Mississippi, defending, without fee, persons who would otherwise be without defense.

A letter has been sent to every member of the Guild urging them to donate from a week to three months of their time to the Mississippi Project. A copy of that letter is enclosed.

"Law Day, U.S.A." will be celebrated on May 1st, said Ernest Goodman, Detroit attorney and Guild national president.

"It is appropriate to add a new dimension to this day by including support to the movement for equality under the law of our nation."

"One situation which cries out for a remedy exists in Mississippi. Of two million people living in that State, 900,000 are Negro; yet, only 3 Mississippi lawyers (all Negro) will handle civil rights cases," Goodman said.

"Our purpose in going to Mississippi is to help bring into reality one of the principles of Law Day--equal justice under the law. As far as I now, the "Lawyers Peace Corps" is the first project of its kind."

A number of prominent Michigan lawyers have urged their colleagues to contribute to the Mississippi Project as a fitting commemoration of Law Day.

A joint effort this summer, by civil rights organizations in Mississippi, will attempt to secure justice in that state with emphasis on voter registration.

The need for lawyers was highlighted by a recent report in Time Magazine, that local officials in Mississippi are already preparing "detention compounds for demonstration POW's."

It is expected, therefore, that hundreds, perhaps thousands of registration workers will be arrested, and that the full power of the State will be brought down on persons seeking citizenship rights.

Goodman stressed that the Guild is not a civil rights organization, but a national bar association of attorneys, "professionally and personally committed to the defense of civil rights and liberties of all people. The distinction is important," he declared. "Our concern in the Mississippi Project is to attempt to redress the lack of available lawyers in Mississippi, ready, willing and able, to handle civil rights cases. We are going there as lawyers, and only as lawyers."

The "Lawyers' Peace Corps" will be under the direction of the Guild's Committee for Legal Assistance in the South, with George W. Crockett, Jr., of Detroit, and Benjamin Smith, of New Orleans, as co-chairmen, and George Downing of Detroit, and Len Holt of Washington, D.C., as co-secretaries.

IMMEDIATE ACTION URGENT

Dear Friends:

Have you written your Senators on the Civil Rights Bill? If not, Please DO IT NOW! Mail is still running heavily against the Bill.

Write in your own words just why you think all citizens should be treated equal to every other citizen, emphasizing Title II and Title VII ...

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS (TITLE II) The debate on the bill has focused largely on this title, which provides for federal action against discrimination in hotels, restaurants, theatres and the other places of public accommodation. No serious consideration has been given to such a federal law until 1963. It provides for suits to enforce the law. A civil action may be brought by an aggrieved person or by the Attorney General whenever any person has engaged in a violation or there are reasonable grounds to believe that he is about to.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES (TITLE VII) This part of the bill is quite long since it constitutes a full fair employment law. It applies to employers, employment agencies and labor organizations. An employer and labor organization is covered if its operations affect interstate commerce and if it has 25 or more employees. The number would begin with a minimum of 100 employees and decrease by 25 for each of the next 4 years. The bill also prohibits discriminatory advertising and retaliation against anyone because of invoking the procedures of the Act. They will create a five-man bi-partisan Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which will investigate violations.

The Bill contains eleven titles: (I) Voting Rights; (II) Injunctive Relief Against Discrimination in Places of Public Accommodations; (III) Desegregation of Public Facilities; (IV) Desegregation of Public Education; (V) Commission on Civil Rights; (VI) Non-Discrimination in Federally Assisted Programs; (VII) Equal Employment Opportunity; (VIII) Registration and Voting Statistics; (IX) Procedure After Removal in Civil Rights Cases; (X) Community Relations Services; (XI) Miscellaneous.

THIS BILL NEEDS MUCH SUPPORT! Those who have been against the Bill should be made to know that a great number of their constituents are opposed to their stand. Those who are for the Bill need your support too since the organized opposition is strong. This Bill is absolutely necessary for progress in race relations in this country and your support is vital.

Home Visits go on the year-round in now over 150 cities (not just on the National Home Visit Day of April 19), and organizers are finding these visits an ideal way to gain support of civil rights from among the uncommitted. Many areas are now encouraging discussion on the Bill during these visits and urging participants to take positive actions in contacting their Senators.

EVERY LETTER, TELEGRAM AND PHONE CALL IS CRUCIAL. Write ...

(example)

Senator - - - -
Senate Post Office
Washington 25, D.C.

urging them to pass favorably on the Civil Rights Bill now before the Senate. Major modifications and weakening amendments must be strongly discouraged. Remember that the Senator's "fan mail" will govern his final decision.

	Senators Strongly Opposed	Not Strongly Committed	Favorable
ALA.	X		
ALASKA		Bartlett	Gruening
ARK.	X		
ARIZ.		X	
CALIF.			X
COLO.			X
CONN.			X
DELA.		Williams	Boggs
FLA.	X		
GEORGIA	X		
HAWAII			X
IDAHO		Jordon	Church
ILL.		Dirksen	Douglas
IND.			X
IOWA		Hickenlooper	Miller
KY.			
KAN.		Morton	Cooper
LA.	X		
MAINE		Smith	Muskie
MD.			X
MASS.			X
MICH.			X
MINN.			X
MISS.	X		
MO.			X

	Senators Strongly Opposed	Not Strongly Committed	Favorable
MONT.			X
NEB.		X	
N. H.		Cotton	McIntyre
N. J.			X
N. MEX.		X	
N. Y.			X
NEV.		X	
N. C.	X		
N. D.		Young	Burdick
OHIO		Lausche	Young
OKLA.		X	
ORE.			X
PENNA.			X
R. I.			X
S. C.	X		
S. D.		Mundt	McGovern
TENN.		X	
TEXAS	Tower	Yarborough	
UTAH		Bennett	Moss
VT.		X	
VIRGINIA	X		
WASH.			X
W. VA.		Byrd	Randolph
WISC.			X
WYOM.		Simpson	McGee

Total Favorable-50 Strongly Opposed-19 Not Strongly Committed-31

* * *

(for further specific information and helpful summaries of the Bill contact):

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights - 707 - 17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
American Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84th Street, New York 28, New York
Johnson Publishing Co. (JET Magazine), 1820 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

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EDITOR, NEW SOUTH
RM. 201 - 5 FORSYTH NW
ATLANTA 3 GEORGIA

New Horizons for Youth
1426 Bristol Street
Phila. 40, Penna.

Dear Reader:

Yes, youth are on the move! They are demonstrating and organizing for more jobs, equal rights, better housing, integrated schools, adequate recreational facilities, and security through world peace. They are questioning the status quo in many areas of our national life and are searching for answers and solutions. The keynote of this new awareness among youth is ACTION.

New Horizons for Youth has played an active role in reporting and analyzing avents and current views of young people since the sit-ins of 1960 ushered in this new era of youth activity. From a four-page to an eight-page newspaper to the present 20-page magazine, New Horizons for Youth has expanded and **adapted** to meet the needs of a growing movement and a broadening readership. It will continue to report and analyze developments throughout the country on a bi-monthly basis.

Our recent move to Philadelphia has enabled us to solve many of the problems which plagued the publication in its old home. New Horizons for Youth is now being managed efficiently; moreover it is being revamped in format and content so as to appeal to a greater number of young people. Many have noticed the difference in the first issue published in Philadelphia(Volume IV, No. 1) and have written us their approval and encouragement.

Your subscription has expired and we urge you to renew it now! We know you will want to follow the struggles and excitement, as young Americans work to build a more secure future. And you can be assured that you will receive your copy regularly every two months. Subscriptions are now only $1 per year (for six issues). Your renewal will help give us the support we need to bring you the news and viewsof youth on the move.

Just clip out the renewal form below and send it in with your dollar (cash, check or money order).

Thank you
NEW HORIZONS FOR YOUTH
Arlene Shupak
Arlene Shupak
Business Manager

YOUTH PUBLICATIONS, INC. 1426 Bristol St. Phila., Penna. 19140

Please renew my subscription to New Horizons for Youth.
- () I enclose $1.00 for a 1 year sub
- () I enclose $ .50 for a ½ year sub
- () I enclose an additional $____ contribution to help sustain NEW HORIZONS for YOUTH

Name________________________________
Address______________________________
City__________________ Zone __________ State ________

L/D

November 30, 1963
42677-B-2
Reidsville Ga

Dear Mrs Long.

I am writing you once a gain to ask you to send me my court transcript which I sent to you quite some timen ago.

I recieved the copies of my hand printed writ back some three (3) week ago but as I plan to sontinue trying to get a review of my case - I will be needing ~~my~~ the photostatic copy of my court record ~~that~~ that I sent you.

I appriciate your efforts to help me however, I haven't heard from any of the persons you mentioned. Nevertheless I shall keep trying because I am indeed innocent of any crime.

Respectfully
Yours.
B. J. Perry

P.S.
Please send them soon.

42677-B-2

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INSURED NO.	CITY, ZONE AND STATE Atlanta. Ga 303

POD Form 3811 Apr. 1962

C55—16—71548-5—F

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, JR.
Editor

JAMES S. BROWN
Business Manager

MIlton 9-1371 • 512 East Main Street • Richmond 19, Virginia

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March 25, 1964

Dear Miss Long,

Somewhere during the past month or two I have seen a very good comment on the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill showing how many so-called private businesses are dependent upon many public factors. I thought this was in the Dabbs address, but I don't find it. I think it must have been in something going about during the SRC meeting. I wonder if anybody there can help me?

Gratefully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.

ANB/dk

TRANS ACTION

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE COMMUNITY

Published by the
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Phone 314 VO 3-0100

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editor-in-chief

March 31, 1964

Miss Margaret Long, Editor
New South
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Long:

We are interested in exchanging copies of TRANS-ACTION with your publication, New South. I am enclosing a copy of the March issue for your inspection. If you would be interested in such an exchange, please let us know. Our mailing address would be:

TRANS-ACTION
BOX 43
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
SKINKER AT LINDELL
ST. LOUIS, MO. 63130

Sincerely,
TRANS-ACTION

Doreen C Simpson

Doreen Cronkite Simpson
Production Editor

DCS:er

Encl.

Miss Margaret Long,
Editor,

New South
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Long -

Congratulation on the fine work of Vol. 18 of New South, Oct. Nov. 1963. Please send me 5 copies. I enclose $1.00. Thank you.

Elaine Heffernan

4/16/64

apt. 102 1009 24th St. NW
Washington DC 20037

Southern Illinois
University

EDWARDSVILLE, ILLINOIS

Library

May 15, 1964

New South
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:,

We are interested in completing our files of the periodical(s) listed below. We would appreciate your supplying us with information as to the availability and cost of the issues or volumes indicated. This is an inquiry only, not an order.

NEW SOUTH

V. 15 Nos. 1-11 Jan.-Nov. 1960
V. 17 Nos. 7-12 July-Dec. 1962

Sincerely yours,

Jewell W. Smith

(Mr.) Jewell W. Smith
Periodicals Librarian

JWS/jw

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 24, 1964

MEMO TO: Maggie Long
Pat Watters

FROM : Leslie W. Dunbar

This is to summarize the plans we discussed earlier this week for the remaining issues of New South this year.

July - August - Pat's report on St. Augustine.

September - Ed Stanfield's analysis of the church.

October - Short articles.

November - Lillian Smith.

December - Maggie's essay on the book explosion of 1964.

Lillian Smith's piece possibly could be available for October or possibly not until December. In order words, the plans for October, November, and December might be juggled. I think the stronger possibility is that Lillian Smith will not have her piece done before the time for the December issue. This means that Maggie should be prepared to get her piece about books finished for the November issue.

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

Maggie, please include in next *New South* if you have space.

Memo from MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT

New publications:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 1944-1964. How, why, and by whom the SRC was organized; statement of policy and aims; statement of views. SC .20, Q .15

DIRECT ACTION IN THE SOUTH. A report on the Negro revolt, beginning with Feb. 1, 1960 and continuing through Summer, 1963. SC .35

SERIES OF SPECIAL REPORTS telling of progress in race relations in five Southern cities: what happened, how, why, and the outlook for the future. CHARLOTTE, LOUISVILLE, MEMPHIS available now, ~~[illegible]~~ .40 each city. Others to be out later.

LAW ENFORCEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI. Special Report on Mississippi during the Summer of 1964, ~~especially as it relates to law enforcement and white reaction to the COFO program. SC .40~~

responsibilities of Mississippi + federal authorities

THE PRICE WE PAY ~~(for discrimination)~~. Samples the costs--chiefly money--incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. Produced in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. SC .75

L-47, THE QUESTION FROM JACKSONVILLE. Was the Easter Week outbreak of racial violence a portent of things to come as the great turning point of federal civil rights legislation is reached? SC ~~free.~~ .10

responsibilities of Mississippi and federal authorities as they relate to law enforcement and white reaction to the COFO program.' SC .40

Ans 7/30/64

ELBRIGE GATEWOOD
395 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10025

July 26, 1964

The New South
Southern Regional Council of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In hoppe that I have the address correct. Saw your magazine mentioned by Carleton Putnam, in The Road To Reversal.

Will you kindly send me a sample copy of your magazine.

Yours truly,

Elbrige Gatewood

No. 45627- B-1
Benny Frank Young
Reidsville, Ga.

August 13, 1964.

Miss Margaret Long
New South
5 Forsythe St.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Long:

After reading your excellent editorial in the June New South which I received today, I could not help wondering what is meant by the sentence on page 23, "and the forgiving love of God".

How does it come about that people still talk of the mercy, love and forgivness of a supposed God when there is so much evidence~~s~~ that if you believe in a God, a Creator, you must of necessity believe in a cruel God!

How could an almighty God permit the cruelty to go on against so many innocent people, not to mention the cruelty of nature, hurricanes, floods, earthquakes, mosquitos, fleas and all the other pests that torture man?

All religion does is to keep man from facing realities and to keep man in ignorance, or rather to keep the human being from seeing things as they are.

The Turk-Greek problem is found all over the world. That is what we have here. Hatred is stronger than love. Is it not because of ignorance, of the lack of knowledge of the universe as it is, of knowing that man cannot prosper as a human being until he understands the human being instead of trying to get God to forgive him for all his trespasses?

But it's a long story. Where does it begin and end?

Sincerely,

Alexis C. Ferm

1225 Waverly Dr
Daytona Beach, Fla.
Aug. 14, 1964

32018

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga

8-17-64 P

Gentlemen —

Enclosed find check for 2$^{\underline{50}}$ for subscr. for "New South" (I would not want to pay only 2$^{\underline{00}}$ when your costs are 2$^{\underline{50}}$).

I was shocked by the affidavits in the June issue.

I hope that, somehow, the Civil Rights leaders will find a way to curb the unruly demonstrations + looting by the young element in the East that is damaging the cause seriously.

Yours truly
Paul A Hurt

North Tulsa Baptist Center
2707 E. 27th St. North
Tulsa 10, Oklahoma
FI 5-0194

W. T. Moore, Director
Res. Ph. LU 5-8889

Sept. 15, 1964

Dear ~~Sirs~~ Madam,

I can hardly hope that my first such efforts might be worthy of publication but I think the idea ENCLOSED is worthy if someone else could rework it. I could wish that even some national magazine might do a feature on the origins of the Negro revolt. Anyway I thought I would pass this along for anything it might be worth. I am sending a couple of other ideas to some of my denominational publications.

Another idea I have harbored for several years and never have found the time or place to do the necessary research. There was a time when several states had public schools (at least on the high school level) segregated by sex. My theory is that some of the protest against co-education must have sounded strikingly similiar to present day protests against integration. If so and such a passge could be located in print, a ~~other~~ rather good point might be made ~~article might have done~~ beginning by quoting ~~this~~ SUCH A passage, and then revealing its source. Remember how popular the quote from before the time of Christ about the world & young people goihg to the dogs has been with public speakers?

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

W. T. Moore

W.T. Moore

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC. ***Publishers***

277 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017 TEL: 212 TA 6-2000

November 18, 1964

Dear Miss Long:

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of "Off My Chest" by Jimmy Brown, which Doubleday will publish on November 20th.

You have our permission to use the paragraphs on equality and bigotry in your monthly magazine with, of course, credit to Doubleday.

Sincerely yours,

Dianitia Hutcheson

Dianitia Hutcheson
Publicity

Miss Margaret Long
NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

Upon reading your "June 64" New South, I was moved in anger at police officers mentioned. I am now deeply concerned with this problem. I think that your mag. has awakened me more than any single speaker or lecturer since I heard Martin L. King.

I am inclosing two dollars for a subscription, in hopes that you will keep up the good work.

7-17-64

Yours Truly
Steven Semanski

Mr. Steven E. Semanski
4th ave.
Norway, Michigan

925 University Street
Memphis 7, Tennessee
December 17, 1964

The Editors
New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Because I am a citizen of the New South with a deep commitment to the eradication of racial prejudice, I received and read with interest several issues of your publication. It is this same commitment to the eradication of racial prejudice which prompts me to request that you take my name from your mailing list. I do not find prejudice against white people more palatable than prejudice against Negroes. Any white person who can read Margaret Long's *Strictly Subjective* in your October issue without anger must have a very bad conscience and a need for self punishment.

I hope you will some day come to realize that true racial harmony implies a recognition of the human dignity of *all* races.

Sincerely,

Emilie S. Ratner
(MRS M. L. RATNER)

MAMARONECK
OCT 1
PM
1964

U.S. POSTAGE 4c

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

Dear sirs,

Could you send me a copy of the May, 1964 issue of 'New South'. I would like to read Judge Tyler article. Any charges I will be glad to cover with my check. The address is -

The Rev. Ian George,
St. Thomas Episcopal Church,
Mamaroneck, N.Y..

Thanking you,

Ian George.

ans
2-25-65

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THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

February 5, 1965

NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate your help in clarifying the volume numbers of NEW SOUTH. The September 1964 issue was numbered volume 19, no. 9. Since then we have received the October and November issues numbered volume 1, no. 9 and volume 1, no. 10, respectively. We are anxious to know why these have been numbered in this manner.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Turner Cassity Jr

Turner Cassity, Chief
Serials and Binding Dept.

JE:ls

FYI from Janet Smith

296 W 11 St. #5r
New York, N.Y. 10014
September 10, 1965

Dear Miss Alexander,

Enclosed is a check for $2.50 for the renewal of my subscription to New South. I would appreciate it if you would also send me a copy of the Pat Waters pamphlet which you published this spring on the student movement. If there is any charge please let me know. 9-13-65.5

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Nancy Stearns

Nancy Stearns

p.s. Please give my best regards to Margaret Long.

IF NOT NOW WHEN !

An Address Delivered by the Rev.
Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive
Assistant to Martin Luther King,
Jr. at the Hungry Club Open
Forum, Atlanta, Georgia, May 6,
1964 as a part of the Annual Observance of Alpha Phi Alpha's
Education For Citizenship Week.

Dr. Newsome, Brothers in Alpha, Ladies & Gentlemen: I am appreciative of the opportunity to address what is perhaps one of the most significant luncheon forums in the nation. Let me say to my Greek brothers that I am humbled that they have chosen me to speak during the Annual Observance of Alpha Phi Alpha's Education For Citizenship Week.

There is no need for me to confess to you that I am not an educator _per se_. However, I sincerely believe that the task with which my hands have been buised for the past ten years or so is helping more than anything else to draw out of and develop in the Negro his stifled and blocked native capacities that have been literally strangled for the past one hundred years. If we deal with education from an etymological point of view, it means precisely that. The root word in the original Latin idiom is the verb duco meaning to lead. Coupled with the prefix ex, a preposition meaning from or out, it forms educo- literally to lead forth or to lead out of- from which the word education is derived. Thus in the literal sense, education does mean to lead or to draw or to develop from personality that which is already inherent. Thus the aim and end of result of education is not to put something in us but to develop that which we already possess to its maxium.

To be sure there are different kind of education. There is in our person Biological education. In that moment when the spark of life is struck in the coniugal relationship, our being is 1/100th the size of the point of a pin. Yet at that microscopic level of development, the ear which is not yet formed is already adapted to hear and the tongue to taste and the eye to see. This is biological education. As we lay in our crib, in a few months, our eyes begin to distinguish colors we roll over, pull up on all fours, and ultimately walk. Sinew, muscle and bone strengthen and we clearly experience Physiological education. The one day, someone takes by the hand and leads us to school where we learn "reading, 'ritin, and'rithemetic" and we come to know the discipline of Mental education a as our minds are honed to sharpness. The nature of our churches and the basic morality of our heritage develops within us a sense of Religious education, that I suppose in most instances we grapple with unceasingly to respect its demands. But yet the compounded discipline of all these are not sufficient to equip us to meet life on better than even terms. I submit to you that successful living is not measured quantitatively so much as it is qualitatively. The most meaningful life is that which spills over beyond its immediate historical context. Our concern should focus on the rest of life in such manner that our passing will be more than an incidental note in the obituary column but rather, that the presence of our lives can still be recognized in some humanitarian and noble cause long after the ashes of our remains are blown to the four winds. Thus, I would suggest within our immediate frame of reference - that of being a part of the Negro community and living in Atlanta, Georgia - that we need to submit ourselves to what I call Spiritual education. I mean by this to so develop within the aura of our lives, a sensitivity to the great issues of our time; the oppression of the weak, the exploitation of the poor, the terror foisted upon the defenceless, slaying of the innocent, degradation of the human spirit the hunger of the starvin g etc. A commitment to relieve these conditions should influence the bent of our lives. All of the others educational disciplines become empty and shallow unless

unless they are undergirded by the discipline of an educated spirit that translates into action the real meaning of life.

Thus, by this measure, how can we ignore in any degree the swirling events of sharp social transition about us which are aimed squarely at relieving many esternal and internal problems of the Negro as well as striking the shackles of prejudice and guilt from the white man as a prelude to establishing the beloved community. Against the backdrop, let us consider what is immediately before us in order that we may fix the responsibility that is ours.

No one need. be sage or seer to discern clearly that 1964 will be a far more critical year in the civil rights fortunes of the Negro than was 1963. This assertion in no way is an attempt to minimize the importance of the epochal "summer of discontent." Rather it is aimed at underscoring what is to come in an awesome and devastating social context. The mood of the larger Negro community, white certainly not vengeful, bitter or violent, is distinctly one of extreme impatience with the continual denial of his basic freedoms: Behind his alleged unrealistic demand for "Freedom Now!" there stands his almost surly, "If not now, when?"

It is so very apparent that a counter-revolution at this moment is reaching its crest. The chief evidences are the "Stall-In" in the Senate on the present civil rights legislation and the polling of more than a quarter million votes by the racist George Wallace in the

Wisconsin primary. There is hardly a reasonable conjecture that the Negro is going to turn around or even delay his forward movement though the resources and determination of the opposition must not be lightly judged. The few months (?) or weeks ahead will most certainly spell the moment of truth, not only for the Negro revolution, but in a larger sense, for the nation as a whole. If the counter-revolution displays more strength and stamina than the revolution that spawned it, America and the Negro community will be in real trouble. This is not meant to be a prophecy of doom, but only a realistic appraisal that there are two possibilities existent.

Let me address myself to the other possibility - that is, the off setting of the counter-revolution by a determined thrust forward by the Negro community and its allies. First, it seems that if the counter-revolution is to be turned aside, there will be definite ear-marks by which the Negro revolution will be heightened and intensified. It will be preceded and prodded by new events and dimensions, some of which we already have seen glimpses.

The Negro revolution will begin to develop in structured form along national lines. This does not mean the cessation of local protest, but rather a consistent pattern with a high degree of uniformity evident. The basic approach of the nonviolent revolution will not be changed. It will be marked by increasing frequency and intensity of activity. Broad goals will be sought as over against specific demands of the past. It is already evident that the South will not be the chief focus of activity. The entire nation will feel the brunt of nonviolent forces insisting "Freedom Now." The South will see most of the activity focused on public accommodations and the right to vote; . The North's activity will center chiefly on _de facto_ school segregation and housing; both North and s South will give considerable attention to employment. In no event will any form of discrimination go unchallenged.

It has become remarkably clear in the national community that we have a problem. We thought after the civil rights bill cleared the House with flying colors, principally intact, that we were on our way to some solution. The recent events in the Senate and the advent of what has been called the "white back-lash" against civil rights, gives the general Negro community a sense of being on a treadmill. The much critized "Stall-In" in the words of Dr. King, "is symptomatic of the discontent, frustration and seething despair of the Negro" in the face of continuing and entrenched segregation across the spectrum of his experience North and South. It was above all else, a sincere attempt to dramatize the "unfair world" at the World's Fair. Somehow, the Negro intuitively understands that the nation will only respond to his dilemma under the hammer of national crisis. He is now convinced that "nobody really gives a damn!"

The Negro community has some concrete ideas as to how he might call national attention and relief to his problem. He contemplates seriously the implementation of a national program of economic withdrawal. With nation-wide coordination, it would be aimed at a show-case, giant, consumer industry. The convening city has already been chosen and only the date and the industry are left to be named.

To Quote from an earlier paper:

> "A massive refusal to buy on the part of the Negro community and others of good will would throw the business community into shock. Maybe then, and only then, will the nation's financial leaders exert some initiative in eliminating the evils of segregation and discrimination."

Money does not talk, it screams!

We have already had intimations of what is to come. It is very possible that in the next few months that on some appointed day, at some appointed hour, the nation will be literally immobilized by widespread acts of civil disobedience. That day may not be far off if the nation does not act swiftly on the Negro's plea for justice and morality. Transportation centers could be strangled by the bodies of committed witnesses nonviolently insisting, "Freedom Now!" Airports, train stations, bus terminals and the traffic arteries of large cities could very well be the site of the next major battleground in civil rights.

The plight of the Negro is swiftly becoming desperate. On the one hand, he carries the social leprosy of his visible identity which has crippled him psychologically, emotionally and educationally; on the other hand, the dread onslaught of automation is grinding out his economic existence. He supposes that a nation-wide work stoppage might attract enough attention to persuade someone to do something to get this monkey of segregation off his back. And of course, there is the fast unto death. This is not as far-fetched as it seems for in an almost literal sense the Negro is economically and politically put to death by the thousands under the present system.

We may see one or all of these in the next few months ahead. Why is it that we must be concerned as to where our allegiance falls in the future? The summer of 1963 was long and hot; the summer of 1964 will be longer and hotter. The Negro, for the sake of our nation must find a definite answer to his present query, "if not now, when?"

THE CHANGING MIND OF THE SOUTH: THE EXPOSED NERVE

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Southern Regional Council

I

I PREMISE THAT THERE has been such a thing as a southern folk, clearly if not definably more a single people than any other Americans, composed of two grades of persons, both of whom have been truly part of the same folk, and yet one of whom, the Negro Southerners, because they were ruled by the other did not sense and hallow as did the whites their folk integrity and their distinctness from the rest of the nation. And because white Southerners have consciously known that they were set apart, they have struggled to define themselves, have striven for self-identity, and with every Cash or Percy—or Faulkner—asking "Who am I?" have moved nearer the point which comes in every self-examination, where discovery means either release or reunion.

Who is there who is not tired of this search, who would not rather give it up before he has to choose between release, and rejection, or recoil into the mind of the South, who would rather not stop short in self-discovery and become what history makes of him? And indeed, there has been a re-directing of the South's self-study. The intellectual and artistic concern is changing, has changed, from a deep, self-combative hoeing and chopping of souls and history and eternity, and toward commitment to the active issues of the day. The dark, Faulknerian, problems recede.

The classic interpreters of the South began with the conviction that there was a "South" and a "Southerner," and they hunted for definitions. Because the interpreters were themselves Southerners, dredging their prey up through their memories and revealing it as a Protean substance, their definitions were never abstract, and they never tired of examining countless aspects. Nor did they, however, ever yield the belief that something constant and essential lay under the aspects. The Southerner was to be known as a being, and not an active one at that. Only the public figures of the South defined themselves in activity, and the interpreters tended to be less interested in them than in regarding the South's election of them as another aspect of the essential being which needed to be pondered. The essential Southerner acted occasionally, savagely and without premeditation, and this proclivity of his was another aspect to be explained. But except for this, the Southerner "was"; he did not, since the Civil War, "do."

Our preoccupation today is with how Southerners do and will act. For this is a time of testing. We are re-learning an old truth, which historians have nearly always known and social scientists have frequently forgotten, that men reveal themselves more accurately through their action than through their established feelings, opinions, and beliefs.

Another change has occurred as well. Cash, writing as late as 1941, was not really much attentive to Negro Southerners, and Percy, writing also in 1941, could say that he was "usually in a condition of amazed exultation over the excellent state of race relations in the South." James Agee, almost the quintessential New Dealer, took only an occasional and not seriously interested glance at the Negro neighbors of his white Alabama sharecroppers. Of the classic writers, only Lillian Smith had the greatness to wrestle with what the others saw, but passed by, and that was the centrality of race to the southern self-consciousness[1]

In fact, not until the sit-in movement began in Greensboro in 1960 did the "mind" of Negroes become of conscious interest to white Southerners, in the sense that an active awareness began that the southern consensus had to include Negro values and desires. Even in the titanic controversies after 1954, the actors—those who were conspicuously making history—were almost always white: Senator Byrd, Governor Faubus, and the other captains of massive resistance. Negroes appeared only as a shadowy mass, from whom now and then emerged an impersonal lawyer or a poker-faced schoolchild walking through white faces lit with expression. The state of North Carolina might well put one of its historical markers at that dime store in Greensboro: here is where, after more than three centuries, the white and the Negro South were finally met.

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[1] W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South*. N. Y., 1941. W. A. Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee*. N. Y., 1941; the quotation is from p. 286 of the 1959 reprinting. James Agee, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. N. Y., 1960; the book was written in the late 1930's. Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream*. N. Y., 1949 (revised edition 1961).

In result, they have learned to know each other better. One Negro civil rights leader remarked to me that southern racial relations in the past had been like an unfaithful marriage, which could be preserved only by the two parties not speaking the truth to each other. Negro Southerners are today speaking the truth to their white neighbors. If white Southerners can learn to live with this truth, the marriage can be continued, and may even become a fruitful one. Still today, no Southerners are more bred to the essence of the region's distinctive history, manners, and outlook than are the Negroes. If Dixie is not yet ready for its epitaph, it will be only because Negroes, freed of illegitimacy, may give it new life.

For earlier white Southerners, even for those as late as Cash, a decision about racial policies was not socially crucial. Men had different opinions and beliefs, but these were like other personal preferences, or even convictions, that were tolerable by the folk. Southern racial relations were like Hinduism, able to absorb and contain many changes and interests and ideas. The advent of industrialization, the steady immigration of non-Southerners, the growth of learning, the magnification of cities—all had come and had modified the old patterns and would surely in time overthrow them. But the endurance—what a Southerner might call the "cussedness"—of the old ways was remarkable.

But now this changes, and I know no better way to illustrate the change at its profoundest — though infrequently perceived — level than by contrasting Faulkner with that present-day southern writer who, in surface aspects, is most like him. The genius of Faulkner was such that he was able to suffuse his characters in life and individuality even though, in fact, they were little more than marionette's. They were held in the hand of God, but that hand which controlled them kept them in ceaseless confrontation with their home, i.e., with southern history, and in it they defined themselves. Miss Flannery O'Connor's characters are also marionettes and also in the grasp of God. They are Southerners too, but this is only an artist's detail. They could be anyone, they are caught directly, as simple individuals, in the human predicament, and they act diretcly to meet it, not, as Faulkner's characters always did, as Southerners, but as mere people.

Fundamentally, this is where Southerners find themselves today, forced to act directly without validating their acts against their history, much of which is sinking fast underneath them. Another southern writer, Allen Tate, in his novel *The Fathers,* depicts the deep psychological hurt felt by conservative Virginians in 1860-1861 when pressures from the cotton states and from the North were mysteriously pushing Virginia into severance from the government in Washington, of which over the years since 1787 they had come to feel as proprietors. Something similar is happening today over the South, as men see institutions which they had thought were theirs (e.g., the churches, the town school), relationships which they had thought secure (e.g., mistress and maid), begin to take on new shape and purpose.

All this has meant that, for today's white Southerner, an explicit rationalizing of his views about race has become the most urgent of his intellectual and spiritual tasks, and that he has had to achieve it on his own, or with new referents. He has had to attune himself, harmoniously or discordantly, to the authoritative words and practices of institutions from outside his region, such as the federal government, national church bodies, national media, and even-in fact-Wall Street. Perhaps still a man living in a remote Black Belt county untouched as yet by racial controversy may be as unengaged as nearly all of us were but a few years past. But I suspect that no white man living now in a Danville or an Albany or a Birmingham can support himself either by mores or by Faulknerian brooding. For the strong segregationist, the mores will appear too mild when the protest comes; for nearly all men, the brooding will seem irrelevant.

It is astonishing how often a southern white liberal can date his acceptance of racial equality at some specific episode in his life, much as did the ex-Communists in *The God That Failed*[2] tend to date their break with Communism with a decisive, illuminating event. It is even more notable that almost every liberal can (and often does) recount the history of his changing attitudes. This sort of keen self-awareness occurs only with those life problems deeply and genuinely felt. Nevertheless, in accepting racial equality, the southern liberal does not typically reject the South. In Turgenev's

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[2] Edited by R. H. S. Crossman, N. Y., 1949.

Fathers and Sons, when Bazarov's tolerance of an older conservative is asked—"you must take into account his upbringing as well as the times in which he lived the best part of his life"—, Barzarov exclaims: "His upbringing: Every man should educate himself. . . . As to the times, why should I depend upon them: Much better they should depend on me. No, brother, all that is just loose thinking, there's nothing solid behind it!" To a Southerner, if to no one else, this is questionable doctrine, because inadequate tolerance; and rightly or wrongly, the key word of southern liberalism has been "tolerance."

Southern liberalism deserves more serious study than it has had. What, in this context, is worth remarking is the long sustained refusal of southern liberals to repudiate the South, and this is one side of the tolerance which they have elevated above all other social virtues. Few liberals have acted out their beliefs. They do not try to enter their children in Negro schools, do not usually refuse to eat in segregated restaurants or worship in segregated churches, do not spontaneously and widely mingle socially with their Negro peers. This is not well described as either hypocrisy or timidity. It is something a good bit more basic. The general conformity of the liberal to social practices which he opposes is a mark of his dogged refusal to alienate himself from southern society. He has counted himself a Southerner, with an obligation to respect the community and, so far as possible, to keep it whole. He often will, in fact, contend (and not only from polemical motives) that he—and not the defenders of segregation—represents the core of southern traditions, and he will sometimes appeal to other values acknowledged to be "southern," such as "courage" or "manners" or "individuality, against the less venerable practice of segregation. The tenacity with which liberals hold to southern culture, while endeavoring to reform it, is a quality which cannot be measured, but it would seem at least as intense as the somewhat comparable spirit of the Benthamites and later Labourites in England; they too insisted on behaving as Englishmen as they went about changing the country.

On the whole, this attitude of respect toward the community is not alien to a great many of the Negro leaders. And on the whole, this shared attitude presents the only real possibility, for those of us who want one, of preserving the South as a cultural organism, and not merely as a cultivated, but mummified, memory, analogous to

New England. It is not a very strong possibility, though the relative poverty of the region may help along its chances: poverty is a strong folk-tie. I may be wrong and shortly proved so, but I see the white South today, outside the Black Belt but even there in some measure, as disposed, though often reluctantly, to accept more and more racial integration, but wanting also to keep the community much as it has been. I see Negro Southerners wanting equality desperately and angrily, but disposed to keep the community much as it has been, if they are admitted to it.

The South that Cash sought to track down was the white South, and, assuming that Cash found what he sought, it was unprepared for 1954. That South is still here. But because, being what it was and is, it stayed distant from the black South, called itself and itself only "the South," it has become an inert thing, a mere environment. Within this environment and against it, the southern leaders of today —the Negroes—act. It is the antithesis of motion against matter, and unless it can be cured there is not even a meager chance that the South will persevere. The white South is become an object, and only subjects can, even in a Faulknerian sense, endure.

II

Myrdal remarked that, "The intellectual energy spent on the Negro problem in America should, if concentrated in a single direction, have moved mountains."[3] In truth, almost the profoundest thing one can say about southern race relations is that it *is* an old problem, toughened and complicated and made wondrously intricate by age, which has confused its diagnosis, rendered uncertain its treatment, and obscures its prognosis. Ancient as it is, it has had changing definitions, and these have, in the past, been determined by the interests and policies of white people. As Myrdal put it,

> It is thus the white majority group that naturally determines the Negro's 'place.' All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line. In the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic. The Negro's entire life, and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem,

[3] Gunnar Myrdal, et al., *An American Dilemma,* N. Y., 1944. p. 27.

> are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority.[4]

This analysis was undeniably correct as an interpretation of the pre-1945 period; it is no longer so. Beginning about the close of World War II, the power to determine the Negro's "place" began to shade off from white control. Today, the Negro grip on the levers of social change is secure, and much more firm than the remnants of white direction.

The race relations policy of the southern white leadership from 1619 until Reconstruction, and from about 1890 until the 1940's, was governed by the objective, *How to get the maximum satisfaction from the Negro population.* The policy was pursued in economic, political, and social relationships, frequently with unsuccess. This fairly unanimously held single policy has, in the years since the 40's, been both losing adherents and singleness of application; the growth of Negro votes combined with pressures from Washington are forcing on our public life policies markedly more progressive than those which still dominate our churches and other more or less privately determined activities. Perhaps only in Mississippi today is there near unanimity about racial policy. But it is not the old policy of maximum satisfaction. Instead, it is, *How to maintain white control of the institutions of society.* At least, Negroes are not regarded as instruments and tools, but as antagonists. That, in itself, is a higher status.

If initiative has passed from the white majority to the Negro minority, the principal cause has been the success of Negroes in achieving a new and more stable self-knowledge. The dilemma—intellectual, emotional, political—of the Negro, especially the Negro male, has always been the problem of identity.[5] A man's valuation of himself is derived and sustained by his reading of other people's assessment of him, and at all times in a person's life there are some "other people" whom he regards as the most authoritative assessors. Because of history and color, Negroes for centuries got maddeningly confusing reports whenever they inquired of their society, "Who am I?"

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[4] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. li.

[5] There has been a lot of recent writing on this subject, mostly by non-southern interpreters. See the three books of essays by James Baldwin: *Notes of a Native Son.* Boston, 1955; *Nobody Knows My Name.* N. Y., 1961; *The Fire Next Time.* N. Y., 1963. Essays in the first book are of uneven quality and interest, but some of them and all of the two later books are superb and required reading for insight into the Negro revolt. For the latter reason only, so too is Louis Lomax, *The Negro Revolt.* N. Y., 1962. See also the excellent book by Harold I. Isaacs, *The New World of Negro Americans.* N. Y., 1963. Isaacs has an especially interesting essay in *Encounter,* August, 1963: "Blackness and Whiteness." One scientific inquiry is B. P. Karon, *The Negro Personality.*

With some notable variations, they adopted the social values and standards of the dominant white society. For generations, Negro Southerners had no sustained insight into white society beyond their own neighborhood, and they consequently shaped their self-portrait through the terms of local opinion. The past three or four decades have been a time, even for rural Negroes, of awareness of a larger universe of values and authoritative opinions, and increasingly they have tended to disregard local definitions in preference for more favorable nation-wide and world-wide judgments of their worth. But even in the old days, the answer to their question, "Who am I?", was far from clear. The Christianity they had been taught affirmed some things so surely that not even the utmost ingenuity of white pastoral apologists could altogether obscure them. The grand generalities of American democracy seeped into their consciousness. Their white neighbors behaved toward them with contradictory manners, producing what was (and, to a large extent, still is) surely one of the most weirdly implausible patterns of human relations ever observed. And always, Negroes were accompanied by a few stereotypes which sprang easily into the minds of white persons, even those a Negro might regard as friends, and displaced the actual Negro person they knew—or thought they knew.

The stereotypes were and are the damning judgments of white society on Negro identity. What is happening today is that Negroes are disowning the stereotypes, the white man's creations, are refusing any longer to acknowledge themselves to *be* what the white man said

N. Y., 1958; its findings and methods aroused some dispute. As a stranger to psychology I hesitate to cite writings in this field but from a dilletantish reading I might mention three pieces which were suggestive to me: Robert Coles, "Serpents and Doves: Non-Violent Youth in the South" (in Erik H. Erikson, ed., *Youth: Change and Challenge.* N. Y., 1963). Lewis W. Jones, "Negro Youth in the South" (in Eli Ginzberg, ed., *The Nation's Children,* Vol. 3, N. Y., 1960); D. C. Wilson and E. M. Lantz, "The Effect of Culture Change on the Negro in Virginia, as Indicated by a Study of State Hospital Admissions," *American Journal of Psychiatry,* July, 1957.

they were. White Southerners are confronted with a blunt demand from the Negro that he be accepted on his terms: *and this is the crucial problem of race relations today.* For years, whites have decreed that Negroes must think of themselves as the whites thought of them. Negroes now are insisting that the white majority revise its opinion of them in accord with their own, newly fashioned self-conception.

Negroes found that in the same European-American culture which had relegated them to inferiority, white supremacy had become a strand of that culture which "tends to wear away protective strata, to break down its own defenses, to disperse the garrisons of its entrenchment." The words are Schumpeter's,[6] and taken from a context which, though not analogous, is suggestive. Some other words of his are exactly applicable to contemporary Negro agitation: "Secular improvement that is taken for granted and coupled with individual insecurity that is acutely resented is of course the best recipe for breeding social unrest."[7] A concatenation of economic and educational factors, supported haphazardly and minimally by politics, produced the secular improvement; another array of political, emotional, and social circumstances caused and kept strong the individual insecurity. The social unrest is a direct outcome of the combination, and is given its specific form and intensity through the re-infusion of ideas and values into American culture by a constantly growing number of educated Negroes who have derived these ideas and values from the cultural property of western white peoples, the terms of whose inheritance require them to admit nonwhites with whom they come into regular communication to equal shares in the property.

III

Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address by recalling that "fourscore and seven years ago" there had been brought forth "a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." If, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, we look back four score and seven years, we confront a less happy and auspicious event: 1876, the year when Hayes defeated Tilden, or Tilden defeated Hayes, whichever it was. Hayes became President through the Compromise of 1877, and for the next 70 years or so the white South was left alone by the nation in its policies and in its relationships toward Negro citizens.

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[6] A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy,* 3rd edition. N. Y., 1950, p. 143. Schumpeter's brilliant analysis (pp. 121-164) around the theme of capitalism's "crumbling walls" illuminates racial unrest throughout the world. As capitalism sponsored its own intellectual and emotional opposition, so European-American culture has sown the denials of its own privileges.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 145.

The Civil War had freed the slaves and preserved the union. It had, besides, put on two Amendments to the Constitution—the 14th and 15th—which in the years after 1876 would be, as to Negroes, well nigh meaningless: four generations of Negro and white Southerners would come and go and live without acknowledging that Negroes could and should vote, or that laws should give them equal protection. The Civil War, moreover, left all these people in a ravished region, where men would get used to desperate poverty. The War and its aftermath made the South feel its spiritual and cultural separation from the rest of the nation more keenly even than before.

Then, earlier, and now, we have defined "the South" by its differences from the rest.

Southerners and non-Southerners have been, in fact, much alike. White men everywhere ruled, and Negroes were subservient, and treated as inferiors. Society belonged—and still largely does—to the white man. Protestants ruled, dominating the economic and cultural and political life of the nation. Society placed a high sentimental value on farm or small-town culture and people, and long after the bulk of our population moved into cities the rural districts kept political power. And North and South, East and West, we all believed that *any* man who worked hard could get ahead.

These common qualities of American life, native both to the South and the non-South, are dissolving. And the present crisis in the South, which became acute in 1954, does not result from traditional differences from the nation; it results instead from the dissolution of things which have in the past united us.

Six landmark dates conveniently illustrate the changes. Although they affect the whole nation they are a special challenge to the South. Somebody—Arthur Koestler, I think—once spoke of the Jews as humanity's exposed nerve, feeling first and most sharply all the troubles and pains. Sometimes one feels that the South is America's exposed nerve, and that issues which are national in scope are most intense, or at least most apparent, here.

There was 1944, and *Smith v. Allwright,* and the ensuing erosion of the white monopoly of power to make political decisions. There was 1954, and *Brown v. Topeka,* which in its deeper import signified that the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race, and which, in its application since the New Rochelle case,[8] has upset the North as well as the South. There was 1960, and confirmation that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the country's highest decisions. There was 1962, and *Baker v. Carr,* and the consequent remarkably fast crumbling of the rural fortress of political power.

There was 1940, the last year before our entry into World War II, the last year of a peace-time economy. After seven years of prodigious effort by the New Deal, unemployment in the United States was 14.6% of the working force. We went into the war and unemployment virtually ceased. We came out of the war and unemployment stayed low while the country was busily engaged in converting to peace-time needs. We had a recession in 1948, and the next year unemployment shot up to 5.9%. We went into the Korean fighting, and again unemployment declined. We had another recession in 1954, and unemployment was up again. We had yet another recession in 1958, and this time unemployment really rose—to 6.8% of the working force of this country. After each recession, recovery was slower. There has been little improvement since, and President Kennedy in March 1963, called unemployment our "number 1 economic problem," and reported that it was still about 6%; the rate for August 1963 was a seasonal 5.5%. Many economists believe that the government's way of computing unemployment seriously minimizes its extent.[9]

Neither the policies of Republican nor Democratic administrations have, as yet, been able to lick this problem. Unemployment is high despite the boosting of the economy with huge expenditures for armaments and for space exploration; without those would we be back to the 14.6% unemployed of 1940?

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[8] *Taylor v. New Rochelle,* 195 F. Supp. 231, 294 F. 2d. 36 (1961).

[9] See chapter 4 of the *Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training,* U. S. Department of Labor, 1963. The statistics above are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1962, p. 215, except for the 1963 ones, which come from news reports.

Here we meet a tragic irony; as has happened in the past Negroes seem to be the victims not only of discrimination, but of impersonal history. After the first World War the country severely restricted the flow of immigrants from abroad. Up to then, American industry had grown by drawing on a boundless labor supply of European immigrants. With immigration drastically cut, industry met its need for new labor by drawing from the farms of America, including those of the South. Beyond this last large supply of white manpower, waited in economic succession the Negro. The tragic irony is that when his turn is come, the job market is declining. This is occurring in manufacturing and mining, chiefly, and these are fields which have been a gateway for new entrants into the free competition for economic advancement. No one seriously can continue to believe that America is for everyone now a land of opportunity where *any* man, unaided, can get ahead by dint of his own hard work. Some five to seven per cent or more of those people who want to work, find that there are no jobs, even though there is general prosperity in the country, and for the Negro the unemployment rate is about double that for whites.[10]

And, finally, there was 1947, when Mr. Truman appointed the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and later espoused its recommendations, even at the cost of a party split at the Democratic convention of 1948. No political act since the Compromise of 1877 has so profoundly influenced race relations; in a sense, it was the repeal of 1877. Among the consequences were (a) a shift of emphasis from Negro "uplift"—essentially a paternalistic approach—to civil rights, i.e., the achievement of more than nominal citizenship; (b) a renewal of the fateful rupture between South and non-South; and (c) the ensuing complications for economic and social reform by statute, so that, since 1948, law-making for domestic problems has fallen into desuetude.[11]

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[10] See Charles E. Silberman, "The Businessman and the Negro," *Fortune*, September, 1963.

[11] The ability of southern Congressmen to act through concepts of the national interest, so long as they felt presently secure in race relations, made pos-

These six landmarks suggest, if I am not mistaken, that we shall have much more democracy in the United States. The price of that will be the ending of certain old ways and traditions. Groups who have led and controlled the country from its earliest days will have to accept a lessening of their influence. And if the South had trouble joining the old union—which, like it, was white, Protestant, and rural in its outlook and leadership—can it join this new union? The South was separated from the basically similar non-South of yesterday by a sharp enough cleavage; the new division would be a gulf.

To put it differently, the policies which Mississippi represents would not merely perpetuate North-South differences. The longer these policies are pursued, the greater becomes the alienation of Mississippi and the Black Belt generally from the American consensus. Just by standing pat, residents of these places will become strangers in their own land, because the nation as a whole is moving farther and farther from them.

IV

Over the years, Negro Southerners tried various methods of effecting change. They occasionally resorted to violence in the slave revolts of the ante-bellum period. During Reconstruction they sought the power of office. In Populist days they experimented—to their sorrow—with an electoral alliance with small farmers and mechanics. They tried the Booker T. Washington regimen of self-improvement, in the expectation that they would be accepted when their uplift was completed. They left the South, for the uncertain and often unrewarding North and West.

Finally—and with really their only success—they converted the political issue of equality into the Constitutional issue of equal rights. The "direct-action" movement has been a new force, and one of tremendous effect. It has produced results and it has unleashed and directed energies. Yet even its appeal has been to values thought to be in or implied by the Constitution, and the safety and success of the movement have been protected throughout by the procedural guarantees of the Constitution. The reform of the Negro question

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sible the reforms of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. For an interesting case study, see I. A. Newby, "States' Rights and Southern Congressmen During World War I," *Phylon,* Spring 1963.

in the United States has been a striking instance of the effect of a constitution upon the life and events of a society. The constitution, created by the society, becomes a force which changes society.[12]

The Constitution becomes a revolutionary instrument, for Negroes, being political outcasts, have had to combat the government, and not merely the government of the day. Nowhere yet in the old Confederacy does a politically representative body debate and settle on policy, except in two circumstances: to shore up the legal defences of segregation; or to circumscribe as closely as possible the scope of a judicial decree when defiance is considered inexpedient. Nowhere has a deliberative body accepted the premise that social change is necessary or inevitable, and that action to guide that change is its responsibility.

None has done so, because southern political theory has been incapacitating. Although formal democracy has been in short supply in the South, the tone and practice of southern politics has been democratic almost to an extreme—among the whites. Probably no where else in the country have there been closer personal relationships between voters and representatives, at all levels of government. But a democracy which is short on formal controls and efficient methods of obtaining popular consensus, and which puts a high value on informal means of effecting accountability, is going to be a conservative society. And when not all the inhabitants are constituents, the conservatism will be, in fact, defensiveness. Thus both the democratic and the conservative spirits of the South combined to defend the folk, its monopoly of power and its cultural integrity. There is nothing to deliberate about, and to do so is betrayal. There is no relief from this paralysis except through an enlarged Negro vote, and a few municipalities of the South are already tasting this emancipation.

We may well ask again whether, when a conflict runs deep, democratic politics and its institutions can solve it. If the southern conflict is being resolved, it is because it was possible to appeal it to a constitution, whose first principle is that it itself is enforceable law. There is still some life left in the old maxim that democracy requires agreement on fundamentals, although it may more accurately be this: that democratic politics cannot be counted on to bridge deep chasms of opinions and values unless undergirded by a fundamental authority (e.g., a self-enforcing constitution) which is independent of parties and legislatures.

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[12] cf. the interesting analysis by Gerhard Loewenberg, "The British Constitution and the Structure of the Labour Party," *American Political Science Review,* September, 1958.

Impersonal causes—the boll weevil, farm technology and chemicals, faster-paced industrialization, communications media, and still others—re-arranged the roots of southern life after World War I. But human action did not, until the last decade.

Now Southerners are not only being moved by their environment, but are revising themselves and their manners of living with and getting along with each other. Events and change are pell-mell, and unpredictable. Whatever we say, we must say most tentatively. I note, therefore, that the case has often, even usually, been that white Southerners can and do change their racial mores when inescapably confronted by a community-wracking situation to which they must respond in one way or another. But I note further that this has not been invariably so; witness, e.g., Albany (Ga.). Those places, however, which have refused to yield to the Negro demands, modest as they often have been in the South, have been able to do so only through techniques of suppression which tear at precepts of the Constitution. They have maltreated the right of assembly, denigrated the supremacy of federal law, whored the police powers of the states.

The Negro demands have been within the Constitution. The Negro methods have been within the liberties and privileges of the Constitution; only occasionally have they violated the rules of the game. Southern communities have been tested, therefore, not only in their customs and morality, but in their understanding of and affection for the Constitution. Those many which have accommodated, and have stepped into the currents of change, have shown to us that the feelings men have do not necessarily determine their actions or reactions; that when confronted with practical choices, men discover themselves more accurately than they had before. I have to leave to others the scientific analysis,[13] but I believe we can see the mind of the white South changing through the action of the black South and the accommodating reaction of the white South, and that a new South is shaping itself through history-making, and not through history-consciousness.

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[13] Which is, of course, being supplied. The point of view I have here expressed is consistent with that of Allport and his supporters. See, e.g., Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: a Cross-National Comparison," *Conflict Resolution,* March 1958; and "Regional

Success breeds hard problems, and it seems to me that the Negro movement is courting two very serious ones. There is disquieting evidence that a great many Negroes, naturally imbued with the excitement and the power of having led America's first sustained experiment in government by the street, are oblivious to the fact that their guiding rule and their indispensable ally has been the Constitution. Secondly, the availability of the political process has been so long withheld from them that they may not learn soon to value it.

I see little or no prospect for rational answers to America's or the South's racial woes unless the channels of politics are opened up for their resolution, by Congress and by the states. This means a steady transference of issues from court to legislature. The Constitution has done its work, and the way is cleared to reach decisions through consensus. For the long run, *Baker v. Carr* may be the avenue through which Negroes, under the leadership and representation of new, political types, may bring racial issues finally into political settlement. In the nature of things, the South's practical alternative to government by the street may include the price of a half dozen or more Adam Clayton Powells, but that is democracy's age-old exaction.

In the meantime, we can note that any government has but three possible postures toward the question of racial equality: in favor, opposed, or neutral. The political theory of the South has for more than three centuries been grounded on the principle of white supremacy. It has been the cardinal doctrine. If, then, southern state governments were to follow the lead already given by some municipalities, and move from opposition to neutrality, this would be a truly historic change.

Differences in Anti-Negro Prejudice," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* July 1959, From the former: "The success of the movement in the South does not depend—this hypothesis would contend—on changing the deeply ingrained orientations of prejudice-prone personalities; rather, it rests on the effectiveness with which racial integration now going on in the South can restructure the mores to which so many culturally intolerant southerners conform."

In fact, the border states have already moved beyond neutrality,[14] and have begun incorporating into their public policy commitments favoring equality. And of even greater historic moment, some of the old Confederacy states have begun the withdrawal of state power from the defense of segregation and inequality.

This seems to me the *sine qua non* for the preservation of the South, as a community of persons acknowledging a common heritage. There must be an end to governmental hostility toward Negro advance, and acceptance of a political theory which sees government as neutral toward the competing aspirations of all economic and social elements. Such theory has been a commonplace in American national politics since at least Theodore Roosevelt. It will have to be established in the South and will have to be founded on the conditional truth that neutrality of the governmental power has to exist if there is to be order. Hobbes may not have said the last word in political philosophy, but he did say the first: power should be independent of the competition of private interests, and, because of its recognition of the equal potential threat of every person to public order, must acknowledge the equality of rights.

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Let us say only that as long as a large number of people sense an identity among themselves, the South as a specific, self-conscious culture will endure. As was said at the start of this essay, who is there who is not tired of struggles for more definitive answers?[15] Perhaps I could venture that a Southerner is a person who feels, as against all other people, that he is the more moral, using that word in its broadest meaning of being spiritually fit for life as it is. But this would say no more than that the Southerner shares a widespread conceit. Perhaps it would mean more if I said that the Southerner is someone who can recognize that he has lost every argument about good and evil he has ever had—and he's had a lot

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[14] Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia have all legislated some minimal standards and mediation procedures for racial relations, and the governor of Kentucky has gone further with a sweeping executive order.

[15] I have been privileged to read a draft of the forthcoming book of James McBride Dabbs, whose *The Southern Heritage* (N. Y., 1958) is the likeliest candidate of recent years to stand beside the classic interpretations of Cash and Lillian Smith. Dabbs has *not* tired of the search.

—yet he *still* feels himself somehow more moral, again in the broadest meaning.

But it is safer to come back to the simple test of identification. The deepest wisdom in human relations is to accept a man as whatever he names himself. Ten years from now, or 20, will people living between the Potomac and the Rio Grande still identify themselves with each other, still feel worthwhileness in calling themselves Southerners?

I don't know. But I think we all do know some things that bear on the answer.

We know, most importantly, that politics is the way a people conducts its affairs, and that politics not only serves a group of people pragmatically but gives it unity, helps make of it a community. When the political processes cannot handle the affairs of the people, and when to settle grievances men have to act outside those processes, the polity is always hurt, sometimes to the point of death. Both Negroes and intense segregationists, including segregationist officials, have felt that they must take their causes outside the normal processes of politics.

The South is a little place. It cannot act greatly, and its survival means hardly anything to the world. Except that, as I have tried to argue, the only way it can, in fact, survive is to do something that *would* matter to the world, and that is to become a rarity, a bi-racial community at peace with itself. It can do so, I think, only by integrating Negroes into its political processes.

Southern politics is just now, as usual, full of curious things. Mississippi is experimenting with a Soviet style government, with the Citizens Council paralleling the state machine in emulation of a successful Communist Party. Southern governors have become the *de facto* executive directors of the state chambers of commerce, and spend their time competing with each other as supplicants for new plants. We have talked of state socialism and state capitalism, but what do we call governments whose chief affair it is to entice and propitiate business? And all over the South, battle lines draw close to each other, portentous of an epic contest which may never occur in any explicit, decisive engagement, but which will, one way or another, reach to the innermost desires of the South.

For southern conservatism is blending now with that of the nation at large in spirited defense against the dissolution of the old unities of American life. Southern liberalism has, and this is its good luck, no choice but to accept the Negro's cause as its own. The pains of the warfare between those who are rebelling against 300 years of history and those who want to move more rapidly into the future, will probably be most acutely felt in the South; it is the South's ancient calling to deflect pain and guilt from the rest of the nation.

Negroes have hymned the American dream, but only its battle-cries. There are other parts of it and, if we read our history honestly, the Birchites and lesser breeds within the law are responsive to them. A "nice" home; people like ourselves; Jesus, and "our" church; the righteousness of property. America is on its way, not to a confrontation with its dream, but to a study of it, a mining of its content. The cutting edge of one drill is the radical right, and the other is the Negroes. It is in the South that each will probably cut most deeply. We are likely to learn a lot about ourselves, these next few years, as the drills cut away.

LIVING ABROAD DOMESTICALLY

Seminar In Social Relations

5-9-64

David J. Ackerman

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following paper was begun as a term paper for Dr. Eric Lincoln's Seminar In Social Relations. As it progessed, it became obvious to me that the paper was taking on the form of a diary of a sort--written in reflection. The work bears the peculiar distinction of having no documentation, other than the writers memory, and no purpose other than to serve as a catharsis for the writers pent-up emotions. For this I am apologetic to the unfortunate reader.

To my roommate, Ernest R. McKinney I am indebted for reading the manuscript and putting up with my eccentricities. To Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, I am indebted for the opportunity to pursue this paper and verbal and moral support from his quarter. (Gastronomically I am similarly indebted to him and his wife) Lastly, to the students, faculty and administrative personnel of Morehouse College I am eternally grateful, for without their cooperation, conscious and unwitting, this paper would not have been possible.

Atlanta, Georgia 9 May, 1964 D.J.A.

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Section One--Morehouse College

> The function of the university is not simply to teach bread-winning, or to furnish teachers for the public schools or to be the centre of polite society; it is, above all, to be the organ of that fine adjustment between real life and the growing knowledge of life, an adjustment which forms the secret of civilization.
>
> W.E. Burghardt DuBois

While at Cornell, I naively hoped that Morehouse might be a college where students pursue knowledge for their own enjoyment, and where such pursuit might reward the student with self-discovery and personal identity. Reflecting four months later. I am both apalled and disappointed with my findings. Having seen first hand the blight of Southern high school education, the disappointing values of the "black bourgeoisie" and the almost complete lack of democracy on this Negro college campus, I recognize that Morehouse can only be a second-class reflection of the larger society's values.

Bluntly, I've found Morehouse to be an educational joke. Writing in 1903, W.E.B. DuBois criticized the founders who "scattered haphazard through the South some dozen poorly equipped high schools and called them universities." The statement is painfully appropriate today, for the level of teaching, with rare exceptions, does little to correct the stunted backgrounds of entering and departing seniors. Morehouse, like so many other American degree-bestowing institutions, does little more than raise the country boy's level of sophistication regarding liquor, women and the ways to succeed---without even trying.

Although great lip service is paid to studying, I have seen relatively little done by Morehouse students. The classwork and exams are on a very elementary level. Perhaps the greatest difference between this and other college work I've done is the amount of reading required. Not since high school have I had a course using one textbook. Reading material for courses at Cornell was from many sources and in much greater quantity. A further distinction is that the class meetings at Cornell presented something different from the reading material. At Morehouse, my classes are a rehashing of the book, if that.

The teachers with whom I have had contact are very complacent. A better term might be lethargic, for they receive little challenge from the students; allowing them to fall behind on the latest developments in their fields.

Several of these teachers have become very pedantic in their positions, acting as though their degrees permit them the use of excess verbiage as a replacement for hard facts in the classroom. Not only are they tolerated, but they seem to be the idols of many awe-struck Morehouse students. I am most critical of these people. They have come to Morehouse well prepared in their respective fields and allowed the mediocrity to deaden their intellectual vigor.

It must be very hard for a teacher to remain calm under trying circumstances often found in the Morehouse classroom. When students don't bother to prepare for class; when students cannot employ proper English usage; when handwriting is illegible and when the self-admitted goal of most students is "just to get through", I suppose complacency is a valid defense for the professor.

While Cornell students, for the most part, had disappointing values, I find the Morehouse counterpart to have still poorer ones. The Negro, in a dor-or-die attempt to become an accepted American, seems to be out-middle-classing the white middle-class. Robert C. Weaver in describing his background said: "...and believe me, there is nothing more middle-class than a middle class minority."

Sensing that the materialism and affluence so long valued in America is now within his reach, the black American (atleast those with whom I've spent the last four months) thrashes madly for it without concern for the more aesthetic but less tangible aspects of arrival. "...Man, don't tell me 'bout no movements; all I want is a fine crib,'chine and a good woman, and I'll be happy," is too often the attitude of the Morehouse student. Worse, Morehouse gladly complies with it. The College demands little more than chapel attendance, reasonable class attendance and a scrubbed face and dark suit come Sunday. In return it offers the magic sheep-skin that serves as a passport to the black world of business, medicine and law.

Morehouse students will go to unbelievable lengths to get that diploma. Cheating is not an isolated incident but the norm in most classrooms. One can hardly comprehend the degree to which cheating is employed until he spends some time at Morehouse. In reference to the proposed honor system, one student remarked: "teachers will have the honor, students will have the system!"

While at Morehouse, I lived in Mays Hall; the modern, newly-completed dormitory named for President Benjamin Mays. The rooms bear a striking resemblance to those in University Halls at Cornell, but they are a bit larger and cheerier. The dorm is the pride of Morehouse, housing seniors, juniors--and exchange students.. As a sophmore I feel a bit uncomfortable being housed in the dorm because of my "guest status". I think that such treatment tends to compound the already dificult task of just being another student at Morehouse.

There is no student floor counselor in the dorm as was the case at Cornell. Consequently, the maintenance of quiet hours and general conduct regulation is left to the students themselves. I sometimes wonder how students study, for the library closes at ten o'clock and the dorm is so public that study seems out of the question. This seems inconsistent with a philosophy prevalent on the campus. It involves not trusting the students to do things on their own. Every morning the rooms are inspected by the house mother; a perfect example of the many phases of coercion of one form or another used to achieve a desired result--in this case clean floors, empty wastebaskets, and dustless windowsills. It seems odd to me that the college is more concerned with neat rooms than a conducive study atmosphere.

My relations with the students in Mays Hall have been most cordial. I feel that I have gone as far as time and cultural differences allow in making genuine friendships in the student body. I feel that I am treated as one of the fellows by those people in the dorm.. Excepting the absence of a floor counselor, the dorm is very similar to that at Cornell. This the case, I see no need to prolong its discussion.

Students living on campus are required (strongly requested) to take their meals in the dining hall locatedon the first floor of Mays Hall. The food is typical of most institutional meal plans. One might criticize the lack of variety and mediocre quality. One could praise its low cost to the student. I prefer to eat and forget it altogether. A personal religious conviction will not allow me to eat pork. The college and those responsible for food preparation have gone out of their way to respect this conviction. Whenever pork in any form was served in the dining hall, some other kind of meat was prepared especially for me. I am most appreciative for this courtesy.

To this point, my comments have been rather negative. Were this all I saw at Morehouse, I would consider my semester a disappointing experience. Fortunately, it has been more rewarding, due in large measure to the Canterbury House, a combination student union, chapel, all-purpose office and gathering place for some of the more challenging minds on the campus. Father Warren Scott, Episcopal Chaplain for the A.U. Center is the force behind the 'house. He is a very impressive man--settled and apparently calm on the outside, but with a dynamic nature that occasionally bubbles through the deceptive outer shell. More than the house (itself), Father Scott, the coffee--always available, and the special events that make Canterbury House an oasis on the Morehouse desert, are the people who make it their second home. They have something to offer, but what makes them special is that they want to share it with those who appreciate their fellowship. I want very much to convey the good that I've found in the midst of so much bad; the warmth within the cold; the living among the dead.

South of the North, yet north
of the South, lies the City of
a Hundred Hills, peering out
from the shadows of the past
into the promise of the future.
W.E. Burghardt DuBois

To the City of a Hundred Hills I apologize, for I have not seen all or nearly all of what you have to offer. I have not consciously limited myself to "this side of town", but the isolation that I've felt in Atlanta has sublty kept me close to the campus. Atlanta is far from an open city. There are many places that Negroes cannot go. There are other places that we* can go, but don't, because to exercise the right is so uncomfortable that such effort is not worth the time. I am a foreigner to the culture, the tastes and values of native Atlantans. I am a Jewish, New York yankee, and with these three strikes against me the fact that I am a "nigger-lover" does not enhance my popularity with the local citizenry.

The Jewish community in Atlanta has been of great interest to me. Before coming South, my conception of Jews was heavily influenced by those in my home town. Friends and relatives did little to break the stereotypes. What I used to think was a "Jewish accent" might more properly be called a New York accent, for Jews in Atlanta sound, atleast to my untrained ear, like Southerners--previously meaning Christian to me.

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*"we"meaning that while I am not physically a Negro, I feel a greater identity with them than most southern white people.

An aunt of mine has a cousin who married a native Atlantan. In private, my mother advised me that "he is a 'real southerner', David, and he just doesn't think or feel the way you do about race relations." My mother, I must add, never knew his feelings, but based her opinion on his accent and mannerisms. I digress. One night the woman called and invited me to their home for supper. Recalling my mother's words, I hesitatingly accepted the invitation. They lived in a garden-type apartment development on West Peachtree Street.She seemed to be enjoying all the comforts of the genteel southern life; a maid-cook, Cadillac theater dates, luncheon dates, hairdresser dates, et. al. Her husband, who soon disproved my initial misgivings about the evening, was a manufacturer of ladies clothing.

While the meal was a reprieve from the bland institutional food at the college, and the visit itself was rewarding, the most significant thing that happened was a remark made by the husband. He asked me what I thought of the Jews in Atlanta. Not waiting for an answer he continued, saying "they live pretty good down here--nice big homes over there," pointing abstractly out the window, "they're almost like white people!" A most enlightening comment coming from a southern Jew.

The Reform Synagogue in Atlanta is called, appropriately enough, The Temple. Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, its Rabbi, comes from Cincinnatti. Not an imposing figure in person, nevertheless his voice on the telephone and his name in converstaion command a great amount of respect. The Temple was bombed in 1958. Rabbi Rothschild told me that the bombing was a shock to the members of the Synagogue and for a time, atleast, they were aroused to action on the questions of desegregation and minority rights. White supremists have great potential for antisemitism. Incidents such as the bombing drive the point home to Jews. As the Rabbi said, however, they soon forgot it and now it is history. It is something that happened--not something that could happen. The Jews in Atlanta are, as typified by this congregation, secure in their feelings. They may be theoretically aware of the danger in complacency; they may see vague similarity between anti-semitism and white supremacy; between Albany, Georgia and Auschwitz, but it takes a bombing or something similar to shake them out of false security. One day it may be too late for the Jews of Atlanta--or the Jews of Atlantas.

The University Super Market (SELF SERVICE!) is located on Fair Street, three blocks from the campus. It is owned, operated, clerked, managed, etc., by Marty Starch and his wife. Marty is one of a breed of Jewish grocery store owners in the Negro ghettos. For many of the nation's Negroes, Marty Starch is the only Jew they've ever met. He is particularly interesting because he has assimilated many of the southern cliches into his speech. Like the clothing manufacturer, mentioned on the previous page, he speaks "southern-English." Coming from France and previously Russia, this is the only form of English that he's been exposed to. I never fail to be amused when, leaving the store, he calls "come again, heah?" in a mongrelized broken English infused with the culture of the fine old South! Knowing I am Jewish, and also that I speak "Yiddish", he goes out of his way to see me on the street. Marty is an expatriate from New York, even though he has never been there. Talking with me brings him a little closer to "home."

A Morehouse student recently returned from a year in France and Switzerland, has given me some startling insight into Negro-Jewish relations. The fellow is not a bigot. I would consider him one of the most enlightened, well informed students I have met at Morehouse. He told me that before going to Europe (implying a before and after distinction in his life) he was developing a definite dislike for Jews. In Atlanta he saw much of what appears to be exploitation by Jewish merchants and managers of Negro labor; paying sub-standard wages, bringing in new men (nearly always relatives) instead of promoting Negroes,and the like. The Jews are the tangible representation of Negro exploiters, and he now sees the problem in greater perspective, but he feels that Negroes today, growing increasingly discontent, may vent their bitterness on the nearest white man...in many cases Jews. To me, a fr~~e~~ightening but but conceivable thought.

I arrived in Atlanta on January 25, 1964 at 11:30 p.m. At this time Atlanta was the scene of violent racial demonstrations. Not knowing anyone in Atlanta, assuming the Morehouse dorms closed for the semester break and wanting to appear as inconspicuous as possible, it was my plan to spend the night at the YMCA. As I walked from the plane into the airport, a student about my age who had been on the plane approached me and asked if I'd share a cab with him into town. Hearing from the cab driver of the demonstrations going on in Atlanta, and seeing I was a stranger he offered me his home for the night. With hesitation I accepted and we proceeded to his house. The Raefords were quite wealthy. The father was an established opthamologist, and his education included three years at the University of Pennsylvania medical school. Their home was tasteful and everyone seemed unbelievably well-mannered. The great shock came when the mother, up to this time the quietest of women, referred to the niggers and the "riots" downtown. Noticing my interest in his wife's comment, Dr. Raeford began to explain his views on integration. He talked in terms of Negroes needing more responsibility, making reference to Winston Churchill's History of the English Speaking Peoples, which he felt every "Negra ought ta read" because they simply aren't ready for full acceptance of western culture yet. I was amazed that people of such breeding could hold such ignorant prejudices, to me, inconsistent with their sophistication and education.

My second stopping place in Atlanta was much more to my liking. A couple at Cornell knew Vincent Harding, director of Mennonite House. To "get away" from my first hosts, I hastily telephoned Vincent and explained my plight. He told me to come right over. Not knowing what or who to expect, I was mildly surprised to find that Reverend Harding was Negro. Somehow in my limited contact with the Mennonite Church, I got the impression that it was very conservative, and never thought that it might support an integrated "house" in Atlanta, or that it had Negro members. Like Father Scott, one can easily gather a deceiving first impression about Vincent Harding. Non-violence is an abused term today. To many it is a "tactic," something to be used on people. Reverend Harding, however, not only understands the broader, more challenging implications of non-violence, he lives it. He is a man of perfect, often disarming honesty, and a leader of tremendous courage as well as being a minister in the Mennonite Church. He commands the respect of friends and foes alike. There is a "religiosity" that he seems to radiate. He has greatly affected me, turning my cynicism into faith and channeling me to constructive activity.

The people living at Mennonite House have varied backgrounds, occupations and interests. What brings them together is a common conviction in the goodness of man and concern for future of man. The ideals are lofty but the people very practical--living what they believe.

Another "house" with which I have come in contact in Atlanta is the Quaker House. A weekly Friends meeting is held there but its extracurricular activities include lectures, luncheons and gatherings where peace, civil rights, student and adult groups exchange ideas. The words on the House stationery speak of its aims: "A House of Living Dialogue."

An experience that allowed me unusual familiarity with the South was a job I held for five weeks at Sears Roebuck in the West End shopping area. The men I worked with ranged from a former whiskey-runner to a J. Alfred Prufrock type bureaucrat who spent every spare moment assuring me that Tobacco Road did not typify the South. He may not have thought so, but the poor farmers (black and white) who came into the store didn't lend any support to his argument. I think that about two thirds of the non-urban people who came in on Saturday had liquor on their breath. In plain English they were dirty, seemingly quite poor, illiterate and just as one pictures southern rural farmers.

The Courts, the jim crow laws and the police forces of the South have come under a great deal of fire in the past few years. The South is not a homogeneous area. This is important to understand. Atlanta is different from Albany, Greenwood from Nashville and Birmingham is a class of its own with regard to economic factors, social factors and political factors. I can only speak for what I have seen in Atlanta and what I have heard about the others. The cities are said to be more just than the rural areas. If this is true, than I believe the South (as a generalized area) has a long,long way to go before it comes up to national standards for law;its equal enforcement. Judge Pye, elected by the "liberal people of Atlanta",now has a national reputation for his treatment of Negroes and whites who come before him in violation of Atlanta's anti-tresspass law. I have seen policemen in Atlanta turn their back when a mob attacked a peaceful picket line protesting segregation. Persons have received terrible abuses while jailed for civil rights activity. The citizens refuse to listen to the pleas of the disadvantaged Negro people. This is Atlanta, the city "too busy to hate." One must see it to believe that the seemingly sensational reports coming out of the South are just a statement of fact.

My discussion of Atlanta would be incomplete without some mention of what E. Franklin Frazier called The Black Bourgeoisie. Atlanta, Georgia is considered by many to be the geographical center of Negro wealth and influence. If it could be further defined, Collier Heights, more commonly known as the Gold Coast, would be the origin of such a center. The homes, the cars but most especially the values of the Black Bourgeoisie are as the name implies--smug and respectable. There is an air of stiff formality that seems to pervade all Negro life above the level of the lower socio-economic classes. It is stiffling to free expression. Stiff formality is reflected in dress, and mannerisms of the Negro middle and upper classes but most particularly in the places where these people gather. In the classroom, in Paschals Restaurant, in the churches and even in the homes. A teacher who I have come to respect very much at Morehouse told me in a candid moment that a "Negro man might turn to his wife ine middle of the night and ask 'what d'you think, Mrs Smith?' and she reply 'O.K., Dr. Smith!" I only relate the comment of this Ph. D, and cannot speak from personal experience.

In an earlier section I mentioned a philosophy of not trusting students to do anything on their own. This is closely related to values of the black middle class. Almost no responsibility is left to the students in governing the college. The student government association is powerless when it comes to central issues. The advisory committee, the pride of many who are deluded by thoughts of student power, is in reality a rubber stamp for the dean and the president of the college. At Spelman College, there exists such a maze of rules and regulations that genuine student responsibility is impossible. The Negro College (generalizing from what I've seen) does things for the students. It selects the courses, inspects the rooms, provides a "religious hour", sets the moral standards i.e., when,where, until what hour, with whom, and what the students (especially the girls) may or may not do.

Some questions have arisen out of my experience at Morehouse and in Atlanta. Has the Negro been brainwashed by American, middle-class values? Does the fact that there is a lack of trust placed in the students imply an insecurity in the value system held by the administration? Will the "third American revolution" serve to desegregate public facilities only, or does it have broader social, economic and political overtones? Phrasing this last question differently, is there a difference between the SNCC approach (appealing to class) and the more traditional and acceptable approach of the SCLC and NAACP factions which appeal to race? I do not intend to answer these questions in this paper. In the future they will serve as food for thought. The reader might do well to ponder them himself.

Section Three--Some suggestions

This paper to this point has been a statement of observations and experiences that I have had in the past four months. Its only purpose was to put in writing some impressions that I have gathered and to account for the things that have influenced my thought while in Atlanta.

In the following pages I intend to make some suggestions based on my experiences that might aid those who will try to alter or redirect the course of Morehouse College life.

The Atlanta University Center, the six colleges in the area, must become more unified. I realize that personal traditions are hard to sacrifice, but for the sake of one adequate instead of six inadequate colleges this step must be taken. Three positive steps should be taken in this direction. One good infirmary could be set up to treat students from the member colleges with no sacrifice of college identity. As it now stands Morehouse has an inadequate infirmary as does Spelman, Clark has none (does anyone get sick at Clark) and Morris Brown and Atlanta University also have none (to my knowledge). At any rate there is no excuse for the present situation. A common student union building would go a long way to unify these campuses. It would also offer a place to which students and faculty members might retire for relaxation between and after class. In it could be housed a coffee shop, a movie theatre, a small browsing library, perhaps an art room, a craft shop, a game room (pool tables, ping pong tables etc.) and an information desk or board. The student union would provide a much healthier atmosphere for A.U.C. students than the Yates and Milton Drug Store. A college is measured by its library. On this count the Atlanta Univ. Center falls pitifully short. It will be vital to the existence of the Center's member colleges to build and maintain one good, up-to-date library.

Morehouse College should do several things to improve itself. Some of the better, more-advanced students are held back in the classroom because of the sub-normal backgrounds of many other students. I suggest that Morehouse begin an honors program, or something similar, to allow some of these better students to do more challenging work in their fields of interest. It is unfair to them that they must be a part of a remedial program. Mandatory chapel attendance must be abolished. So too, mandatory room inspection. If students are to develop into responsible adults they must be given some self-determination in their private lives. If chapel is worthwhile people will attend. If not, better that it's not attended. I think that the lack of trust shown in the students by the administration is unwarranted. Left to themselves, students would probably take more pride in their actions.

More non-Morehouse people should be hired to teach here. This would bring in new blood-new ideas, a heterogeneous faculty, in many instances better prepared persons. A conscious attempt should be made to recruit white students. This could be done through the aid of foundation grants, recruiting a better faculty & luring white students (at first from the North) with a prestigious faculty and financial aid. If we strive for an integrated society it is hypocritical to maintain a segregated school.

Section Four--An Afterthought

Having proof-read the manuscript, I wish to add some comments. Should this be read by any persons other than Dr. Lincoln, I want it known that because my words are negative they are not meant as an insult to the College, the City or any persons mentioned specifically. I wrote what I felt. For this I do not apologize. Should anyone be offended by my words, I wish to express my disappointment for they were offered in love--love of Morehouse, despite all, love of Atlanta and love of people. Forgive me.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Why couldn't you use this chapter, deleting 1st graph p. 18? This confirms my good opinion of Eric Lincoln, he being obviously a big influence on this kid.

patw

The Atlanta Journal

APR 3 1961

PREROGATIVE OF PREJUDICE

Rights of an Individual in a Free Society May Even Extend to Hate

By MARGARET LONG

AS EVER when freedom-loving and literate people of good will start to resist the tyranny of the prejudiced they slip into over-zealous attitudes which would curb the liberties of all of us.

HATE-BEMUSED

There are a good many signs of this tendency lately and suggestions that it's time the liberals, moderates or people-respecting radicals — or whatever we want to call ourselves — would do well to stop and consider the rights of the dangerous, fear-driven and hate-bemused extremists on the other side. We should recall our cherished principles of free thought, speech and assembly and be sure to accord these liberties to the most frightening of our opponents.

Here now we've got Atlanta school officials saying it's "unwise" for segregation extremists to meet and harangue us in public school auditoriums and withdrawing a permit for them to speak at an East Atlanta high school, what with the inflamations of Mr. Roy Harris and Mr. Lester Maddox as guest speakers.

Well, these peculiar patriots are certainly very alarming people with a hot gift for evoking the meanest fears and hostilities among our less stable and literate citizens. I, too, wish they'd hush and leave us alone to an intelligent consideration of our change. But if other "civic groups" and community protagonists of this and that idea have free access to school auditoriums, dare we deny these irresponsibles the same facilities to air their ideas? I don't think we can, just because we are disgusted with them and afraid of them.

We should let them meet in our, and their, accessible halls, shout their horrendous ideas, and then dispute them, in full faith in the integrity of more informed and less savage opinions on race rights and community weal. Then we should rely on our police to control the belligerent excitement of simple-minded people they may incite to violence. We must let them say what they feel, but keep their hands off the rest of us.

Similarly, I think the Atlanta Jewish War Veterans Post 112 is in understandable error in asking Governor Vandiver to legislate against distribution of "hate literature" on state property. I've seen my share of this horrifying literature against Jews, Negroes, Catholics and other varieties of civilized people.

I have felt that perpetrators of such fierce and child like lies and such irrational and fearful opinion ought to be flung in the Buford Rock Quarry, which is, as far as I can tell, about the same as hell. The sick and inflaming emotion of these tracts is repellent to any reasonable or peaceable Southerner or American.

FIREBRANDS

But even these psychotic, or cynical, firebrands have their rights, which are quite as inviolable as anybody's. We share rights to pass out printed opinions to passers-by, no matter how idiotic or dangerous these opinions are. We even have a right to tell lies to hate our neighbors for color and religion, and our neighbors have protection to some extent in libel and slander laws. We must, however, cope with this precarious clash of ideas and free expression of any opinion.

The trouble is, we haven't had sufficient dispute and clash of ideas in the South. When the fascist fanatics get going with their alarms and obscenities, decent people subside, hoping it will blow over, too fearful of the forces of hatred and too timid about the strength of truth and generosity.

We've still got a lot of arguments to finish, a lot of lies to deny and a lot of democracy to affirm. And we won't do this shutting anybody up. If we do try to shut them up, and deny their rights, they can silence us, too — as they have for too many years already.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

6411 Regent Street
Oakland 18, California

June 7, 1962

Dearest Va,

This'll be my last letter for a bit, because we are leaving next weekend and I'm beginning to get that suspended in mid air feeling, nothing done or ready.

Oh dear, the article. I see it met with little favor even with friends like Maggie. All I can say about "lambchop" is that I have *definitely heard* Marge call Binky lamb-chop, sincewhen I've been calling Benjy Veal-Cutlet. Anyway *I* think lamb chops are better than lamb pie, or lamb stew for that matter. I'm glad you liked Maggie, I adore her. I do hope she is not genuinely cross about the article.

Only trouble is, Mrs. Ham was furious about my book--that is, she said she thought it awfully good but was livid at being left out of it. She wrote me a long letter when it was published, the whole first part very complimentary; then she sort of went into the 3rd person, like this: "This writer feels, however, extremely hurt..." and so on, about not being in.

The odd part about Debo is that she more and more gathers the Lit. set round her (although she still reads pointing with her finger) and of course they love it, writers and artists etc. always adore being invited to the Dukeries because of the extreme comfort. Also, I must say she has been awfully nice about getting reservations etc for us, and a car.

I'll send you Philip's book from London. Perhaps you will like it. He wrote to say he hopes I won't mind if he tends to cut down the curtains at Inch Kenneth before leaving.

I could do so much more with your play if you'd send it after I get back--because you know how NY is, one mad dash from point to point;

in touch with Dave

LOUISE THOMAS, Director of Public Relations
HELEN CROSBY, Assistant
WOLCOTT GIBBS, JR., Publicity Manager
JANET GLENNON, Radio & TV
BETSY BEILENSON, Children's Books

Doubleday

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. / MUrray Hill 8-5300

News for Immediate Release About:

100th ANNIVERSARY OF FREEDOM

On January 1, 1963 - the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln - Doubleday will publish FOREVER FREE by Dorothy Sterling. For young readers up to the age of 16, this is the story of slavery in the United States - from the first African slave traders up to the people and events behind the signing of the Proclamation.

Dorothy Sterling, who has written books for children of all ages, has won several prizes for her books. CAPTAIN OF THE PLANTER, a biography of Robert Smalls - a slave who became a congressman, received the Nancy Bloch Award in 1958 for the children's book which best fosters intercultural understanding. In 1959, MARY JANE, a fictional account of school integration, also won the Nancy Bloch Award as well as The Community-Woodward School's award for promotion of "one-worldness" among children and an honorable mention from The Child Study Association of America.

The linecuts in FOREVER FREE are by Ernest Crichlow, who has illustrated several of Mrs. Sterling's books, including MARY JANE and FREEDOM TRAIN.

JR-RC, JRC-2, JRC-3, NJ, I December, 1962

Fight for Freedom

By Langston Hughes, 224 pp. W. W. Norton, New York. 1962. $4.50.

There has long been a need for a dramatic and readable history of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In *Fight For Freedom* we have such a history by one of the leading poets and writers of his generation, Langston Hughes.

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NEWS FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ABOUT:
"The Witching Lands" by Hugh B. Cave/Publication date: May 10

NEW TALES OF THE WEST INDIES

"Too small to lure the conventional tourist, the Etoile attracts guests of more lasting interest," writes the owner of the West Indian hotel that serves as mise en scène for most of the stories in Hugh B. Cave's new book, "The Witching Lands." This collection of fourteen tales of love, religion and politics Caribbean style will be published by Doubleday on May 10.

Like an exotic Winesburg, Ohio, the mythical St. Joseph City, where the Etoile is situated, is notable for the interplay of lives within its borders and environs. Foreign service officials, men from outlying plantations, doctors and nurses from back-country hospitals, mining and construction engineers, scientists, teachers, artists and writers converge on the Etoile.

Mr. Cave has spent many years in the Caribbean, wearing out four jeeps in his explorations of the area. He has written several books, including a recent novel about voodoo and Christianity, "The Cross on the Drum," and a non-fiction book about Jamaica, "Four Paths to Paradise." His "Haiti: Highroad to Adventure," is recognized as a superlative description of that country.

A longtime resident of Warwick, Rhode Island, Mr. Cave also spends a lot of time on a coffee plantation in Jamaica. He is married and has two sons.

April, 1963
TRV, I, LQ, NSpec, N-1

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NEWS FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ABOUT:
"If We Must Die," by Junius Edwards / Publication date: August 2, 1963

A PIN-POINTED LIFE

In the office of the Attorney General of the United States there is a map studded with pins marking the counties in which the Justice Department has taken action to protect Negro voting rights.

"If We Must Die," a first novel by Junius Edwards, to be published by Doubleday on August 2, tells one of the thousands of stories behind each of those little pins. It is the story of one man, Will Harris: Negro, veteran, would-be voter. "If We Must Die" minutely examines this man's inner reactions to certain facts of his life. He cannot get a cold drink where or when he wishes; cannot escape the heat, for the nearby shade is not for his use; does not dare to help a person in distress, because a difference in the color of his skin makes his every move suspect.

"If We Must Die" covers one day in Will Harris' life--the day he attempts to register to vote. Junius Edwards tells, simply and vividly, of the attitudes, emotions and results that accompany this act, but draws no conclusions. That is left to the reader. But perhaps in this exciting and powerful novel is the key to the current unrest in one segment of our community:

> "If we must die, let it not be like hogs
> Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot..."
>
> --Claude McKay

YM Student council Wilkes

July, 1963
N-Spec, N-1, I

Students Y.M.C.A
41 Exchange Place
10 o'clock
A.M.

Moroccans

THE MANTINBAND MEGILLAH 1963

On November 13th I addressed the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee in Dallas. Rabbi Levi Olan introduced me. After a complimentary reference to the speaker as a "Rabbi's Rabbi", he went on to say: "My colleague left Mississippi to escape the tensions of that area. He thought he could enjoy peace and serenity in Texas. Let him wait. He'll find out!" Prophetic words. Within ten days the shocking news of the President's assassination in Dallas stunned the world. We wept with grief and shame, for we were great admirers of John Kennedy, unlike so many others in this part of the country. Here is a Profile in Courage. Boruch dayan emes.

The year 1963 was quite eventful. Primarily there was the decision to pull up stakes in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, after eleven good years, and make Longview, Texas our new home. A major consideration was the proximity to our children (Carol, Abe and their four in Shreveport, Frank and Toni in Dallas, Bill and Edith and their five in San Antonio). Irony of ironies. Bill promptly moved to St. Louis; he is with the U. S. Air Force as cartographer. And now the Dallas-ites contemplate departing to points north.... And the heartache over Clyde Kennard and Medgar Evers, both good friends, not to mention the recent gubernatorial election and its portents, will remain.

There were the usual trips and talks far from home. Outstanding were two visits to Chicago, the first in January with the National Conference on Religion and Race, and again in November at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Ours was a notable experience at the White House with President Kennedy in June, also on the race situation. Some 200 clergymen had been invited from all over the country. We had an intimate session with the President for almost two hours. Other addresses and committee meetings took us to Fort Wayne, Atlanta, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. There was occasional writing also, -- some collaboration with Harry Golden, and "The Diary of a Southern Rabbi" which appeared in American Judaism.

Highlight. I escorted our grandsons Guss and Martin, 17 and 16, on a 5000-mile motor trip through Virginia (Williamsburg to Natural Bridge), Washington, New York, Boston, the rolling Berkshires and the White and Green Mountains, and then Canada -- Quebec, Montreal, Toronto-returning via Niagara, Gettysburg and Cherokee in the Smokies. We included a Broadway play, a Big League ball game, and all the sights of Great Gotham. En route I officiated at an interdenominational religious service as we sped along the highway at 70 miles per hour. During this period, Anna and Carol deposited the younger children at Camp Belle Aire and trekked around the country together, footloose and fancy free. Thank God, our health for the most part is good, and our zest for life abundant. Texas is a world in itself. There is always the unexpected.

In early May, Anna's only brother passed away in Florida. His was a good and useful life. We hope to visit the Kest family in Florida this winter.

The longer we live, the more we prize our friendships. Mail comes regularly from our family in Israel, Hungary and England. Old army associations bridge the distance to Alaska and Honolulu. We cherish our ties on the home front no less ...... May the New Year bring abundant happiness to you all. Keep in touch. Sholom u'vrocho.

Charles and Anna Mantinband

MM ✓
MG
RHA

3/7/64

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NEWS FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ABOUT:
"Dancers on the Shore," by William Melvin Kelley
Publication date: March 20, 1964

DANCERS ON THE SHORE

William Melvin Kelley was born in 1937, and by 1962, with the publication of "A Different Drummer," he had become a highly acclaimed novelist. His gifts for imaginative, meaningful story-telling, praised by reviewers both here and in England, are again displayed in "Dancers on the Shore."

Mr. Kelley presents 16 short stories in this volume, to be published by Doubleday on March 20. While each story has its own theme, there is an over-all theme that binds them together: the nature of individual integrity and the stresses of prejudice and frustration that batter it. Whether telling of a secret dream fulfilled with unexpected consequences in "Cry for Me" or describing an absurd but necessary game that binds two men together in "Not Exactly Lena Horne," Mr. Kelley's concern is with the universal in human beings, whether black or white.

William Melvin Kelley was born in New York City. After graduating from Fieldston School, he went to Harvard, planning to study law. His first creative writing course, however, changed all that. While at Harvard, he studied under Archibald MacLeish and John Hawkes, and won the Dana Reed Prize for 1960.

In 1962, Mr. Kelley was awarded fellowships to the New York Writers' Conference and the Breadloaf Conference; in 1963 he won the Richard and Hinda Rosenthal Foundation Award for his first novel, "A Different Drummer." He has recently received fellowship grants from the John Hay Whitney Foundation and Stanford University. His stories have been published in the Harvard Advocate, Dial, Accent, The Saturday Evening Post, Cavalier, Mademoiselle and The Negro Digest.

MORE

Mr. Kelley is married and makes his home in New York City--although he and his wife are currently residing in Rome, where he is working on his second novel.

February, 1964
N-Spec, N-1, I, LQ

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND
10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • JUdson 6-8397

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

SUPREME COURT HEARS ARGUMENT ON HOW FAST IS "DELIBERATE SPEED?"

Question Held Key to Speed of School Integration

March 30, 1964

WASHINGTON, D.C.--The question of how fast is "deliberate speed"--an issue that has constantly been before the nation's courts since 1954, will gain its first U.S. Supreme Court hearing Monday, March 30th.

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund is specifically challenging the grade-a-year school integration plan of the Atlanta, Ga. Board of Education on behalf of Negro children there.

The case is slated to be argued by Constance Baker Motley, associate counsel of the Fund.

Atlanta initiated its "integration" plan in response to court order when 10 Negro high school seniors were admitted to previously all-white high schools in September of 1961.

Negro parents, acting through Legal Defense Fund attorneys, sued to end the city's dual school system in January of 1958 in the U.S. District Court of the Northern District of Georgia.

The parents had been asking local officials for integration of schools since 1956.

"Atlanta's public schools, a decade (1964) after the first Brown decision (1954) have 145 out of a total of 56,000 Negro students attending public schools with 58,000 white students.

"In short," the Legal Defense Fund attorneys maintain, "tokenism has now been superimposed upon a so-called separate but equal" school system.

The Atlanta plan, which starts at the 12th grade and works downward, integrated 10 Negroes in 1961; 40 in 1962 and 119 in 1963.

One hundred twenty nine Negro students applied for transfer between May 1st and 15th, 1961, the dates open for application under the Atlanta plan.

The school board used 17 criteria to judge Negro students. Among them were:

*"psychological qualification of the pupil for the type of teaching and associations involved"

*"morals, conduct, health and personal standards of the pupil"

*"possibility of breaches of the peace or ill will, or economic retaliation within the community"

*"reason for wanting to transfer"

*"achievement in relation to the norm for the school to which they were requesting transfer."

This plan went into effect in September of 1961, although the district court issued its order in July of 1959. The court ordered Atlanta to submit its plan for desegregation by December, 1959.

(more)

The district court said that this was "contingent upon enactment of state statutes permitting such a plan to be put into operation."

Georgia had laws providing for closing or withholding state funds from racially mixed schools.

The city of Atlanta waited until December 1, 1959--the final day provided by the court--to submit its integration plan.

School Board spokesmen cited numerous administrative problems before submitting their pupil assignment plan with its 17 criteria.

Eleven days later, Legal Defense Fund attorneys filed objections to the plan, arguing that:

*it did not end the dual school system

*Negro students would be assigned on the basis of race

*the burden of transfer was based solely on Negro children

*the school board had not demonstrated the need for a 12 year period in which to accomplish integration.

*the plan did not provide for assignment of school administrative personnel without regard to race.

The district court rejected these objections.

Meanwhile, the Georgia legislature adjourned without repealing its anti-school integration laws, thereby blocking enactment of the plan.

Legal Defense Fund attorneys argue that "it is painfully apparent that the plan calls for a war of attrition, in which only the hardiest will be able to bear the burden of a contest with state power."

Moreover, the plan "not only depends upon enmeshing each child in an administrative net, but depends as well upon clothing the city of Atlanta--an admitted wrongdoer--with practically unreviewable discretion over the quality and extent of its own reformation."

The Defense Fund attorneys, who represented Negro Americans in 30 cases presented to the Supreme Court last year, cited the positions of the Courts of Appeal on this issue:

They "have shown great impatience with the all-too-deliberate sloth of the 12 year plans. Four circuits--the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth--have now invalidated 'grade-a-year' plans," the attorneys assert.

Although Negroes constitute 45 per cent of Atlanta's total school population, they have been alloted only 33 per cent of the school buildings and 40 per cent of the teachers and principals.

They suffer "serious overcrowding and higher pupil-teacher ratios," the Defense Fund attorneys report.

Mrs. Motley was joined by Jack Greenberg, director-counsel from the Fund's New York City headquarters; E.E. Moore and Donald Hollowell, of Atlanta. Attorneys A.T. Walden, Norman Amaker and J. LeVonne Chambers, were of counsel.

- 30 -

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VOL. 20, NO. 2 A

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ATLANTA 3, GA.
XCH 4-67

Injuries Up in Oil Industry

On the job injuries in the petroleum industry have been increasing both in number and in severity in recent years.

This testimony was voiced at a public hearing on proposed revision of Walsh-Healey Safety and Health Standards in Washington March 25 by Fred J. Kolojay of the OCAW Research Department.

Citing records kept by the National Safety Council, Kolojay testified that the 1962 injury frequency rate was 8.2 percent higher than the previous year and 17.4 percent higher than the all-industry average. He added that 1962 injuries reached a severity of 790 on a scale of measurement set up by National Safety Council, an increase of 4.2 percent in severity over the previous year, and 13.8 percent higher than the all-industry average.

"Part of this recent uptrend in the injury rate for the petroleum industry is due to excessive employe cutbacks that have been recently taking place in the industry," Koljay testified. "Let me illustrate: between 1959 and 1962, the number of employes in the industry decreased by 21.1 percent, the injury frequency rate increased by 3.4 percent and the severity rate by 7.5 percent. In the refining segment of the industry, between the years 1959 and 1962, the number of employes decreased by 24.7 percent, the injury frequency rate increased by 10.3 percent and the severity rate by 16.2 percent."

1,000 Men With $1
equals
One Man With $1,000

That's the whole theory of organized labor's campaign to collect a voluntary contribution of $1 from each union member for COPE — the Committee on Political Education. By combining our modest resources, we can support candidates for public offices who are friendly to working people. Otherwise, candidates have to turn to the big-money boys, who often are not friendly to working people.

75% Ratify Program

Union V Brookl Mobil

OCAW has won bargaining rights in the Socony Mobil oil refinery in Brooklyn, N. Y., which employes 284 men in the hourly-rated unit.

Intl. Rep. Lyman Covert was in charge of the organizing project, assisted by Intl. Rep. Ray L. Clark. The vote, in an NLRB election, was 153 for OCAW and 104 for an independent union.

Now OCAW represents all Mobil refineries in the United States, except one — that being a plant in Paulsboro, N.J., having an independent union. OCAW represents Mobil refineries in Torrance, Calif.; Beaumont, Tex.; Casper, Wyo.; Ferndale, Wash.; East St. Louis, Ill:; Augusta, Kan.; East Chicago, Ind.; Trenton, Mich.; and Buffalo, N. Y. A number of marketing units also are under OCAW contract.

The Brooklyn plant is considered by many to be the oldest refinery in the United States. It was producing coal oil before the Drake discovery well of natural petroleum a hundred years ago. The independent union has been in the plant more than 20 years.

in the industry decreased by 21.1 percent, the injury frequency rate increased by 3.4 percent and the severity rate by 7.5 percent. In the refining segment of the industry, between the years 1959 and 1962, the number of employes decreased by 24.7 percent, the injury frequency rate increased by 10.3 percent and the severity rate by 16.2 percent."

Kolojay's testimony was in direct contradiction of recent statements by industry management. For example, the January 13, 1964 issue of **Oil and Gas Journal** asserted, "The regulations are not needed because the industry's safety record is evidence of its concern with safety and its ability to take protective steps."

In his testimony, the OCAW spokesman expressed support for proposed new Walsh-Healey safety standards providing for greater control over gases in portable cylinders, fire prevention, inspection of boilers and pressure vessels, control of toxic gases, vapors, fumes, dusts and mists.

turn to the big-money boys, who often are not friendly to working people.

The Brooklyn plant is considered by many to be the oldest refinery in the United States. It was producing coal oil before the Drake discovery well of natural petroleum a hundred years ago. The independent union has been in the plant more than 20 years.

Teamsters Fail in 2 Elections

OCAW members have rejected two recent raids by the Teamsters Union.

At Standard of Ohio Refinery No. 1 in Cleveland, O., where employes have been represented by OCAW for many years, a recent election resulted in 275 votes for OCAW and 50 for the Teamsters.

At Foods Plus, Inc., in Moonachie, N. J., an NLRB election last month showed 70 votes for OCAW, 15 for Teamsters and 3 for no union. Therefore, OCAW will continue to represent this group.

Two other major Teamster raids against OCAW are now pending. One is at the Cit-Con Refinery in Lake Charles, La., where OCAW represents 450 workers. Another is at the Mobil refinery in Trenton, Mich.

75% Ratify Program For Oil Bargaining

OCAW Pres. O. A. Knight has advised all affected groups that the 1964 bargaining program for the oil industry has been ratified by vote of more than 75 per cent of the bargaining units involved.

Sufficient favorable votes had been received on March 12 that the president could make this announcement. Subsequently, ratifying votes from additional groups increased the percentage.

This action by more than three-fourths of the oil groups means that the program, adopted by the National Bargaining Policy Committee for Oil in a meeting last January, now becomes mandatory on oil industry groups.

The program calls for the equivalent of a 5 per cent wage increase to be applied to improvements in hospital and medical plans, pensions, severance pay and vacations.

The program also requires negotiation of a clause providing for sixty day notice of layoffs, with cancellation of the no-strike clause permissible if during the sixty day period no agreement can be worked out to save the jobs. It calls for guaranteed continued employment, within certain limitations, for employes whose jobs are eliminated.

Negotiations for these improvements have begun at some points. Many contracts already were open for bargaining when the program was adopted and others are being opened daily.

It is expected that collective bargaining will move into high gear in the oil industry during the month of May, when a large number of OCAW units will open their contracts.

The only major development recently in oil negotiations came when American Oil offered the independent union representing its employes at Whiting, Ind., a straight 2 per cent wage increase. The independents rejected this, in three separate votes in a single meeting. As a result the incumbent president resigned and a new president was elected.

Norco Shell Group Aligns With OCAW

The independent union representing employes of Shell Oil and Shell Chemical at Norco, La., has entered into an affiliation agreement with OCAW.

This organization, Independent Oil and Chemical Workers Union of Lousisana, represents the 320 employes of the Shell refinery and the 180 workers in Shell Chemical at Norco (a suburb of New Orleans.)

One of the first steps of service to this group to be extended by OCAW will be the carrying out of an extensive steward's train-program, Intl. Rep. Robert Palmer reports.

There was close cooperation between this group and OCAW during the long and bitter Shell strike in 1962-63. OCAW extended assistance to the independent union at that time.

The affiliation of this group with OCAW brings all Shell refinery groups in the United States into OCAW ranks except one. The Wood River, Ill., installation is the one exception and it is organized by a group of craft unions affiliated with AFL-CIO.

OCAW represents workers in the Shell refineries in Long Beach and Martinez, Calif., Pasadena, Tex., and Anacortes, Wash. In Canada, OCAW also bargains for Shell employes at Vancouver, B.C.

Clark Oil Refinery Unit Joins OCAW

7-739 OCAW has added to its rolls a new local and a significant new bargaining unit in the Chicago area.

Members of an independent union representing Clark Oil Refining Co. at Blue Island, Ill. (on the south edge of Chicago) recently voted 182 to 46 to affiliate with OCAW.

This group has been issued Local Union Charter No. 7-739.

Probabilities are that an NLRB election will be necessary to nail down the bargaining rights in the plant, for the company thus far has not agreed to recognize voluntarily the affiliation. If so, such election would be held approximately in August, when the current contract in the plant expires. With the four-to-one expression of support for OCAW evident in the independent union vote, the NLRB election should be easy to win.

Intl. Rep. Tom Curdie has been handling this project.

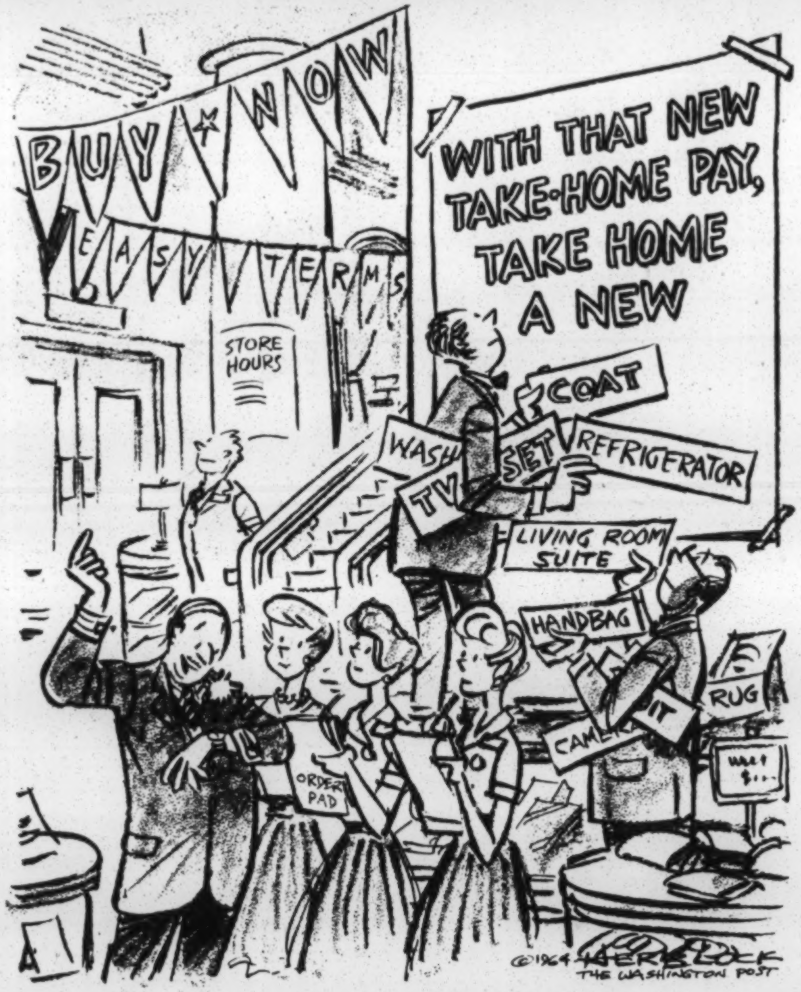
Charter members of the new local are Russell Berkes, Andrew Botte, Charles Boza, Lorne W. Davis Jr., E. Leo Fellores, Donald C. Fischer, Guide Gasbarro, Robert C. Kislery, Robert Krell, Stanley Kwiatkowski, Walter C. Moore, Donald Mitchell, Loren W. Parkhill, Roy Powers, Richard Pryor, Jack Russell, Earl W. Sopko, James Webb, Clarence White, Carl Zeilstra.

Response Terrific On Mail Service

Last month we asked readers to advise us when the paper was delivered. The response was teriffic! More than 1,500 readers took the trouble to jot down delivery date, address an envelope, furnish a stamp, and mail to us the information wanted. Thanks very much!

Some areas are getting amazingly fast delivery of the paper, some very slow. A complete analysis will be turned over to the postoffice; we will print a report in the paper next month. Some misspelled names and wrong addresses were reported; we are correcting these. If your correction is not made on this issue, it will be on the next issue.

"Okay, Team! Get Those
Tax Cut Dollars!"



We Still Need Program Of Public Works

If ever there was a time when Americans needed to cast aside old ideas and seek new ones, this is the time.

Truth changes. What was true in earlier years is not necessarily true today.

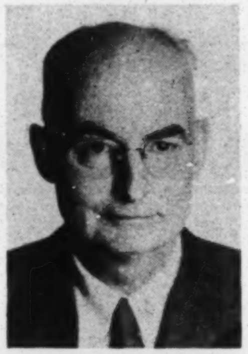
It used to be true that if business was booming, jobs were plentiful. That's not entirely true any more. Business has been very good for three years now, but there has been little change in the unemployment picture. It used to be that a booming business hired more people; today, in many cases, such a busi-

---

Says ROSCOE FLEMING:

More Serfdom Than 'Sport'

FEW PEOPLE recognize surviving chattel slavery when they see it. But suppose that going to work for your first oil company were your last free act—that for the rest of your working life you could be sold or traded by your "owner"; that you'd have to take any wage he offered, or leave your profession; and that if he made money by selling you, you couldn't get a penny of it?


FLEMING

This is the plight of today's professional baseball players, under an anti-trust exemption which Congress gave this cold-blooded business in 1922.

Now U.S. senators headed by Hart, (Mich.), Dodd, (Conn.), Long, (Mo.), Dirksen, (Ill.), Keating, (N.Y.), and Hruska, (Nebr.) have a bill to extend this serfdom to professional football, basketball, and ice hockey — all, they say, to firm up the highest ideals of sportsmanship.

Because signing that first contract will be their last free act, young ballplayers' guardians demand big bonuses. They get scolded for this by "sports writers" and broadcasters, who usually take their cue from the owners.

A stubborn player is called a "holdout," inferentially guilty of something like sedition. A player who gets too old is "unconditionally released" i.e., set free, portrayed as a favor to him. But if he signs again, he's hooked again.

OWNERS bully the players. Jim Brosnan, a fine relief pitcher, was fired because he sold books and articles about the game and refused to stop — basically, for being literate.

Jim Bouton, a leading American League pitcher, was told by the Yankees that he'd be "fined" $100 a day until he signed up. So he signed — for a pittance compared to the salaries of many less valuable players.

Rocky Colavito, a fine outfielder, was sold for big money to the Kansas City Athletics, who boasted how he'd help them — but who declared an immediate cash dividend by cutting his 1964 salary $6,500.

Even owners get a taste of serfdom. C. O. Finley, who owns Colavito, was threatened with suspension of his franchise — meaning virtual confiscation of a several-million-dollar property — unless he did as the league wished.

If the owners are arrogant, the players are meeker than Americans ought to be. They have something called an organization, but it would be blasphemy to call it a union. Nor has organized labor ever moved in — as it perhaps should.

Actually the owners bully city governments, due to the latters' belief that a major league team brings prestige to a city.

MANY New York schools are rat-infested and almost falling down. Yet the city has already spent $21 million on a stadium for the Mets, perpetual last-placers. Confronted with a demand for $4,500,000 more, the city's finance committee said in so many words that it would have preferred to spend the $4,500,000 on "needed school facilities," but that instead it has to be spent so the Mets can open on time. So the city's school children too, got short-changed in the name of "sport."

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

Auto Tires Keep Changing

AS AUTOMOBILE sales boom and the industry talks of a

right angles, like a zebra's stripes, while the cords in a con-

Of Public Works

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It used to be true that if business was booming, jobs were plentiful. That's not entirely true any more. Business has been very good for three years now, but there has been little change in the unemployment picture. It used to be that a booming business hired more people; today, in many cases, such a business just turns up the switch on the automated equipment.

The recent tax cut was very pleasant to receive and no doubt it will mean that most of us will be spending a little more money for various goods on the markets. This is supposed to create jobs. To some extent it probably will do so. But it is highly doubtful if it will create enough jobs.

More action is needed. Organized labor has made several suggestions. One of the more pertinent suggestions made by labor — and long advocated by OCAW Pres. O. A. Knight — is an expanded public works program.

This would mean the spending of federal money to step up the construction of those things supplied to the people by public, rather than private agencies. Included would be reclamation projects, improved water and sewage systems, improved parks, new streets and highways, better schools and hospitals, and so on.

It is just as sensible for the federal government to run a deficit financing these things as it is to run a deficit by cutting taxes.

A fortunate aspect is that most of these public works jobs would provide work of a sort that is less subject to automation and mechanization than are most manufacturing projects, therefore they would create jobs. Of course construction equipment and processes are much improved over previous years, but it still takes manpower to construct a road, a dam or a building.

Further, public works are sorely needed in most areas — much more needed, perhaps, than the extra television set or the nicer car that we might buy from private industry with the money we are saving on taxes.

Oil, Chemical & Atomic Union News

Published monthly by Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Intl. Union, (AFL-CIO, CLC) 1840 California St., Denver 2, Colo.

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International Labor Press AFL-CIO Association

Ray Davidson, Editor

All members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Intl. Union are subscribers to UNION NEWS through the payment of their regular dues. **Subscription rate to non-members is $2 per year.** There are no subscription agency discounts.

Deadline for news and picures for the May issue **will be Monday, April 20.**

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YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

Auto Tires Keep Changing

By SYLVIA PORTER

AS AUTOMOBILE sales boom and the industry talks of a 1964 sales year approaching or even reaching the magic 8 million mark, naturally tire sales are zooming along too. The estimate is that total shipments of tires of all types this year will be close to 147 million units, an all-time record and about 1.5 million more than 1963's sales.

Here, from J. W. Keener, President of the B. F. Goodrich Co., are provocative comments about this growing industry.

Q., Porter: When will the industry be able to announce an absolutely safe and trouble-free tire?

A., Keener: Never. Tires have been improved each year since the automobile era began, but a tire must withstand millions of flexings and thousands of impacts during its life. The severity of these flexings and impacts is at the discretion of the driver.

All that a tire can do to assure safety is to provide good control of the car in respect to steering, sidesway, skid resistance and air retention. Beyond this, the control of the car is in the hands of the driver and is based on his skill and judgment. When judgment is not compatible with skill, trouble is likely to result.

Overloading, high speeds, stretching a tire's life an extra thousand miles are up to the driver. The tire manufacturer just cannot deliver absolute safety without absolute cooperation from the user.

THESE are general rules applying to all tires, but the concept of maximum service varies greatly from one driver to another. A salesman carrying heavy sample cases and traveling at high speeds on turnipikes has an entirely different idea about tire service than a housewife who uses the family car for trips to the shopping center.

You should get specific recommendations on the best tire for your needs and for air pressure in relation to load, speed and mileage from a competent tire dealer who has the opportunity to judge exactly how you drive.

Q., Porter: Anything new in tires in the near future?

A., Keeler: The new tires that will be introduced on 1965 automobiles will be slightly different in shape than those familiar to us today. The 1965 tire will have an "Ivy League" look, with gently rounded shoulders replacing the conventional squared appearance of the tread.

It will be slightly smaller in diameter and slightly wider than those in use today and you'll be able to "feel" these design changes. The steering response and the stability will be improved and the tire will better withstand sustained high-speed driving. It also will wear slightly longer than today's tires.

Q., Porter: Anything more radical on the horizon?

A., Keeler: Yes, the radial tire for passenger cars. The engineering, construction and performance of this tire is entirely different from that of conventional tires. Its cords run at right angles, like a zebra's stripes, while the cords in a conventional tire run at about 36 degrees from the center line of the tire. This radial ply construction, used in combination with inextensible steel cord bands under the tread produces a tire which rolls as easily as a hoop.

Radial truck tires are now being made and marketed on a limited scale. Experience indicates that these deliver about half again as many miles as conventional highway truck tires and are so easy rolling that they cut fuel consumption by about 10 per cent.

Q., Porter: How often do you change tire designs?

A., Keeler: At periodic intervals, somewhat like new car model changes. Even in a high production run tires are more nearly perfect than laboratory-built tires were a few years ago. We'll never make a trouble-free tire, but those made just five years ago can't begin to come up to the standards of tires on today's market.

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Four More Locals 100% For COPE

Four more OCAW locals have contributed 100 per cent to COPE, Intl. Sec.-Treas. A. F. Grospiron announced March 20. They are:

Sunburst, Mont., Local 2-452.

Gainesville, Tex., Local 4-444.

Nashville, Tenn., Local 3-193.

McPherson, Kans., Ladies' Auxiliary 5-558A.

Niagara Falls Mathieson Strike Enters 10th Month

Bill Workman Assumes Post On Top Board

John L. Frank has resigned as District 3's representative on the International Executive Board and the former alternate board member, Bill Workman, has automatically advanced to replace him.

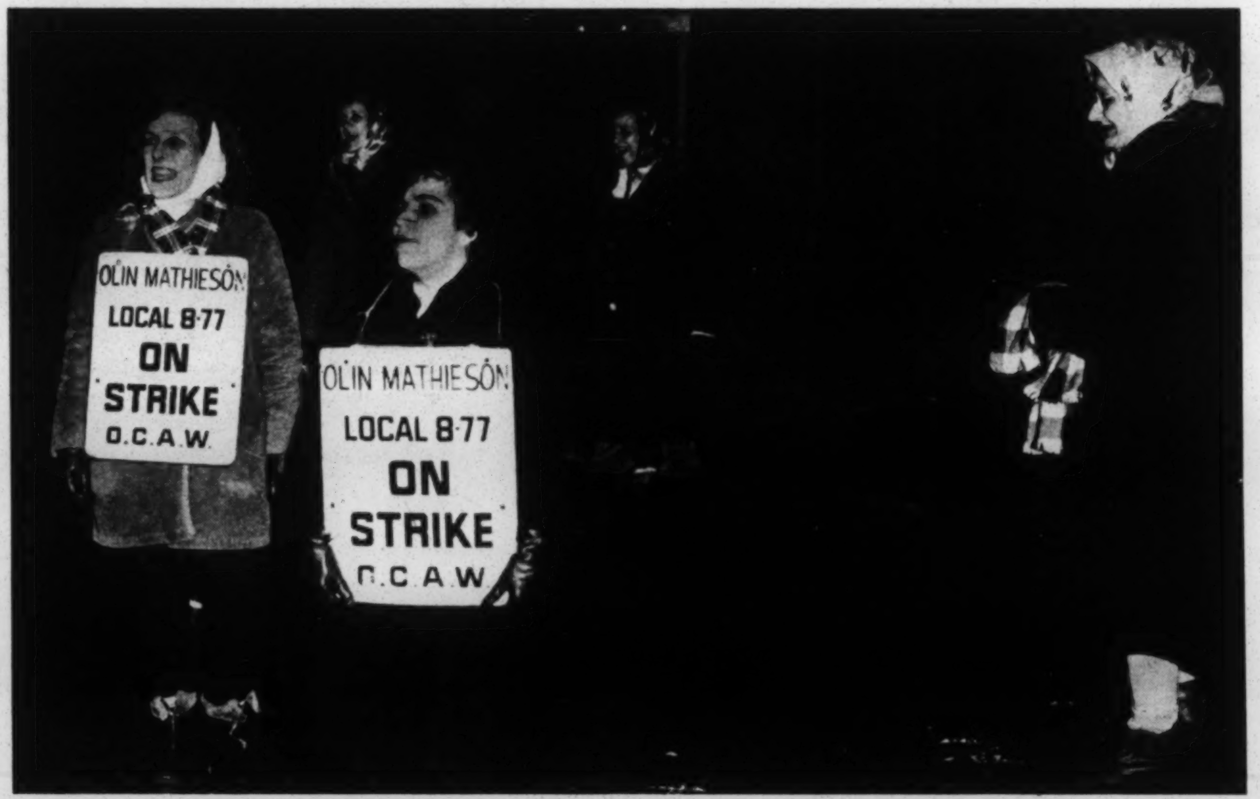
In a circular letter Feb. 28, Intl. Pres. O. A. Knight said, "It is with regret that I announce the resignation of John L. Frank . . . effective midnight on Saturday, February 29. Brother Frank advises that his resignation is due strictly to personal reasons."

Frank, from Clarksburg, W. Va., Local 3-276, served on the Board from the time of the OCAW merger March 1, 1955, until the convention of August, 1956, from old District 10. He was again elected to the board from the new District 3 in August, 1961, serving until his resignation.

Workman, an employe of Ashland Oil and Refining, is president of his local, Leach, Ky., Local 3-505, and is president of District 3 Council. He is well known to OCAW convention delegates for his work on committees.

Sohio Group Votes to Join With OCAW

The Independent Association



Long Olin Mathieson Strike Goes On

These pictures would indicate that morale remains high in the long strike of OCAW's Local 8-77 against Olin Mathieson Co. at Niagara Falls.

In the top picture is shown a group of picketing wives, bundled up for protection against the winter weather. Women have been putting on a picket line demonstration weekly. Left to right, the ladies are Mrs. John Butry, Mrs. Lewis Sherman, Mrs. Stanley Zaczek, Mrs. Arthur Tracy, Mrs. Walter Marsden. In the background is John Kopenski.

In the lower picture are shown some of the members taking a break inside one of the winterized picket shelters. Left to right are Eddy Wahl, Leonard Hall, Al Marsh, Picket Captain John Kopenski and Joe Bacelli. (See article on this page for more strike details.)

Company Puts Misleading Ads In Newspaper

8-77 Members of Niagara Falls, N. Y., Local 8-77 are now in the tenth month of their strike against Olin Mathieson and although the company boasts that it is running the plant at capacity and will keep the members out 'till hell freezes over, management has launched a strong campaign to divide the members and force a return to work.

One of the current gimmicks of management is to run ads in local newspapers asserting that the company's latest proposal has not been made available to employes and offering to supply them with copies of the proposal.

But the company document fails to include all the facts, including a manning chart, which management laid before the negotiating committee.

Intl. Rep. Clifford Myers, in charge of the strike, reports that the issues remain the same as when the strike began last June 28. He states that the company wants to eliminate all job classifications, to have the right to change assignments, work days, shifts and work week at any time, to have the right to contract out the jobs, to eliminate all overtime procedures, the right to force overtime work, a broad management rights clause

Sohio Group Votes to Join With OCAW

The Independent Association of Petroleum Workers, representing approximately 330 employes of 63 company-owned service stations of Standard Oil of Ohio in Northeast Ohio have applied for affiliation with OCAW, District 7 Director H. J. McClain reports.

In a recent meeting of this organization, the members voted overwhelmingly to apply for affiliation.

Intl. Rep. R. P. Buchanan has been assigned to work with this group to determine if effective assistance can be given to them. A motion has been filed before NLRB to change the bargaining certification of the group to OCAW.

While Sohio has indicated that it has no objections to Rep. Buchanan working with the group, it has not indicated whether or not it would agree voluntarily to a change of bargaining rights certification. If the company chooses to object, an NLRB election to settle the matter probably could not be held until next January, when the contract is open.

picketing wives, bundled up for protection against the winter weather. Women have been putting on a picket line demonstration weekly. Left to right, the ladies are Mrs. John Butry, Mrs. Lewis Sherman, Mrs. Stan-

winterized picket shelters. Left to right are Eddy Wahl, Leonard Hall, Al Marsh, Picket Captain John Kopenski and Joe Bacelli. (See article on this page for more strike details.)

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Under the company proposals, seniority would be practically eliminated.

"The amazing thing about all the company proposals," says Rep. Myers, "is that they cannot give the union any reasons for them other than that they must operate the plant efficiently. But if the company's proposed contract were accepted, it would actually result in less efficient operation of the plant. Company representatives have been arrogant, evasive and impossible to negotiate reasonably with."

The strikers have exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits and are having to pay their hospital and surgical insurance premiums.

Considerable assistance is coming in from other locals. For this, the local wishes to express its deep appreciation. However, more financial aid is needed to maintain these determined strikers who are trying to save their contract.

Carborundum Local Helps Striking Units

8-12058 Substantial support to strikes of sister locals has been given by Niagara Falls, N. Y., Local 8-12058 in recent months, reports Sec. Robert Jarvis .

The local has been giving $200 a month to Niagara Falls Local 8-77, on strike against Olin Mathieson since last June, and $150 a month to Niagara Falls Local 8-277, on strike against Goodyear from last November until mid-March. (The later strike is now settled.) In addition, plant gate donations have been taken and Pres. Oscar Goltara has contacted other locals in solicitation of support.

Jarvis also reports these other recent activities in the local, which represents Carborundum employes:

- Louis D. Marino resigned as grievanceman-at-large to accept appointment to the International staff; William Osolinsky was elected to replace him.
- Peter Walos is the new COPE chairman of the local.
- Eloise Jessup was honored at a recent steward dinner on her retirement. She was presented with farewell gifts by Chief Steward Frank Devro, on behalf of local officers and stewards. Eloise has been active in the local many years, having served as steward, grievance committee member, safety committee member, executive board member and International convention delegate.

Sixth Merger Meeting Held

As this issue of UNION NEWS went to press (on March 25), the sixth in a series of meetings to discuss merger of the two unions was underway between representatives of OCAW and of the International Chemical Workers Union.

The meeting was being held in Chicago; it was called at the request of Richard Leonard of the Industrial Union Department of AFL-CIO, who has been acting as mediator between the six-member committees from each union.

Results of this meeting will be reported in the May issue of UNION NEWS.

COMING EVENTS

Atomic Energy Workers Council, Washington Hotel, Washington, D. C., Apr. 12-14.

Union Carbide Nationwide Council, Hotel Manhattan, New York, N. Y., Apr. 22-24.

District 5 Council, Sheraton Oklahoma Hotel, Oklahoma City, Okla., May 2-3 (corrected dates).

Intl. Executive Board, Denver, Colo., May 11.

District 7 Council, Pick-Oliver Hotel, South Bend, Ind., May 22-24.

District 1 Council, Bakersfield, Calif., June 19-20.

ELECTION NOTICES

8-215 Election for a trustee for Tonawanda, N. Y., Local 8-215 will be held at Leonard Post, Jr. Post No. 6251, 2000 Walden, Ave., Buffalo, New York, between one and four p.m., May17.

Letters and Comments

Retired Member First on COPE

To the Editor:

. . . am pleased to tell you that I have been the first to pay COPE dues the past two years. This presidential election year every union member should pay up promptly. I have been retired from Standard Oil Refinery since Aug. 1, 1960. Best wishes.

Art Foster
Member Local 1-547
(Retired)
Inglewood, Calif.

Let's Remember Why Overtime Established

To the Editor:

Concerning Brother Zawacki's letter in the March issue complaining of a lack of overtime, I would like to make the following comment.

It is indeed unfortunate that most of us have lost sight of the fact that the original purpose of overtime was not to make us rich, but to keep us from being overworked. The sooner we remember this concept, the better off both the labor movement and industry will be.

Henry W. Basch
Local 8-604
Deepwater, N. J.

Reminding Members Of Union Benefits

To the Editor:

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your job of putting out the very interesting and informative

Sends Along His Dollar for COPE

To the Editor:

I would like to thank you for the union paper which I enjoy so much.

I have been retired two years and am enjoying every minute of it. Thanks for the benefits that our good union got for us. I would like to say a good word for our union officials all these years. I think they have been wonderful. Sending my dollar for COPE.

(Editor's Note: Check for $1 for COPE was enclosed).

Don R. Grant
Retired Member Local 5-466
Arkansas City, Kan.

Found Loan Shark Article Interesting

To the Editor:

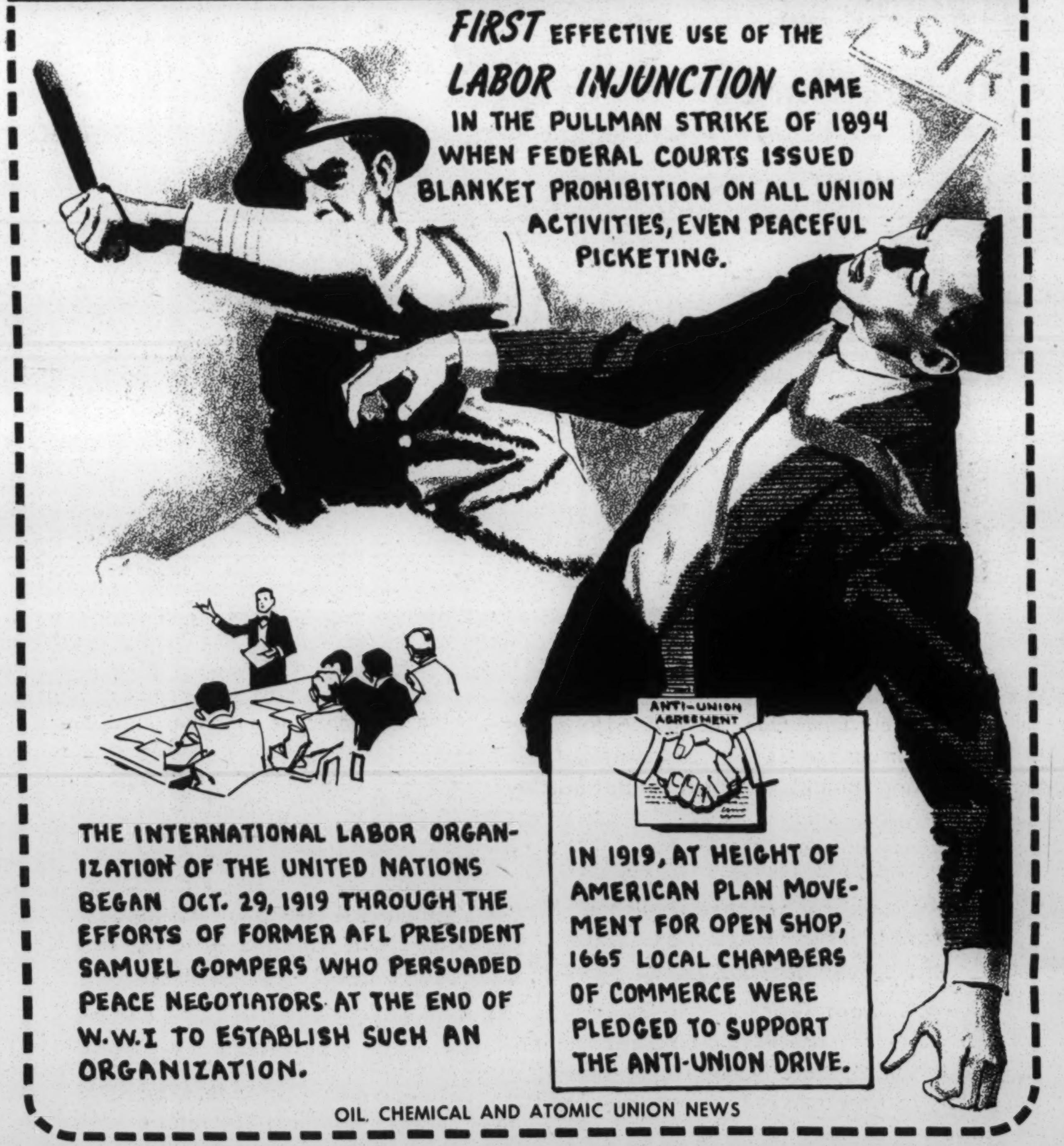
I enjoyed very much the article on Loan Shark Deals in the March issue of the UNION NEWS. This condition, I believe, is one of the major factors today that is causing our economy to lag behind.

If a person buys a home today he winds up paying more for interest than he does for the house.

We could buy a lot of appliances, furniture, etc., for the amount of excess interest we pay on these mortgages of anywhere from 5 to 6¾ percent.

What can we do to correct this? I have complained to the people who hold the note, but they say they must have a good return on their investment of such long terms! Actually the high interest rate is what makes

A PAGE FROM HISTORY



FIRST EFFECTIVE USE OF THE LABOR INJUNCTION CAME IN THE PULLMAN STRIKE OF 1894 WHEN FEDERAL COURTS ISSUED BLANKET PROHIBITION ON ALL UNION ACTIVITIES, EVEN PEACEFUL PICKETING.

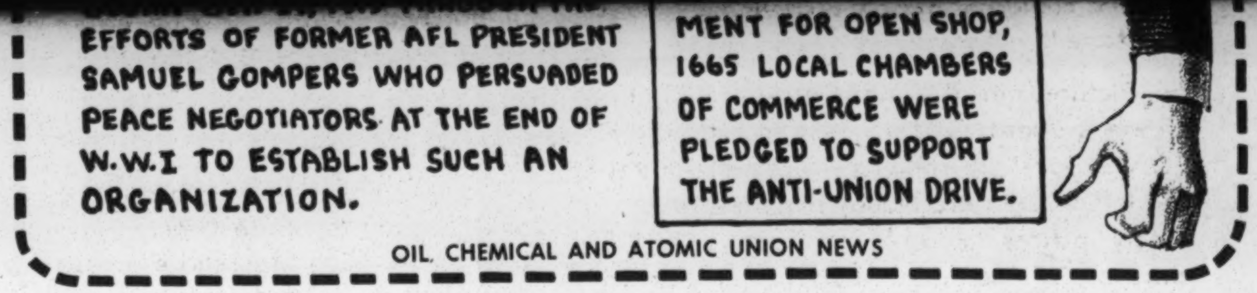
THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS BEGAN OCT. 29, 1919 THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF FORMER AFL PRESIDENT SAMUEL GOMPERS WHO PERSUADED PEACE NEGOTIATORS AT THE END OF W.W.I TO ESTABLISH SUCH AN ORGANIZATION.

IN 1919, AT HEIGHT OF AMERICAN PLAN MOVEMENT FOR OPEN SHOP, 1665 LOCAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE WERE PLEDGED TO SUPPORT THE ANTI-UNION DRIVE.

OIL. CHEMICAL AND ATOMIC UNION NEWS

applications. I for one would love to read more from the Scriptures in the UNION NEWS.

Wet Milling Groups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OIL, CHEMICAL AND ATOMIC UNION NEWS

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Henry W. Basch
Local 8-604
Deepwater, N. J.

Reminding Members Of Union Benefits

To the Editor:

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your job of putting out the very interesting and informative UNION NEWS.

I especially think the pictures you have in your paper are good in reminding the men and women that we need our union now more than ever before. If it wasn't for our unions we would not have what we have today. Pride, good wages, and good working conditions are just a few of the many things we owe a **big thanks** to our union for.

People seem to have to be reminded from time to time that they are the union! Without people there wouldn't be any unions. It gripes me to no end to see the few people who turn out for union meetings. I belong to Local 7-210, OCAW, and in our local there are about 3700 members. You're lucky to see 25 men at a meeting. The group I belong to, 7-210, Swift and Co., Tech. & Chem., 2 out of our 3 union oficers don't even attend the local meetings held once every two weeks. It seems to me they are nothing more than burdens to the union.

So maybe if you keep up the good work it will eventually bring some of the stay-at-home union members out to the meetings.

E. D. Hess
Member Local 7-210
Hammond, Ind.

day he winds up paying more for interest than he does for the house.

We could buy a lot of appliances, furniture, etc., for the amount of excess interest we pay on these mortgages of anywhere from 5 to 6¾ percent.

What can we do to correct this? I have complained to the people who hold the note, but they say they must have a good return on their investment of such long terms! Actually the high interest rate is what makes it a long term note, and they don't take chances with people with poor credit, so why?

Maxie H. Neely
Member Local 4-23
Vidor, Tex.

Kind Words From Many Sources

. . . I have a few words to praise your paper. I enjoy reading your very interesting news and editorials. Some articles which do not appear in no other paper, such as comparisons in cosmetics which appeared in the March issue of the UNION NEWS, and also who pays the highest federal income taxes?

Mrs. John Stefek
Wife of Member, Local 7-210
Whiting, Ind.

●

. . . Always appreciate getting the paper and always read most every article.

J. H. Ruble
Member Local 3-573
Covington, Va.

●

I wish to say I appreciate the quotations and passages from the Holy Bible which occur occasionally in the UNION NEWS. The Bible is full of modern day applications. I for one would love to read more from the Scriptures in the UNION NEWS.

J. D. Wilson
Local 1-547
Redondo Beach, Calif.

●

Keep up the good work. The paper is fine. I like the addition of consumer news.

Wm. Staresnick
Member Local 7-210
Gary, Ind.

●

. . . I look forward to reading this paper (UNION NEWS) as it enlightens me on matters that concern me and all the people in the industry. May I congratulate you people for the good work you are doing and thank you for your consideration.

Thomas O'Connell
E. Boston, Mass.

●

Just a note to say that I read the publication of UNION NEWS from page to page. I find it very interesting.

Mrs. Richard Amantite
Wife of Member, Local 1-561
Point Richmond, Calif.

●

Thank you for the paper. I look for it every month and enjoy reading it.

George Burbank
Member Local 7-196
River Rouge, Mich.

Wet Milling Groups To Seek Better Security, Benefits

Negotiations for new contracts covering OCAW's 7,000 members in the wet milling industry will get underway soon, Intl. Vice Pres. B. J. Schafer has announced.

A coordinated program of contract demands was drawn up at a meeting of delegates from the eight locals involved in Corpus Christi, Tex., Feb. 28, and has been submitted to the locals for ratification.

All contracts expire on July 1, or on sixty-day notice. Thus termination notices will be served May 1 and negotiations should begin soon after that time.

While the union will seek a wage increase, emphasis will be placed on improving job security and fringe benefit items. These include longer vacations, improved pensions, severance pay on death, improved group life insurance, better sick-and-accident benefits, company payment of a greater share of hospitalization and maximum union security provisions.

In the wet milling industry, OCAW represents employes of National Starch, Union Starch, American Maize, National Industrial Products (Keever) and four plants of Corn Products Refining Co.

Newark Fuel Oil Unit Joins OCAW

Employes of Oilco Co., Inc., in Newark, N.J., have voted to designate OCAW as their bargaining agency and will become members of Newark Local 8-406.

This group, maintenance workers and drivers for a fuel oil retailing company, was organized under the direction of Intl. Rep. Herb Sterling. They voted 9 to 1 for OCAW in an election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board March 16.

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers
International Union, AFL-CIO and CLC

Headquarters: 1840 California St.
(P.O. Box 2812), Denver 2, Colorado

O. A. Knight, President
A. F. Grospiron, Secretary-Treasurer
Elwood D. Swisher, B. J. Schafer, Vice Presidents

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS

1. . . . . .E. H. Eliason, Rt. 3, Box 349, Anacortes, Wash.
2. . .M. Phyl Poulson, 1620 South 6th E., Salt Lake City, Utah
3. . . . . . .Bill Workman, 2817 Cumberland Ave., Ashland, Ky.
4. . . . . .Lamar Bishop, Box 604, Cactus, Tex.
5. . . . . .Ray Collier, 903 N. 7th, Kansas City, Kans.
6. . . . . .Wallace Weston, 1823 E. Ivy, St. Paul, Minn.
7. . . . . .Kenneth Koch, 436 Parker Ave., Toledo 5, Ohio
8. .Anthony Mazzocchi, 51 Hammond Rd., Glen Cove, L.I., N.Y.
9. . . . . .Thomas Towler, 129 Paget St., Corunna, Ont.

DISTRICT DIRECTORS

1. . .James A. Morgan, 215 Long Beach Blvd., Long Beach, Calif.
2. . . . . .B. J. Rickey, P.O. Box 834, Casper, Wyo.
3. . . . . .Samuel J. Lopez, 812 Quarrier St., Charleston, W. Va.
4. . . . . .W. J. Forrester, 806 Scanlon Bldg., Houston, Tex.
5. . .Robert Bickel, 719 McBirney Bldg., 8 E. Third, Tulsa, Okla.
6. . .Lawrence Hunter, 1951 Univ., Rm. 208, St. Paul 14, Minn.
7. . . . . . . .H. J. McClain, 4340 West 95th St., Oak Lawn, Ill.
8. . .Anthony Sabatine, Rm. 1101, 744 Broad St., Newark, N.J.
9. . . .J. R. Duncan, 106 Lakeshore Rd., East, Port Credit, Ont.

Ray Davidson, Publicity Director **William E. Rentfro,** General Counsel **William A. Hanscom,** Legislative Director **Alfred L. Wickman,** Education Director

MAN OF THE YEAR

Division Fina 'Homme de l'Année'

Pictured above holding the Fina Division "Man of the Year" award from that division of Montreal East, Que., Local 9-618, is Ron Gibb, surrounded by his fellow officers. In presenting the award, Chairman Bill Butcher of the group said, of Gibb, "No effort was too great, no distance too far, no eddying current too swift, that on behalf of his fellow men he could not meet the challenge. He is an example for us all."

Pictured in the front row are Graem Howie, steward; Gibb, division secretary; and Jerry Slovacek, division vice chairman. Standing left to right are Nobby Nullmeyer, union safety officer; Lou Juneau, steward; Bill Butcher, division chairman; John Barton, steward; and Pat Reddy, steward.

'Nous apercevons sur la photographie Ron Gibb à qui a été décerné le prix de la division Fina "Homme de l'Année," entouré de ses confrères officiers qui venaient de terminer une assemblée-conseil. Ron reçu ce prix pour lequel il avait été voté à l'unanimité à un souper-dansant organisé en son honneur par ses confrères officiers de l'Union et leurs épouses. En preséntant le prix le Directeur Bill Butcher déclara: "Aucun effort ne fut trop grand; aucune distance trop longue; aucun courant trop fort pour l'empêcher de se trouver à la hauteur du défi — il est un exemple pour nous tous."

Dans la première rangée assis nous voyons de gauche à droite Graem Howie, conseiller, Ron Gigg, secrétaire divisionnaire, Jerry Slovacek, vice-président divisionnaire, dans la rangée arrière debout nous voyons de gauche à droite Nobby Nullmeyer, officier de sécurité syndicale, Lou Juneau, conseiller, Bill Butcher, président divisionnaire, John

Irving Strikes In Canada End

The bitter Irving strikes in Eastern Canada have been settled.

On March 2, agreement was reached between OCAW and Irving Oil Co., Ltd., covering 146 members of four locals who had been on strike against Irving marketing operations in Quebec since Jan. 4.

As a part of the settlement, lawsuits demanding a total of $625,000 from the union and several charges against individual members were dropped. From the beginning, these strikers had been bedeviled by a deluge of lawsuits, injunctions and other legal actions.

An acceptable contract settlement was reached.

On March 8, a contract providing a significant concession to the union was reached with Irving Refining, Ltd., at Saint John, N.B.

The 145 members of OCAW there had been on strike against North America's most efficient oil refinery since last Sept. 16 in an effort to wipe out wage inequities. Most of these people were being paid around 75 cents an hour below Canadian oil industry standards.

The company took the position that these inequities would be wiped out in time by the application of so-called "merit raises." The flaw in this was that the company would remain sole judge of who "merited" a raise — thus giving opportunity for much discrimination.

In the final strike settlement, Irving agreed that company decisions on "merit increases" would be subject to grievance and arbitration procedure, thus

NDP Again Elects Reimer Alberta Chief

OCAW Intl. Rep. Neil Reimer was reelected president of the Alberta New Democratic Party, by unanimous vote, in its annual convention in Calgary.

Surprising pep and determination were shown by the 254 delegates to the convention — these including representatives of labor, farmers, small businessmen, professional people and youth groups.

The convention heard reports from T. C. Douglas, national leader of the party, and Terry Grier, national secretary. The delegates were pleased to hear that the status of the party in Alberta had increased sharply in comparison to a year ago. While before it had ranked only eighth or ninth in size and influence among the various provincial organizations, it is now considered the fourth strongest, behind Saskatchewan, British Co-

Pictured in the front row are Graem Howie, steward; Gibb, division secretary; and Jerry Slovacek, division vice chairman. Standing left to right are Nobby Nullmeyer, union safety officer; Lou Juneau, steward; Bill Butcher, division chairman; John Barton, steward; and Pat Reddy, steward.

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The flaw in this was that the company would remain sole judge of who "merited" a raise — thus giving opportunity for much discrimination.

In the final strike settlement, Irving agreed that company decisions on "merit increases" would be subject to grievance and arbitration procedure, thus giving the union a method to enforce fair and nondiscriminatory application of the increases.

Canadian Director J. R. Duncan of OCAW, congratulated both groups of strikers for their valiant battle and complimented international staff members for their part in conducting the strikes — Intl. Rep. Fernand Daoust who dealt with both the strikes throughout, Intl. Reps. Maurice Vassart and Paul Desaulniers who maintained constant vigilance on the Quebec strike, and Intl. Rep. Fred Kahanek who directed the Saint John activities beginning shortly after the walkout started.

leader of the party, and Terry Grier, national secretary. The delegates were pleased to hear that the status of the party in Alberta had increased sharply in comparison to a year ago. While before it had ranked only eighth or ninth in size and influence among the various provincial organizations, it is now considered the fourth strongest, behind Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Ontario.

Enthusiasm of the delegates was demonstrated by the fact that they contributed $7,000 from their own pockets to build up the party's general fund.

In his address to the convention as provincial leader of the party, Reimer emphasized the need for expansion of agricultural production to meet world food needs, for expansion of industry in Canada, and the need for various progressive movements to unite in support of those issues on which they can find agreement. He noted that the various conservative organizations throughout North America are uniting today.

Standard Employes on Aruba Go 'International' Despite Plea of International Boss

Members of the Independent Oil Workers Union of Aruba, who work for a big Standard Oil of New Jersey refinery, have voted to affiliate with the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers and thereby become identified with bona fide trade unionism.

They did this despite objections from the American management of the refinery, which is located on the Dutch Antilles Island of Aruba just off the coast of Venezuela.

With unbelievable hypocrisy, an American named W. A. Murray, who is manager of this American-owned refinery which exploits comparatively low labor rates on Aruba, wrote a letter to all employes telling them they should avoid getting involved with unions from other countries.

His lengthy letter to the employes stated that the company believed the employes would be better off if they avoided international affiliations! This was indeed a strange thing for the American named Murray to say to a group of colonial peoples ruled politically by the Netherlands and economically by Standard of New Jersey, which is virtually the only employer on the little island.

Standard of New Jersey operates on Aruba under the name Lago Oil & Transport Co., Ltd., a wholly-owned subsidiary which uses the same "Esso" trademark used in the U.S.A. and around the world by Jersey Standard.

Two-thirds of the 2,714 members of the union voted on the question of affiliation with IFPCW; they voted 1,808 for affiliation and 23 against.

IFPCW stimulated the organization of workers in the refinery several years ago, while at the same time organizing Shell workers in the big refinery on the nearby island of Curacao. Standard vigorously resisted union organization, eventually recognizing a company-dominated union. Gradually, however, this former company union changed its viewpoint and became a bona fide labor organization — as is reflected by its recent vote over the bosses' objections to affiliate with the world federation of oil workers.

Ask Resignation Of Labor Minister In New Brunswick

The Saint John and District Labor Council has demanded the resignation of New Brunswick Labour Minister K. J. Webber. The council's request, in a letter to Premier Louis J. Robichaud, was based on the labor minister's ineffective handling of the strike of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers against Irving Refining Ltd.

Due to the influence of the K. C. Irving interests on the economic and political life of the province, it had not been possible to obtain an impartial decision from the New Brunswick Labor Department, the Saint John Labor Council declared, urging that the strike be referred to the federal labor department.

Property First, Says Congressman From Dallas

Once upon a time there were people who thought that nothing was more important than property rights. And there are still a few of these people left around.

Rep. Bruce Alger (R. Tex.), a far, far right winger, said the other day: "I believe the most important human right of all is the right to own property."

What happened to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?"

Retirees Honored

Honored retirees at a recent stag given by Hamilton, Ont., Local 9-633 were Steve Puskas, left above, and Walter Fall, third from left.

Local Pres. Len Bowley, second from left, and Jerry Johnston, far right, hold enscribed beer mugs which were presented to Puskas and Fall, as well as $50 each.

Local Sec.-Treas. John Dunbar tells us the combined service of the retired members adds up to 55 years.

The Most for Your Money

Careful Advance Shopping Needed For Nursing Home

Most families give little thought to a nursing home until the day of crisis arrives, say Ruth and Edward Brecher in the February issue of **Consumer Reports.** Then they have no time to shop sensibly, though their decision may involve the expenditure of thousands of dollars, and the health and happiness of the patient. It's wise, therefore, to survey some of the local nursing homes in advance of the time of need.

First, prepare a "shopping list" of perhaps half a dozen homes likely to be worth a visit. CU suggests a number of sources including the nursing homes licensed by your state's health or welfare department.

Remember that all homes don't offer the same services. The range runs all the way from simple residential care to skilled nursing.

Other things being equal, convenient location for visiting should put a home high on your list.

Once you have a list, you can send for descriptive brochures, and then start visiting.

Advice on special points to examine and how to examine them is detailed in the 6-page article covering such things as: adequacy of staff, provisions for privacy, opportunities to social-

COOK DOUBLE, SAVE TROUBLE — Take a big rolled roast, as this homemaker is doing, barbecue it in your automatic electric oven, serve tonight and save the rest for later. While the roast's cooking, you can bake a cake, too, if you have a roomy double oven like this.

Think Big, Automate And Save on Cooking

A homemaker can save time, effort and money by thinking "big." A large roast is often more economical than a small one, and the bigger the turkey,

roast or turkey big enough for a crowd.

When it does come to cooking a turkey, be sure to take the bird

Soon All TV Sets Will Have UHF

By SIDNEY MARGOLIUS

April is the last month before manufacturers must stop producing the traditional VHF television sets under Federal law, and must produce only all-channel receivers. The new sets will be equipped to receive both the 12 Very High Frequency channels as before, but also all 70 Ultra High Frequency channels.

The general significance of this law is that **eventually** you will be able to receive more TV programs, especially more educational broadcasts, but also more commercially-sponsored programs. Already in some cities a few UHF channels are in operation, such as the municipally-operated Channel 31 in New York and several channels in Los Angeles, Boston and a number of other areas. Other cities such as Chicago and Los Angeles are expected soon to have municipal TV stations broadcasting educational programs in the UHF band. For the entire country, there are now 29 educational stations operating in the UHF band, and about 100 commercially-operated UHF stations.

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This does not mean that in most parts of the country you need to rush out and buy a UHF set. In fact, in most areas there still are not stations op-

one meanwhile, until UHF does arrive locally.

Aside from the possibilities of using a rehabilitated old set meanwhile, the most suitable choice seems to be to buy a UHF set if you are going to buy a new one at all, even though lower-priced VHF sets still will be available for some months. We do want to make it clear that you don't have to do anything about your present set if there is no UHF channel in your area, or if you aren't especially eager to receive whatever UHF stations already are broadcasting locally. When UHF does become available locally, and you want to receive it, you then can convert any present sets.

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Eventually the availability of these additional programs will be a boon to your family. Both the set manufacturers and the large broadcasters resisted the Federal law requiring that new sets manufactured after April 30 must be the all-channel type. You may recall that the large broadcasters also once resisted FM radio broadcasting. They want to monopolize the public's air waves as much as they can. But the existence of more UHF receivers in homes will encourage more broadcasters to offer nursing.

Other things being equal, convenient location for visiting should put a home high on your list.

Once you have a list, you can send for descriptive brochures, and then start visiting.

Advice on special points to examine and how to examine them is detailed in the 6-page article covering such things as: adequacy of staff, provisions for privacy, opportunities to socialize, freedom in dress, quality of food, provisions for an activity program, and opportunities for residents to do useful work if they wish.

Above all, CU counsels, take careful note of the patients in the homes you visit. Their feelings and attitudes—not the sales talk—are the best clue to the spirit of the place.

Steam-and-Spray Iron Advantages

An iron that can both steam and spray has a list price $4-$7 higher than an ordinary steam iron. But, according to an article in the February issue of **Consumer Reports,** now on newsstands, the spray feature, when effective, is well worth the extra price.

Consumers Union tested 17 models. In addition to the laboratory tests, use tests were made on a variety of common fabrics.

One model had an unsatisfactory heat range, another had unsatisfactory steam performance. Evaluation of the spray feature revealed decided differences. A few irons required only pressure on a pushbutton; the others required the user to pump the pushbutton. Also, some of the irons failed to deliver an adequate spray directly in front of the iron.

The financial assets of all the labor unions in America combined amount to only 6 percent of the assets of one corporation—General Motors.

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roomy double oven like this.

Think Big, Automate And Save on Cooking

A homemaker can save time, effort and money by thinking "big." A large roast is often more economical than a small one, and the bigger the turkey, the better the buy.

Housewives can relieve the pressure on themselves and their families by planning ahead and dropping the one-meal-at-a-time approach in favor of cooking double when possible.

Large roasts or turkeys can be cooked and served for one meal and the remainder frozen for later use. Soups, curry and pies can be made from the left-overs. This allows wider use of the storage benefits of an ample refrigerator-freezer, which is also important to a smoother-running house.

What's the point of having a new electric range if you don't know how to use the automatic features it offers?

A homemaker with a modern electric range need have no doubt about her oven — or double ovens — carrying heavy cooking loads. Using her range at full capacity, she can prepare four complete meals, even serve 30 persons at a time. And there are four ways of cooking available to her — surface, rotisserie, broiler and oven.

Many of the special easy-to-use features of new electric ranges are ideal aids for the amateur cook. She can be confident of turning out delicious dishes with their automatic help.

Easy-to-use oven timers turn roasts on and off even when the housewife is away from her kitchen. One timer may be set to start the cooking, the other to stop it. A complete meal prepared in advance and placed in the oven will be cooked automatically and ready to serve at the time set.

An electric oven equipped with rotisserie, which cooks one-third faster than roasting, can cook a roast or turkey big enough for a crowd.

When it does come to cooking a turkey, be sure to take the bird out of the freezer in advance. Two to three days should be allowed for thawing a large turkey in the refrigerator section.

The simplest approach to food preparation is often the best. Some of the most delicious dishes are the easiest ones, and the directions don't overwhelm new cooks and busy homemakers.

Turkey for instance, is just as delicious roasted unstuffed, with the stuffing baked separately, some homemakers say. The cooking time is shorter too.

For a gourmet touch, add a cup of chopped green or ripe olives to the following basic savory stuffing:

1 loaf day-old bread or 12 to 14 cups crumbs
2 teaspoons salt
¾ teaspoon pepper
1¼ teaspoon poultry seasoning
1 cup finely chopped celery
1 slightly beaten egg
½ pound melted butter, margarine
½ cup finely minced onion

Break dry bread into pieces, add seasonings and celery and the slightly-beaten egg. Melt butter or margarine in skillet, add onions and cook until tender. Stir into crumb mixture and blend thoroughly. Roll into balls, place in oven 1 hour before turkey is done.

It is good food-saving practice to strip the meat off the turkey after the first dinner and freezer-wrap meal-size portions of both dark and light meat, preferably in gravy. This can be stored in a zero-zone freezer for a month or more. The carcass can be broken up to make broth, which should be chilled quickly and refrigerated or frozen for later use.

The following rotisserie Orange Glazed Ham recipe also is appealing because of its easy preparation and tangy taste.

1 (7 to 8 pound) half ham — cook-before-eating type
½ cup brown sugar
1 (6 ounce) can undiluted frozen orange juice, thawed
½ teaspoon ground cloves

Run skewer lengthwise along bone, centering ham on skewer. Insert fork at each end to hold securely. Set skewer on rotisserie and grill for 2 to 2½ hours at 400°. Fifteen minutes before cooking is completed roll off rind, if necessary. Combine brown sugar, orange juice, and ground cloves. Spoon one-half of this mixture over ham and complete cooking.

After a family ham dinner, the homemaker can freezer-wrap and store the large unsliced left-over portion. Less perishable than poultry, ham may be freezer stored for six months or more.

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educational programs in the UHF band. For the entire country, there are now 29 educational stations operating in the UHF band, and about 100 commercially-operated UHF stations.

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This does not mean that in most parts of the country you need to rush out and buy a UHF set. In fact, in most areas there still are not stations operating in the UHF band, and the big television networks, broadcasting in VHF themselves, are not eager to encourage additional UHF competition. Even when UHF broadcasting does come to your area you won't need to buy a new set. You can have your present VHF receiver converted for perhaps $30-$40.

What the advent of UHF sets means is that if you are in the market for a TV set, you will have the choice of (1) buying one of the remaining VHF sets still in the dealers' stocks which would have to be converted if UHF does come to your area and you want to receive it; (2) paying $10 to $30 more for a new UHF receiver, or (3) repairing your old set or buying a used

the set manufacturers and the large broadcasters resisted the Federal law requiring that new sets manufactured after April 30 must be the all-channel type. You may recall that the large broadcasters also once resisted FM radio broadcasting. They want to monopolize the public's air waves as much as they can. But the existence of more UHF receivers in homes will encourage more broadcasters to offer additional programs in this band. This means that people in smaller cities and in fringe areas will be able to get better reception than they now get tuning in on broadcasts from the nearest big city. It also means that families in some small-town and rural areas no longer may be forced to pay high fees to operators of community antennas, since programs of nearby origination eventually will be available.

Moreover, programs should improve as the result of additional stations and thus more competition for viewers. Most cities now have only two or three TV stations, some have only one and some none at all. Only nine of the very largest have four or more, the Federal Communications Commission reports. Most present TV broadcasting is on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

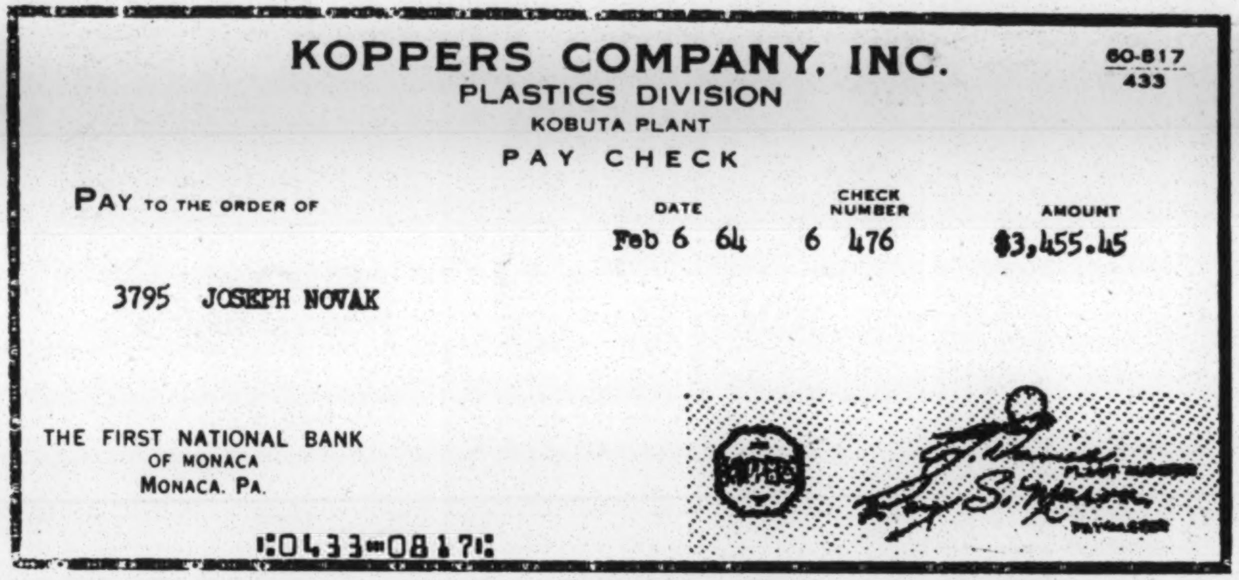
Prices of TV sets in general have been low this year, with some portable sets selling in the $100-$125 bracket for the VHF models.

Auto Accident Fatal to Member

8-729 Raymond A. Bruno, 31, member of Phillipsburg, N. J., Local 8-729 was killed in an automobile accident on February 26.

Bruno's auto smashed headon into a railroad bridge abutment and rescue squads worked more than half an hour to free his body from the wreckage.

Bruno had been an employe of the J. T. Baker Chemical Co. in Phillipsburg since 1955. He is survived by his wife, Sondra, and two children.



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Unions Offered Film on Life Of Mrs. FDR

A 28-minute documentary motion picture on the life of Eleanor Roosevelt is now available for free showing at trade union meetings in connection with the AFL-CIO's campaign on behalf of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation.

Narrated by Mike Wallace, and featuring a special message by Chet Huntley on behalf of the Foundation, the film dramatically traces Mrs. Roosevelt's event-filled life — in support of trade unions, on behalf of social legislation, and in pursuit of world peace. It offers a broad view of American politics, from Franklin Roosevelt's unsuccessful campaign as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 1920, to the election of the late John Kennedy in 1960.

Unions may book "Biography of Eleanor Roosevelt" by writing to the Princeton Television Center, Box 431, Princeton, N. J.

Johnson Needles

Union Wins Back Pay

Joseph Novak, member of Kobuta, Pa., Local 8-74, has his job back and full pay for the time lost from work because of an improper discharge, thanks to the union.

After Novak was discharged by the Koppers Co., the union took the case to arbitration. Arbitrator Donald A. Crawford ruled that the company lacked just cause for the discharge and ordered Novak reinstated with full seniority and full back pay.

The picture above is of the back pay check, which netted $3,455 after deductions for taxes, social security and so forth. Below is shown Pres. W. "Ed" Walker of Local 8-74, Leonard "Gus" Bloom Jr., chief steward, and Novak, looking over the big check.

Intl. Rep. F. J. Prorok led the union team in presenting the case to the arbitrator.

Security, Pension Improvements In Lever Contract

7-336 Significant improvements in job security and pension benefits, as well as other gains, were won by Hammond, Ind., Local 7-336 in joint negotiations with four locals of the International Chemical Workers Union with Lever Bros.

OCAW's local representing 1,500 workers joined with ICWU locals representing workers at Baltimore, Edgewater, N. J., St. Louis and Los Angeles in Company-wide negotiations at Baltimore.

Agreement was reached to interweave seniority amongst the plants, providing that if one of the plants should be shut down the workers could bid into jobs in other plants. Provision was made however, that no employe hired before Jan. 1, 1962, could be bumped in such case.

The major pension improvement was that in calculating retirement benefits hereafter, the wages earned as of Jan. 1, 1964, or the five prior years averaged, whichever is higher, would be the basis of calculation, rather than the average wage of all years of employment. This will mean significantly larger pensions.

Also, pension coverage will now apply to any employe aged 30 or older. In the past, an employe began participating in the pension plan at age 35.

The company agreed that any employee with 20 years service or of age 60 or older who is demoted to lighter duty and therefore lower pay because of disability now will be guaranteed his current higher rate of pay until retirement.

Vacations now will be granted

of the year, a slack production time in the company in which there are frequent temporary layoffs. This was agreed to by the union in an effort to reduce the number of layoffs.

The company gave the unions a letter of intention to better plan its production schedules so as to minimize seasonal layoffs.

A revision was made which will assure that any man laid off will be guaranteed that his hospitalization insurance will remain in effect an additional 30 days. The dental phase of the insurance plan was broadened to cover dentures.

A seven cent general wage increase was provided in the one-year contract. Value of the overall package is estimated at 4 percent or 12½ cents an hour.

Leading the OCAW negotiators on the team were Vice Pres. E. D. Swisher and Intl. Rep. Joseph Bolattino. Local committeemen were Pres. Herman Loden, Max Westphal, Carl G. Rumps, John Swentko, Joe Alishio, Joe Grandys, Bruno Nalepa and Dan Wigley Jr.

Barnsdall Honors

ful campaign as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 1920, to the election of the late John Kennedy in 1960.

Unions may book "Biography of Eleanor Roosevelt" by writing to the Princeton Television Center, Box 431, Princeton, N. J.

Johnson Needles Business Worriers

Union officials in Washington were delighted to discover that President Lyndon Johnson enjoys an occasional needling of big businessmen as much as did President Kennedy. At his first meeting with the Business Council, comprising 87 of the country's most reactionary industry and business executives, President Johnson reminisced about the legendary Speaker Sam Rayburn.

Said the President, "Mr. Rayburn told me that in his 50 years here in Washington he believed the most frightened man that he ran into was the average American businessman.

"He said that although the U. S. businessman can go to bed at night—one of the few businessmen in the world—and wake up next morning knowing that his property has not been confiscated out from under his pillow, he is still frightened. And if he can't scare himself enough he will go hire a lawyer or a public relations man to keep him scared."

Union Lawyer Gets Federal Judgeship

Union Attorney David Rabinovitz has received a recess appointment as Federal Judge for the Western District of Wisconsin despite the opposition of the American Bar Association and conservative business groups.

Rabinovitz, who has solid trade union support for the post, was sworn in at Sheboygan, Wis. This was the scene of many years of activity where he represented the United Auto Workers against the Kohler Co.

The company agreed that any employee with 20 years service or of age 60 or older who is demoted to lighter duty and therefore lower pay because of disability now will be guaranteed his current higher rate of pay until retirement.

Vacations now will be granted on the basis of three weeks for employes of 7 years service (instead of 10) and four weeks after 15 years service (instead of 20). It is provided, however, that these longer vacations can be taken only in the first quarter

Action Sought on Bill To Provide Federal Policing of Mine Safety

Workers in metal and nonmetallic mines are watching with interest the progress in Congress of the Metcalf-Montoya bill which would strengthen federal policing of safety in such mines.

The federal government already exercises considerable influence on safety in coal mining, but all other mines are policed mostly by the states, and state laws are generally inadequate.

More than 500 men are killed or permanently crippled each year in accidents, thousands are injured from breathing silica dust and radon gas and 7,000 man-years of labor are lost annually due to work injuries in mineral industries now unprotected by federal law.

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has issued an eight-page pamphlet summarizing a two-year study by the Department of Interior of health and safety conditions in metal and nonmetallic mines.

The pamphlet calls for early hearings on the Metcalf-Montoya bill, introduced in Congress last July. This bill would establish a safety code for mines and quarries, as well as associated smelters, refineries and other processing plants, enforceable by sanctions which would include criminal penalties. The bill would give the Secretary of the Interior power to close unsafe working places until they are made safe.

Even though the Metcalf-Montoya bill is in line with recommendations made by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, it is strongly opposed by the mining interests.

The National Western Mining Conference, meeting in Denver early in February, passed a resolution urging the federal government "to stay away from further policing of mines." The mine owners took this attitude in the face of heavy death and injury tolls.

The Metcalf-Montoya bill was offered as a result of a detailed study of mine safety ordered by Congress in 1961. The study, made under direction of Secretary Udall, found that state laws and enforcement are "clearly inadequate."

In a survey of 800 mines, this study found 12,155 dangerous safety hazards in existence — about 15 per mine on average — and that upon reinspection later it was found that the mine operators had failed to correct 57 percent of these hazards and that in the meanwhile 2,159 new ones had developed.

In the 800 mines, 4,080 violations of the existing weak state mine safety laws were found. During 1962, 212 men were killed and 329 permanently crippled in metal and nonmetal mining and quarrying.

None of the foregoing applies to coal mines. They have been under federal supervision since the passage in 1941 of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act.

The bill seeking to put other mines under federal safety regulations comparable to those in coal mining, known as the Metcalf-Montoya Bill, was introduced (as S 1949) in the Senate by Senators Lee Metcalf (D.-Mont.) and Frank Moss (D-Utah). The same bill was introduced in the House (as HR 7812) by Congressmen Joseph Montoya (D.-N.M.), Henry Gonzalez (D.-Tex.), Arnold Olsen (D-Mont.), Edward Roybal (D.-Calif.), George Senner (D-Ariz.) and Morris Udall (D.-Ariz.).

* * *

President Johnson says medical care for the aged under the social security system is "The American Way" of meeting the problem.

* * *

E. D. Swisher and Intl. Rep. Joseph Bolattino. Local committeemen were Pres. Herman Loden, Max Westphal, Carl G. Rumps, John Swentko, Joe Alishio, Joe Grandys, Bruno Nalepa and Dan Wigley Jr.

Barnsdall Honors Retired Members

5-391 Seventeen retired members of Barnsdall, Okla., Local 5-391 were honored guests at the local's meeting on March 2.

Local Sec. Emitt D. Jones reports that Friendship Bibles were presented to each retired member and that refreshments were served and enjoyed by all.

UAW SUED

The United Auto Workers and its Local 880 are being sued for $2.5 million by Malleable Industries. The company claims that several union disputes caused a loss of millions of dollars and were illegal. The UAW is prepared to fight on the grounds that it was involved in only one strike, and that one was legal.

New
Officers

3-276 Clarksburg, W. Va. Pres. Percy C. Ashcraft, Vice Pres. William Golden, Rec. Sec. Edwin A. Parsons, Fin. Sec.-Treas. J. J. Johnston, Sgt.-at-Arms Carlo Fragman, Trustees Lee Pierce, Albert Westfall and Lloyd Eneix, Negotiating and Grievance committee William L. Davis, Kermit Post, Carl Lemasters and Robert Robey.

Niagara Local Wins Strike At Goodyear

8-277 The strike by members of Niagara Falls, N. Y., Local 8-277 against Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co was settled with a complete victory for the union in mid-March, just short of four months after it began.

The strike was caused by company insistence on changing arbitration procedures and otherwise weakening the contract.

Company demands for contract changes finally were dropped and the company also agreed to a 5 cent an hour wage increase for each year of a three-year contract, plus improvements in shift differentials and improved vacations. The strike ended March 15.

"Our membership remained strong and united throughout this strike," Rec. Sec. Frank J. Micale of the local reported. "The assistance we received for food baskets from the District 8 Council Strike Fund and the generous financial aid received from brother OCAW unions helped to ease the burden for our members. We wish to thank everyone for their support."

Local 8-277 submitted the following list of contributors of assistance to their strike:

Local 1-5, $25; 1-120, $50; 1-589, $50; 1-591, $408; 2-574, $25; 3-180, $25; 3-193, $10; 3-276, $105; 3-357, $25; 3-523, $25; 3-552, $25; 3-271, $50; 3-727, $10.

Local 5-7, $50; 5-220, $25; 5-225, $25; 5-232, $25; 5-401, $25; 6-502, $25; 7-87, $15; 7-155, $50; 7-496, $50; 7-509, $25; 7-641, $25

Goodyear Strike Scenes

The picture above shows the negotiating group which settled the strike of OCAW Local 8-277 against Goodyear Tire and Rubber at Niagara Falls with a successful agreement. First three men at left are unidentified company negotiators. Beginning with the fourth man, the OCAW team is Intl. Rep. Sebastian Alvarez, Pres. John S. Miller Jr. of the local, Intl. Rep. Louis Marino, D. Cirrincione and Rec. Sec. Frank J. Micale.

Below, Angelo Gigliotti is shown manhandling some of the food supplies contributed to the strike by sister locals. (See article on this page for more details of the settlement.)

Recent Contract Gains

District 1

1-128 **National Supply Co.,** division of Armco Steel Corp., Torrance, Calif. Eighteen month contract instead of 24. Improvements in notification time for vacations, savings and vacation plan, supplemental unemployment benefits program, insurance agreement and contract language. Intl. Rep. D. D. Brymer headed negotiating committee composed of unit chairman Eddie A. Dawson, unit secretary Frank Gilbert, committeemen Paul Lessing, Glen Smith, Wayne Vernon, Duane Schultz, Alex Herwer and local representative James Walker.

1-128 **Productol Chemical Co.,** Long Beach, Calif. Two year agreement effective February 1, 1964. Employee and company contribution to retirement plan and pension benefits increased 33⅓% with 100% vesting at ten years, temporary transfer clarified and limited with 15 day training period and thirty day demonstration period, one week's pay with less than 5 years' seniority and two weeks pay with more in case of lay-off, labor-management relations committee established apart from negotiating and workmen's committees.

District 3

3-611 **Armour Agricultural Chemical Co.,** South Norfolk, Va. Five-cents-across-the-board wage increase, in addition to gains reported in March issue of UNION NEWS.

District 4

4-245 **Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp.,** Shreveport, La. Seven-cents-per-hour general wage increase in a one-year contract.

District 6

6-111 **Wisconsin Contractors, Inc.,** Lake Geneva, Wis. Eleven-cents-per-hour general wage increase effective March 1, 1964, in a one-year contract. Four weeks vacation for 16 years of service, added holiday, funeral leave, and improved major medical. Increased sick leave and company to submit proposal for profit sharing program.

6-395 **W. H. Sweney & Co.,** St. Paul, Minn. Three-year contract carries wage increase of nine-cents-per-hour effective February 1, 1964, four cents on January 1, 1965, and again on July 1, 1965, January 1, 1966, and July 1, 1966. Three-cent increase in hospitalization and four weeks vacation after 20 years. Intl. Rep. Russell W. Trout headed negotiations with Merrill Lind and John Vogel.

6-578 **Dillon Hotel Corp.** (Red Cedar Inn), Austin, Minn. Six-cents-per-hour general wage increase in a one-year contract. Holidays increased.

6-665 **Minnesota Mining & Mfg. Co.,** Cumberland, Wis. Six to eight-cents-per-hour general wage increase for production and maintenance in a two-year contract. Improved our members. We wish to thank everyone for their support."

Local 8-277 submitted the following list of contributors of assistance to their strike:

Local 1-5, $25; 1-120, $50; 1-589, $50; 1-591, $408; 2-574, $25; 3-180, $25; 3-193, $10; 3-276, $105; 3-357, $25; 3-523, $25; 3-552, $25; 3-271, $50; 3-727, $10.

Local 5-7, $50; 5-220, $25; 5-225, $25; 5-232, $25; 5-401, $25; 6-502, $25; 7-87, $15; 7-155, $50; 7-496, $50; 7-509, $25; 7-641, $25.

District 8 Council, $2,112.50; Local 8-86, $40; 8-99, $50; 8-234, $100; 8-250, $50; 8-373, $50; 8-398, $25; 8-406, $25; 8-455, $50; 8-459, $12.50; 8-543, $25; 8-548, $36.62; 8-638, $25; 8-3660, $50; 8-6220, $100; 8-6230, $30; 8-12058, $1,800; 9-691, $1,500.

15-Cents Won At Metalsalts

8-447 Hawthorne, N. J., Local 8-447 has negotiated a two-year contract with Metalsalts Corp. calling for a fifteen-cents-per-hour wage increase; eight cents effective the first year and seven cents the second year.

The new contract calls for $10 a week increase in Temporary Disability benefits, five cents and three cents inequity adjustments for the maintenance group in the first and second years respectively, three cents cost-of-living increase gained over past two years permanently incorporated in wage scale, and four weeks severance pay for five years' service.

The local and the company will attempt to set up a pension program during the coming year. Double time will be paid for hours worked over twelve on Saturdays and the company will furnish one pair of leather shoes per year. Grievance procedure and warning system language was improved and a manning clause for plant expansion was added.

Intl. Rep. George R. Papp headed the local negotiating committee composed of Peter Buckpesch, John Dickerman and George Arnnett.

Ladies Garment Workers Win Pay Increase

Some 80,000 members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in eight eastern states have ratified a new, three-year contract providing for wage and fringe benefits averaging between 3 and 9 per cent.

Some 2,500 shop stewards and chairmen of the union approved the pact at a meeting.

A possible snag was seen in the fact that two employer organizations, employing 20,000 workers, are balking at the agreement. Meetings are scheduled with Mayor Robert Wagner to head off a strike.

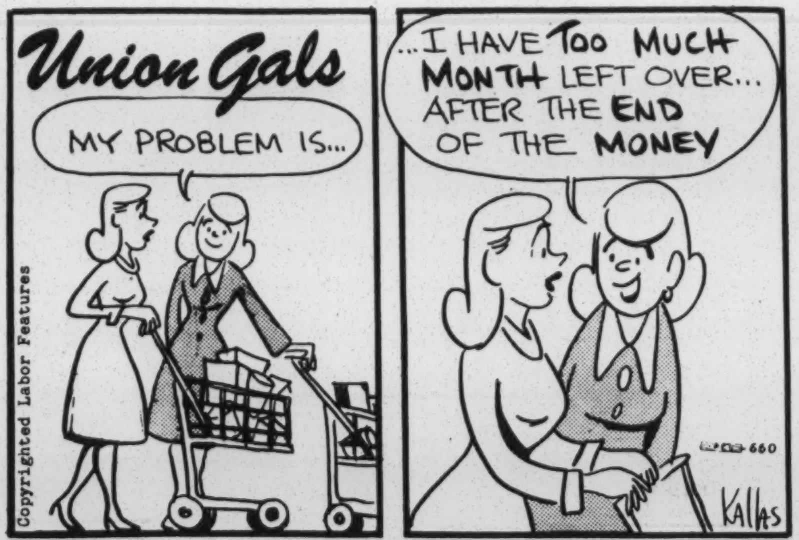
The agreement covers employers of jobbers who purchase fabric and cut patterns and contractors who do the sewing for the jobbers.

Unions Back Young Over John Glenn

The Ohio AFL-CIO has rallied to the support of Democratic Senator Stephen M. Young in his race for re-election to the United States Senate against the challenge of Astronaut John Glenn.

Although the Federation has made it a policy not to make endorsements in primary races, it declared, without mentioning Glenn's name, that "the special circumstances of the current contest call for this expression of support" for Sen. Young.

In its statement, the State AFL-CIO cited Senator Young's "exemplary record on behalf of legislation to advance the general welfare of Ohio citizens" and his consistent and wholehearted support of the policies of President Johnson and the late President Kennedy.


Union Gals
MY PROBLEM IS...
...I HAVE TOO MUCH MONTH LEFT OVER... AFTER THE END OF THE MONEY
Copyrighted Labor Features
660
KALLAS

committee established apart from negotiating and workmen's committees.

District 3

3-611 **Armour Agricultural Chemical Co.,** South Norfolk, Va. Five-cents-across-the-board wage increase, in addition to gains reported in March issue of UNION NEWS.

3-677 **Nuclear Fuel Services, Inc.,** Erwin, Tenn. Nine-cents-per-hour general wage increase. Additional paid holiday, increased shift premium and meal allowance, no sub-contracting of ordinary maintenance work normally performed by bargaining unit, 36 month seniority retention for lay-off or sickness and improvements in funeral leave and grievance procedure. Company to conduct and pay for employe attendance at two hour health and safety school each quarter. Improvements in overtime and vacation clauses. Suspension of employes must be in presence of steward or committee and in writing. Intl. Rep. Henry A. Adkinson headed contract committee composed of local Pres. John Williams, Don "Brushie" Lewis and Gordon Peterson.

3-679 **Hercules Powder Co.,** Bessemer, Ala. Wage settlement averaging 6.4¢ per hour. Intl. Rep. B. C. Emrick headed local union committee comprising Pres. M. H. Clark, Hercules group chairman R. L. Knox, M. J. Lucas and Floyd Vining.

3-722 **New York Mining & Manufacturing Co.,** Calvert City, Ky. Ten-cents-per-hour wage negotiated on a wage opening clause; increase effective April 1, 1964. Company to furnish rubber boots and gloves. Intl. Rep. Hugh Owen led local negotiating committee composed of Pres. H. B. Jones, Fin. Sec. Jim Robertson, Vice Pres. Roy McKamey, Paul T. Owen, W. Oliver and Bill Russell.

A dollar donated to COPE means help to a candidate for office who is friendly to working people.

Trout headed negotiations with Merrill Lind and John Vogel.

6-578 **Dillon Hotel Corp.** (Red Cedar Inn), Austin, Minn. Six-cents-per-hour general wage increase in a one-year contract. Holidays increased.

6-665 **Minnesota Mining & Mfg. Co.,** Cumberland, Wis. Six to eight-cents-per-hour general wage increase for production and maintenance in a two-year contract. Improved pension plan and floating holiday added. Intl. Reps. Leslie J. Van Tol and Joseph A. Ricci headed negotiating committee composed of John Helstern, M. L. Hubbard, Henry C. Miller, Ron Woodward, Paul Pett, Jr., Gene F. Gunderson and George Ricci.

District 7

7-355 **American Cyanamid Co.,** Hamilton, Ohio. Six to eight-cents-per-hour wage increases in a two year agreement effective December 9, 1963, and wage re-opener December 15, 1964. Increased shift differential and contract language improved. Negotiating committee was headed by Intl. Rep. Carl A. Bachmann and included Pres. W. H. Brosch, Fin. Sec. Luther Deaton, Robert Steele and Eddie Wilson.

7-507 **UBS Chemical Co.,** Argo, Ill. Eight-cents-per-hour wage increase effective February 1, 1964. Intl. Rep. Roy Freeman and group chairman Gene L. Mullins handled negotiations.

How Goldwater Shows Initiative

When Sen. Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.) in a speech here, blamed poverty on the lack of intelligence and ambition, one trade union leader recalled a Herblock cartoon.

It showed a downtrodden mother with her two poorly clothed children. Goldwater was depicted as saying to them: "If you had any initiative you'd go out and inherit a department store."

In Faberge Negotiations

Key people at the signing of Ridgefield, N. J., Local 8-6210s new contract with Faberge are pictured above. Back row, left to right, are Intl. Rep. George Papp, Fin. Sec. Garry Cohn, Pres. John Keel, Intl. Rep. Herb Sterling and Acting Director Raymond P. Rogowski. Seated are Philip Brass, management; Dorothy LaGarde, Rec. Sec.; James Hughes, Vice Pres.; and Joe McGuinness, Sgt.-at-Arms. (See article on this page for details.)

Management Men Speak Favorably Of Study Groups

Three management spokesmen had good things to say about joint labor-management study committees in a panel discussion held recently at the Midwinter Personnel Conference of the American Management Association.

Participating in the discussion,

sentative of a small steel company, reported good success. A joint study committee between his company and the union has dealt with four key issues since 1962 — incentive practices, seniority, scheduling and a big backlog of grievances. Management reversed its position on in-

19-Cents Won At Faberge

8-6210 Ridgefield, N.J. Local 8-6210's recently signed contract with Faberge, Inc. gained the membership a 19c across-the-board wage increase; ten cents the first year and nine cents the second year.

The two year contract brings additional gains of first and second year inequity adjustments for machinists of 25c and 15c, and a 10c inequity adjustment

Mobil Disregards Arbiter's Ruling; Union Must Sue

7-644 OCAW will be forced to take Mobil Oil to court for the company's defiant disregard of an arbitrator's ruling against them.

Returning to work after a six month strike, East St. Louis, Ill., Local 7-644 was forced to take arbitration Mobil's discounting of that year's vacation time by 50%, despite the fact that the contract bases vacation time earned upon length of service, not upon the number of days, weeks or months worked in a single year.

Arbitrator Carroll Daugherty, government appointed mediator in many nation-wide labor disputes, ruled that barring any "established plan" covering vacation discounting apart from the contract, the company would have to pay the employees the difference due them.

Mobil admitted they had no established plan, accused the arbitrator of being pro-union, and walked out of the hearing.

Since the company has refused to accept as binding the arbitrator's ruling, it is violating its contract with the union and therefore the union will have to go to court to sue the company for breach of contract and seek a court order forcing the company to follow the arbitrator's order.

Labor-management relations between OCAW and Mobil have been strained for some time. Local Vice Pres. O. V. Clover says that this latest display of contempt for the contract and the whole concept of arbitration in labor-management disputes makes it clear that Mobil's real intent is to "program human relations out of existence."

Acralite Workers Vote for OCAW

Production and maintenance employes of Acralite Co., Inc., in Brooklyn, N. Y., have voted to join OCAW.

The vote was 8 to 2 in an elec-

Negro Leader Talks Against R-T-W Laws

The Rev. Martin Luther King, noted Negor leader in the civil

Three management spokesmen had good things to say about joint labor-management study committees in a panel discussion held recently at the Midwinter Personnel Conference of the American Management Association.

Participating in the discussion, held in Chicago, were R. Heath Larry of U. S. Steel, Charles H. Parcells of U. S. Rubber and Robert F. Groves of Allen Wood Steel Co.

The three agreed that joint study committees are not the answer to all labor-management problems but that the technique has led to solution of many problems that can't be solved in the heat of collective bargaining sessions.

Speaking from his experiences in the steel industry, Larry said that four ingredients are necessary for success in the joint study committee approach. They are (1) a will and desire to make it work — which in the steel case came about after the long 1959-60 strike, (2) properly established mechanics and procedure of the committee — for everything is done by mutual agreement, (3) adequate staffing on both sides by educated and sophisticated people and (3) flexibility as to time—no deadlines to put undue pressure on the participants.

Parcells, speaking as a representative of an industry that has not yet operated its newly-established joint study committees but from experience in a similar activity, described divisional meetings his company has had with Rubber Workers locals during the past twenty years.

He said these meetings usually ran three days, with the company presenting its problems the first day, the union its problems the second day, and solutions sought on a third day. Parcells said the meetings were not always successful but that he could honestly attest that they had never put management to any disadvantage.

Groves, speaking as a representative of a small steel company, reported good success. A joint study committee between his company and the union has dealt with four key issues since 1962 — incentive practices, seniority, scheduling and a big backlog of grievances. Management reversed its position on incentives, accepting a plan used elsewhere in industry. Solutions to the other three problems were worked out by the committee.

Nearly a year ago, OCAW proposed to the oil industry that joint labor-management study committees be established to study manpower stabilization problems, but the idea has gotten a very cool reception from management.

30-Year Vet

Ernest Black, member of South Bay Local 1-547, proudly wears OCAW's handsome 30-year pin presented to him at a regular meeting with a commendation from the officers of the international.

Black has 13 more years to go before retirement from the Mobil Oil Co. at the Torrance, California, refinery where he is an insulator. He started as an insulator with Cities Service Corp. at East Chicago, Indiana, in 1933.

signed contract with Faberge, Inc. gained the membership a 19c across-the-board wage increase; ten cents the first year and nine cents the second year.

The two year contract brings additional gains of first and second year inequity adjustments for machinists of 25c and 15c, and a 10c inequity adjustment for powder fillers and 15c for truck drivers, all apart from general wage increase.

One week's severance will be earned for 52 weeks' work. No vacation benefits will be lost by lengthy illness if employes have 15 years or more seniority. Overtime distribution was improved as were methods of promotion to fill vacancies. Negotiations on job evaluation and description will begin four to five months in advance of contract expiration.

Acting Director Raymond P. Rogowski assisted Intl. Reps. George R. Papp and Harold C. Sterling with negotiations. Local committee was composed of Pers. John Keel, Vice Pres. Jim Hughes, Fin. Sec. Garry Cohn, Rec. Sec. Dorothy LaGarde, Sgt.-at-Arms Joe McGuinness. Federal mediators called in were Dan Fitzpatrick and John Wagner.

Human Depreciation Write-Off Needed

An expert, speaking before the American Economics Association, believes that people are as valuable as property.

Economist Harry Greenfield of Queens College, New York, said that people should be allowed "human depreciation" on their income tax forms just as industry is allowed to deduct depreciation on machinery. He said medical expenditures to repair human depreciation compare to the costs of repairing machinery.

Your local union meeting is your opportunity to make suggestions as to how your union can operate better.

Acralite Workers Vote for OCAW

Production and maintenance employes of Acralite Co., Inc., in Brooklyn, N. Y., have voted to join OCAW.

The vote was 8 to 2 in an election held by the National Labor Relations Board. Intl. Rep. Warren Bunn conducted the organization. The unit will be a part of Local 8-712.

How Do You Get to Work?

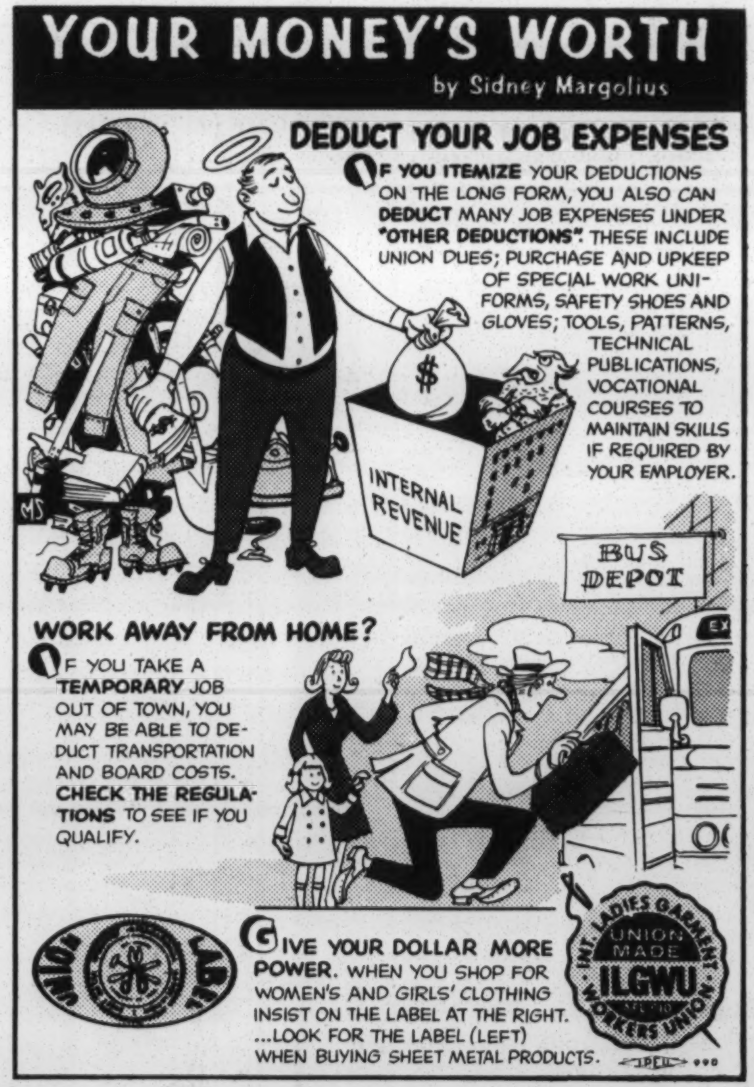
A Census Bureau survey shows that 10 per cent of all American workers still walk to work. Automobiles carry 64 per cent, 8 per cent use buses or street cars, and nearly four per cent go by rail, subway or elevated trains.

Negro Leader Talks Against R-T-W Laws

The Rev. Martin Luther King, noted Negor leader in the civil rights battle, has condemned "right-to-work" laws as representing a denial of both the civil rights and the job rights of the nation's Negro workers.

King particularly denounced the current attempt to enact the anti-labor law in Oklahoma.

"This so-called 'right-to-work' law provides no 'rights' and it provides no 'work'," King said in a speech in Oklahoma City. "It is, instead, a law to rob us of our civil rights and our job rights."


YOUR MONEY'S WORTH
by Sidney Margolius
DEDUCT YOUR JOB EXPENSES
IF YOU ITEMIZE YOUR DEDUCTIONS ON THE LONG FORM, YOU ALSO CAN DEDUCT MANY JOB EXPENSES UNDER "OTHER DEDUCTIONS". THESE INCLUDE UNION DUES; PURCHASE AND UPKEEP OF SPECIAL WORK UNIFORMS, SAFETY SHOES AND GLOVES; TOOLS, PATTERNS, TECHNICAL PUBLICATIONS, VOCATIONAL COURSES TO MAINTAIN SKILLS IF REQUIRED BY YOUR EMPLOYER.
INTERNAL REVENUE
$
MS
BUS DEPOT
WORK AWAY FROM HOME?
IF YOU TAKE A TEMPORARY JOB OUT OF TOWN, YOU MAY BE ABLE TO DEDUCT TRANSPORTATION AND BOARD COSTS. CHECK THE REGULATIONS TO SEE IF YOU QUALIFY.
UNION LABEL
GIVE YOUR DOLLAR MORE POWER. WHEN YOU SHOP FOR WOMEN'S AND GIRLS' CLOTHING INSIST ON THE LABEL AT THE RIGHT. ...LOOK FOR THE LABEL (LEFT) WHEN BUYING SHEET METAL PRODUCTS.
INT. LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION
UNION MADE
ILGWU

Outdoor Lowdown

By FRED GOETZ

Wild and wooly still is the "out country" out of Mood's Mill, Yarmouth county, Nova Scotia, according to a story from Lou Spinney of Welsford, New Brunswick, a member of Local 9-691.

Seems like Lawrence Christian of Mood's Mill was doing a little winter hunting for rabbits near home when his right to use the trail was questioned by a snarling bobcat, standing firm and hurling sparks of defiance. Christian recalled that neighbors had been complaining about a huge bobcat prowling the vicinity, raiding farmyards.

Anyway, Lawrence let go with a blast from his 12-gauge rabbit gun and downed the defiant bob which tipped the scales at 42 pounds and measured four feet from snout to tail.

Ever since his dad took him fishing, as a mere splinter of a lad, Randy Odle, 12-year-old

a pair of the illustrated METRIC lures by sending in a photo of a fishing, camping or hunting scene — and a few words as to what the photo is all about.

Send it to:

Fred Goetz
Dept. OLME
0216 S.W. Idaho
Portland, Oregon 97201

Please state your local number. Of course, retired members and the family are eligible.

•

Piscatorial loose ends:

...Another avid father-and-son angling team is Ronald Stamos of Sarnia, Ontario, and his dad Christopher Stamos, a member of Local 9-14. Just for the record, chalk up a 12 pound pike for Cris, a battler taken from the St. Clair river, Sarnia Bay area, and a 15 inch perch for Ron.

...One of the top walleye catches for this column is an eight pounder taken by Mrs. M. Irwin, wife of Melvin Irwin, Oil City, Pa., a member of Local 8-455. The 28-inch "wallie" came from the Alleghany river near Oleapolis and was taken on an artificial. We recall a past letter from Melvin which told about his affection for a coon he tamed after getting permission to do so from the game commission. The Irwins claim it was the smartest thing on four legs and a joy of their life.

...Sometime ago we got a letter wanting to know: "What the heck are clothesline bass? Can't remember who posed the question but here's a look-see on

Laminated Shim Negotiators

Members of the amicable negotiating teams of Stamford, Conn., Local 8-320 and Laminated Shim Co. are pictured at the recent signing of their new one-year contract. Seated at left is Local Pres. Charles W. Betts and Laminated Shim Pres. Arthur V. Anderson. Standing left to right are personnel manager George Hubbard, local committee members Daniel Mecca and William Holmes, Intl. Rep. David Abrams, local committeeman Joseph Necatera, local Vice Pres. Zygmund Olzerowicz and company Vice Pres. and Production Manager Otto J. Hecht.

Stamford Unit Again Wins Quick Pact

8-320 For the second year in a row negotiations between Stamford, Conn., Local 8-320 and Laminated Shim Co. have been settled satisfactorily in a single negotiating session of one day.

Local Pres. Charles Betts reports that in somewhat over

Three Unions Compare Notes On Gas Utilities

Sixty-two delegates from three international unions exchanged information at the annual Inter-Union Gas Conference in Detroit March 4-6, OCAW Vice Pres. B. J. Schafer, coordinator of the conference, reports.

Participating in the conference

ton, Ont., Local 9-633; Kenny Finnerty of St. Louis Local 5-194; Charles Madeson and Robert C. Tibbs of St. Louis Local 5-6; Don Teply and Webb F. Harting of Cushing, Okla., Local 5-283; George C. Thornton of Texas City, Tex., Local 4-449; Charles R. Moore of Kenova, W.

Ever since his dad took him fishing, as a mere splinter of a lad, Randy Odle, 12-year-old son of Billy Odle of Groves, Texas — a member of Local 4-23 — had a hankering, as anglers of all ages, everywhere, have had a hankering, to catch a lunker. One so monstrous that he — nor anyone, need later have to brag about it.

In line with this we hear that Randy was fishing the Gulf surf, for the first time, with his dad. As he started to retrieve one of the many routine casts, his rod tip jerked ever so gently; jerked again, this time more vigorously; then again, violently, to touch the rolling swells.

Randy was fast to a finny freight train that took off like a downgrading runaway and it was touch-and-go and pump-and-wind-in for 40 minutes after that. Begrudgingly the tired monster was inched to beach for the kill—a chunky bull redfish—hooked by the tail — that measured 45 inches from nose to caudal fin and bent the scale to the tune of 40 pounds. See photo above.

The previous day, dad nipped two redfish from the same stand but they ran ten pounds under Randy's catch.

●

The waters out of Birch, Wisconsin, are lucrative for perch, bluegill and crappie, says Elmer Peters of 10933 Avenue H, Chicago, Illinois, a member of Local 7-336. "Try 'em."

Members of the OCAW in good standing — and the members of their families — can earn

artificial. We recall a past letter from Melvin which told about his affection for a coon he tamed after getting permission to do so from the game commission. The Irwins claim it was the smartest thing on four legs and a joy of their life.

. . . Sometime ago we got a letter wanting to know: "What the heck are clothesline bass? Can't remember who posed the question but here's a look-see on some clothesline bass — and a few bluegill mixed in. Fella' standing behind 'em is Ernest Logue of Fullerton, Calif., a member of Local 1-128, Long Beach. Ernest and his wife amassed this great catch from the waters of Vale Lake in San Diego county. Mr. and Mrs. Logue contend that fishing is the greatest sport in the world.

. . . It's a gala time for fishermen when the white bass run occurs, usually the first week of October at Fremont, Wis., between Wolf river and Pelican lake. Four anglers who have participated in this run are Mr. and Mrs. Kasper Shields and Mr. and Mrs. B. T. McNabney of Hammond, Indiana.

Mrs. McNabney recalls they took home 53 white bass, plus 4 pike, 4 black bass and 3 walleyes.

B. T. McNabney, a member of OCAW for 28 years was presented with a lifetime membership.

. . . Don Keister, secretary-treasurer of Local 7-630, Logan, Ohio, and his fishing partners, Cliff Smith and Kermit Ringhiser, take their panfish the hard way. Hear tell they amassed a stringer of 100 bluegills, some of 'em measuring 11 inches, on fly gear, topped off with yellow-spider poppers. The place was Logan Lake.

Quick Pact

8-320 For the second year in a row negotiations between Stamford, Conn., Local 8-320 and Laminated Shim Co. have been settled satisfactorily in a single negotiating session of one day.

Local Pres. Charles Betts reports that in somewhat over three hours the membership won a three percent general wage increase in a one-year contract.

Other gains include company paid life insurance for retired employes, as well as a company paid medical and surgical plan. Retirement is at age 65 with 17 years' service. The new contract brings two weeks vacation after one year and an extra paid holiday.

The local negotiating committee, headed by Intl. Rep. David Abrams, included Pres. Betts, Vice Pres. Zygmund Olzerowicz, William Holmes, Daniel Mecca and Joseph Necatera.

Community Services Program Emphasized In Minersville Local

8-719 Rec. Sec. Charles Huntzinger of Minersville, Pa., Local 8-719 reports that the membership is enthusiastically participating in a Community Services Schooling Program thanks to Schuylkill County's United Labor Council and United Fund.

A Red Cross sponsored blood bank has already been set up by the members and is in operation. Local Pres. Dave Donlin has been appointed to the United Fund Board of Directors and to its Labor Advisory Committee.

George Kelly of the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee is the school coordinator and Huntzinger reports the school will run for six weeks with participants attending a graduation dinner in the seventh week.

On Gas Utilities

Sixty-two delegates from three international unions exchanged information at the annual Inter-Union Gas Conference in Detroit March 4-6, OCAW Vice Pres. B. J. Schafer, coordinator of the conference, reports.

Participating in the conference were delegates from locals of OCAW, ICWU and Building Service Employes Union who have bargaining rights with gas utility companies.

The conference does not plan or coordinate collective bargaining, but exchanges information about work and contract conditions which can assist each union in bargaining.

Problems currently facing gas utility workers are notably similar to those in most other industries in which OCAW members work. Delegates noted that contracting out of work, particularly meter repairs, was on the increase with resulting loss of jobs. Automated or highly mechanized data processing and billing equipment is costing still other jobs.

Many of the delegates expressed a concern that safety standards are slipping in connection with decreasing of work forces. As in the oil industry, complaints were voiced that management is attempting to expand the role of supervisors and give them work belonging to the hourly-rated people.

A steering committee of nine persons was selected to coordinate work of the conference, three coming from each union. OCAW members of this committee are Jim White of St. Louis Local 5-6, Joseph H. McDonald of St. Louis Local 5-194 and John M. Dunbar of Hamilton, Ont., Local 9-633.

Other OCAW delegates attending the conference included: LeMoine Cardinal, Henry Sniadach and William M. Paulin of Milwaukee Local 6-18; Eugene J. Smith and Robert A. Meyerhofer of Burlington, Wisc., Local 6-111; Intl. Rep. Ernest J. Toth of District 6; James Curran and Leonard Bowley of Hamilton, Ont., Local 9-633; Kenny Finnerty of St. Louis Local 5-194; Charles Madeson and Robert C. Tibbs of St. Louis Local 5-6; Don Teply and Webb F. Harting of Cushing, Okla., Local 5-283; George C. Thornton of Texas City, Tex., Local 4-449; Charles R. Moore of Kenova, W. Va., Local 3-372; Zeon Quintila of Port Arthur, Tex., Local 4-23; and Arnold Makinson of Winnipeg, Man., Local 9-681.

Sohio Chemical Units Win 14c, Other Benefits

7-626 Two groups of Lima, Ohio, Local 7-626 members at Sohio Chemical Co. won fourteen cents-per-hour wage increases in two-year contracts; seven cents effective February 9 this year, and another seven cents on February 7 next year.

Both groups, Acrylonitrille and Nitrogen, gained double time over eight hours and the right to negotiate company-proposed classification changes.

The Nitrogen group got the 18 month restriction on bidding by Storeroom personnel removed, posting rights for assistant storeroom keeper's job, 48 hour notice on schedule changes and recall rights to service group for laid-off employees.

The Acrylonitrille group improved their grievance procedure and secured thirty days' notice of lay-off whenever practicable.

Intl. Rep. Carl A. Bachmann headed both groups' negotiating committees. Negotiating for the Nitrogen group were group chairman Fred Britsch, Karl Garlock, Robert Dahill, Frank Early and Dick Burdin. Acrylonitrille's negotiating committee included group chairman Leo Brown, William Selover, Ralph Davis and Ned Ford.

126 Stewards Take Training In District 1

Four separate Stewards' Training Programs were held in District 1 during February and March attended by stewards from nine West Coast locals.

A total of 126 stewards were enthusiastic in their reception of the courses which were first proposed at last December's District 1 Council meeting. Locals represented were: Long Beach Local 1-128, South Bay Local 1-547, Taft Local 1-6, Kern River Local 1-19, Ferndale Local 1-590, Anacortes Local 1-591, Martinez Local 1-5, Santa Maria Local 1-534 and Emeryville Local 1-589.

Education Director Alfred Wickman conducted the sessions in conjunction with Intl. Rep. Verlin L. McKendree.

McKendree is responsible for the handling of all arbitration cases in District 1 and his competence is well known throughout the district. He keeps a master record of all arbitration costs, arbitrators, and contract clauses that enter dispute. He prepares the cases for hearing and serves as the union's advocate. McKendree has trained many of OCAW's West Coast local stewards in arbitration.

Labor Explains Why It Wants Double-Time

Safety Awards at Carborundum

Three divisions of the Carborundum Co. in Niagara Falls received awards for their safety records at the 17th annual dinner of the Labor-Management Safety Committee in the plant. They were Bonded Abrasives, largest division in the plant, Functional Staff, and Research and Development Division. Pictured above in the presentation ceremony are, left to right, Clifford H. Seymour, manager of safety and security for the company; Stanley Kasprzak, union safety committee chairman; Peter Walos, chairman of the union safety committee in Bonded Abrasives; Vincent Stricker, chairman of the management safety committee; Donald J. MacLaren, representing the Research and Development division safety committee; and Oscar Goltara, president of OCAW's Niagara Falls Local 8-12058, which represents employes in the big plant.

AFL-CIO Raises Questions About Pipe Line Ownership

The AFL-CIO Executive Council at its last meeting adopted a statement requesting the government to investigate the impact on the public welfare of multi-company owner-

the general public as well as to employees of the oil industry.

"Such multi-company ownership combines the resources and power of several companies in

ticipating companies are injected in the same line for shipment. We question whether the consumer receives truly competitive prices and services as between the products of the

42 Houston Sinclair Men Retire Early

4-227 Forty-two employes of Sinclair Refining Co. at Houston have taken early retirement under a negotiated agreement with the company in order to keep 42 young employes on the job, Sec.-Treas. L. Tom Fox of Houston Local 4-227 reports.

One of these men — William U. Smith — had been in Sinclair service more than 41 years. Most of the others had service periods ranging from 30 to 39 years. Only one had less than 20 years of company service.

All except one was a member of OCAW and several had 30 years of membership in the union. The plant was first organized just over 30 years ago.

The early retirees are Juan Baldes, James L. Bresee, William H. Buffington, McKinley Burnstein, Samuel Cain, Arlie R. Carpenter, Ed W. Christie, Archie B. Collins, Adam Dangler, Guadalupe Escamilla, Adolphus L. Findley, Jeronimo Flores, Lloyd L. Follis, Alvin G. Freeman.

Otto B. Gates, Lewis O. Greene, Chalbert W. Grigsby, Mack Hardin, Prentice P. Havard, Robert Hensely, Ernest P. Hickey, Theador Johnson, Albert T. Jones, Leslie J. Kessler, Lawrence L. LaBouve, Leslie D. LeGalley, Edd T. Laird.

Lonnie O. McGill, Olive E. McLean, Lewis T. Miller, Albert Moore, Austin Mouton, Amos J. Neal, Clarence L. Newell, Roger E. Oliphant, William U. Smith, Villery Spencer, Willie Thomas, Hollis C. Thrash, Thomas D.

many of OCAW's West Coast local stewards in arbitration.

Labor Explains Why It Wants Double-Time

Precisely why the AFL-CIO is asking for a 35-hour week and penalty pay of double time for overtime was spelled out to a House Subcommittee by Andrew J. Biemiller, the federation's director of legislation.

"The AFL-CIO is fully convinced that hours of work must be cut in order to reduce unemployment," he testified before the Select Subcommittee on Labor of the House Labor Committee, "or even to keep it from growing beyond its present intolerable level.

"We do not argue that a reduction in hours, in itself, would achieve that end. But we do insist that shorter hours are an essential element in achieving it."

The AFL-CIO spokesman predicted that double-time for overtime "would open up as many as a million full-time job opportunities."

Unions Object To Scranton's Jobless Plan

More than 3,000 leaders of AFL-CIO unions and State bodies in Pennsylvania held a mass meeting on the steps of the Capitol in Harrisburg in protest against unemployment compensation revisions proposed by the Republican Administration of Gov. William W. Scranton.

They heard President Harry Boyer of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO denounce the bill's provisions as "cruel and inhuman" and charge that it would penalize thousands of jobless for the benefit of a few favored industries.

About Pipe Line Ownership

The AFL-CIO Executive Council at its last meeting adopted a statement requesting the government to investigate the impact on the public welfare of multi-company ownership of crude oil and oil proproducts pipe lines.

The resolution is similar to one adopted by the OCAW Executive Board at its last meeting and subsequently by the Maritime Trades Department of AFL-CIO.

Text of the statement as adopted by AFL-CIO follows:

"The practice of vesting ownership of pipe lines, particularly products pipe lines in several supposedly separate and competitive companies, poses a number of questions of concern to the general public as well as to employees of the oil industry.

"Such multi-company ownership combines the resources and power of several companies in such a way as to give them a competitive advantage over companies which do not participate in the ownership. Although such pipe lines are supposedly common carriers available to all shippers of petroleum products at a posted rate of tariff, in practice they typically, serve only the owning companies. Artificially high tariff rates, assertions that capacity is not available, and other subterfuges place the company which does not own a share in the pipe line at a disadvantage.

"Products of the various participating companies are injected in the same line for shipment. We question whether the consumer receives truly competitive prices and services as between the products of the various companies when these products in fact are handled as unidentifiable bulk commodities.

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO hereby requests the Administrative Officers of the AFL-CIO to call these problems to the attention of the appropriate government agencies and members of Congress with the suggestion that the impact of multi-company ownership of crude oil and oil products pipe lines be carefully investigated."

New Pennsalt Agreement

Representatives of the union and the company are pictured signing the new agreement between Wyandotte, Mich., Local 7-591 and Pennsalt Corp. Standing left to right are committeeman Claude Sutton, company representative Dan Minnick, committeemen Robert Allen and Robert Wilkes and company representative Al Fortino. Seated: Don Long, personnel department; Charles Gagnon, union chairman; Pete Nugent, labor relations; Paul Stawicki, Intl. Rep.; Robert Brown, local union president; George Featherstone, committeeman.

Contract gains include limitation on return of non-bargaining unit employes to unit, voluntary lay-off permissible instead of demotion at times of cut-backs, call-in work to be specified, increases in vacation, shift differential, Blue Cross-Blue Shield (by company), and work schedule to be firmed up for following week at 6:00 p.m. on Friday.

Hickey, Theador Johnson, Albert T. Jones, Leslie J. Kessler, Lawrence L. LaBouve, Leslie D. LeGalley, Edd T. Laird.

Lonnie O. McGill, Olive E. McLean, Lewis T. Miller, Albert Moore, Austin Mouton, Amos J. Neal, Clarence L. Newell, Roger E. Oliphant, William U. Smith, Villery Spencer, Willie Thomas, Hollis C. Thrash, Thomas D. Walters, Joseph G. Zenon.

17-Cents Won At Carborundum

8-490 A 17c general wage increase has been gained by Perth Amboy, N.J., Local 8-490 in a two year contract with Carborundum Corp.; nine cents effective March 1 this year, and eight cents on that date next year.

Other gains include inequity raises after job re-evaluation, two cent increase in afternoon shift differential, insurance program to include extended Blue Cross benefits, incentive program changes as requested by union and revision of contract's temporary transfer section.

Intl. Rep. Raymond P. Rogowski headed the local negotiating committee composed of Pres. Eugene Ur, Jr., Zolan Orosz, Stephen Moroz, Joseph Giordano John W. Vargo, Irving Britten, Andrew Milochik and John Volk.

Goldwater Washed Up?

Senator Barry Goldwater (R. Ariz.) has been washed out of the Republican Presidential sweepstakes pretty completely by columnist Joseph Alsop with these words:

"No serious Republican politician, even of the most Neanderthal type, any longer takes Goldwater seriously. The real question is why he was taken seriously for so long. On this point, many big businessmen, and one must add, many big newspapers and magazines, have much to answer for."

Voting Should Be Made Easier

National Study Commission Suggests How To Do This

It is a fact that one-third of all U.S. adult citizens do not vote in presidential elections.

It is a fact that more than one-half of all U.S. adult citizens do not vote in congressional elections.

The reasons behind these facts — facts that undermine the very foundation of our democracy — are both psychological and legal and have long been a source of concern to Republicans and Democrats alike.

Prompted by this concern, President Kennedy established the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation March 30, 1963. The commission's purpose was, in effect, to study these reasons and to submit to the President its recommendations for enabling every citizen to cast his vote.

The findings of the commission were presented to President Johnson Dec. 20, 1963. The report proposes 21 specific standards to enable the millions of Americans who for one reason or another do not vote — in 1960 35 million — to cast their votes on election day. The 11 man commission based their recommendations on working within the framework of the present electoral system.

The 21 proposed registration and voting standards are:

1. Each state should create a commission on registration and voting participation, or utilize some other existing state machinery to survey in detail its election law and practices.

2. Voter registration should be easily accessible to all citizens. In some states, voters ofttimes have to make an out-of-the-way trip to the county court house to register.

3. State residence requirements should not exceed six months.

4. Local residence requirements should not exceed 30 days.

5. New state residents should be allowed to vote for President.

6. Voter registration should extend as close to election day as possible, and should not end more than three or four weeks before election day. The commission feels that with continual canvassing, early launched education campaigns and accessible registrars, a four week deadline on registration would suffice for even the states with large and mobile populations. (New York requires only three weeks to compile central records and supply current registration lists).

7. Voter lists should be kept current, by the regular removal of ineligible names as well as entry of new registrants. This is essential to eliminate criticism as well as fraud.

8. No citizen's registration should be cancelled for failure to vote in any period less than four years.

9. Voter registration lists should be used only for electoral purposes. Some states use their voter registers for tax assessment, jury selection and other non-voting purposes that could prejudice the voter's normal desire to register.

10. States should provide absentee registration for voters who cannot register in person. Registration by mail and/or special canvassing should be used to allow all absent or handicapped citizens to register.

11. Literacy tests should not be a requisite for voting. Such tests assume that people who can't read do not deserve to have their interests represented. A human being, because he is a human being, has certain rights and responsibilities, and if a citizen cannot assume his responsibility because of a physical defect or lack of education he should be given a helping hand — not have his responsibility and his right taken from him.

12. Election day should be proclaimed a national Day of Dedication to our American democracy.

13. Polling places should be so equipped as to eliminate long waiting periods.

14. Polling places should be open throughout the day and remain open until at least 9 p.m.

15. The states should provide every possible protection against election fraud.

16. Voting by persons 18 years of age should be considered by the States.

17. Candidacy should be open to all. Minority parties and individuals should be permitted to enhance party competition and to run for office. Excessive primary costs and high filing fees, as well as inability to meet a previous election's required number of votes to get on the ballot, can hinder such healthy competition. Reasonable filing fees and minimum signature requirements are recommended.

18. The right to vote should be extended to those living on federal reservations. Several hundred thousand citizens living on federal land are ineligible to vote. The commision recommends that these people be allowed to vote as citizens of the state in which the federal land is located.

19. Absentee voting by mail should be allowed for all who are absent from home on primary or general election day.

20. The poll tax as a qualification for voting should be eliminated. (Since the commission's report this has been done by Constitutional amendment relative to federal offices, but not state).

21. Each state should keep informed on other states' practices and innovations in election administration.

How Does Your State Measure Up?

New Precedent Set as OCAW Wins Rehiring of Man Fired for Drinking

OCAW has won the reinstatement to his job of a member who was discharged for alcoholism by an oil company in the Long Beach, Calif., area in an arbitration case that may set a new benchmark in this sort of problem.

The arbitration case was presented for the union by Intl. Rep. Verlin McKendree. All other names are withheld in this case to protect the identity of the individual involved.

There was little doubt that the employe had given the company considerable grounds for discharge. He was charged with leaving the plant without permission, working under the influence of alcohol and being in possession of liquor on the plant premises. Furthermore, he had had three previous lapses due to alcoholism.

On the other hand, the employe had worked for the company for more than 20 years, including a military leave, before he first began showing signs of alcoholism three years ago. He was considered a well-qualified and satisfactory worker who had risen to the highest hourly rated job classification.

The arbitration board commended the oil company management for its patience and understanding in trying to help the man before ultimately firing him.

But the board further said:

"It is a well accepted principle in arbitration and industrial relations that the primary purpose of industrial discipline is not to inflict punishment for wrongdoing, but to correct individual faults and behavior and to prevent further infractions.

"Both the company and the employe lose when the employe is terminated. It is for this reason that discharge is normally invoked only as a last resort, after it has become abundantly clear that corrective measures will not succeed.

"Mr. ------ has a social-problem disease called alcoholism, for which there are no dramatic and quick cures. Current therapy focuses on attempts to arrest the disease and restore the person to a useful and respected role in society.

"This is no easy task, and most of the effort must come from the affected person himself. He must become aware of the problems that induced the disease; he must believe strongly that he has the ability to remain sober and he must practice rigorous self-discipline in his personal habits and his relations with others.

"The chances of successful rehabilitation are increased if the person has the understanding and cooperation of family, friends and society itself. Some risks are certainly involved, but the gains from success are of such inestimable value . . . that they seem to be worth the effort."

With that in mind, the arbitration board ordered the discharged man reinstated. It agreed that his offenses merited the severest disciplinary measures short of permanent dismissal; the man was given his job, but was not awarded the eight months back pay lost while the case was in dispute.

One of the mitigating points in the mind of the arbitrators was that during the time since his dismissal, the man had started a rehabilitation program to solve his drinking problem.

Job Accident Kills Member At Richmond

1-561 Joseph Scott, veteran member of Richmond, Calif., Local 1-561, was killed in an accident on the job at California Chemical Co. on February 29.

Scott suffered fatal injuries when he was pinned against a wall by the payloader he was driving. Efforts to save Scott by fellow workers Gus Karas, Howard Wilson and Sam Nahem were futile, as was use of city fire rescue equipment.

Scott is survived by his wife and three children. He had served his local as a steward and was a highly regarded member.

Local Sec. George A. Davis reports that this tragic accident serves to point up the need for "strong safety language in all OCAW agreements."

GEORGE W. CARLSON

Carlson Named Hammond City Council Head

7-507 George W. Carlson, veteran member of Argo, Ill., Local 7-507 and former International Executive Board member, recently was named president of the city council of Hammond, Ind., his home town.

Carlson has been chairman of the Sinclair group of the Argo local for several years. He has been a member of Hammond city council eight years.

In a speech of acceptance of his nomination, Carlson said that the job of the Hammond city government was to improve service. "Instead of cutting back we should do more to provide services for the people without fear of complaints. There are many areas in which this can be done. We can begin by adding police and firemen every year until we build up the forces. It is our duty to give service to the people," he said.

Carlson noted that when he first came on the council, he thought it important to cut taxes and that by hard work the council did manage a small cut then — which was promptly offset by an increase in school taxes.

Kentucky Group Votes for OCAW

Employes of Kentucky Hydrocarbon Co. at Langley, Ky., recently voted 25 to 2 to designate OCAW as their bargaining agent.

Intl. Rep. Virgil Miller conducted organization of the group.

Local Collects $931 For March of Dimes

4-245 Shreveport, La., Local 4-245 has collected $931.85 for the Ouachita Parish Central Trades and Labor Council March of Dimes drive, according to council chairman Jack Wuichet.

Your local union meeting is your opportunity to make suggestions as to how your union can operate better.

Mr. Hughes traces the story of the NAACP from its roots i the Niagara Movement and its founding in 1909 up to the present. The book is particularly useful for its colorful treatment of the civil rights struggle during the early decades of this century. Evets have been moving so fast that we need to be reminded of the great contributions of the early leaders: W. E. B. Dubois, Charles Houston, James, James Weldon oJhnson, Walter White, Mary White Ovington, Arthur B. Spingarn, and others.

Fight For Freedom takes us back to the 1920's when the NAACP carried forward the fight almost singlehanded, when the effort to bar lynching was the major thrust, when Northern cities were virtually as segregated in terms o fhotel and restaurant accommodations as in Birmingham, Alabama today. The story of the organization of the National Association emphasizes what is too often overlooked in the South, the fact that the NAACP is an inter-racial organization and always has been.

2/3 page

When the final history of the struggle for equality in 20th century America is written, the NAACP will oom as the most important, single, organized force in this effort. In the area of human relations the Association has herved as the conscience of the nation.

Fight For Freedom is a useful book. It is also disappointing. One somehow expects great things from a Langston Hughes work, and this is not a great book. There is little here that has not been told before, little by way of original insights into the great moral problem of our time. The limitations of the book may be primarily the limitations of its purpose. It is too obviously an official history of one organization. It is too concerned with numbers, dollars and status.

But *Fight For Freedom* is well worth reading. It reminds us of the continuity of our present efforts. It reminds us that the Fight for Freedom did not begin with the non-violent movement or even with the Supreme Court decision in the Brown case.

PAUL M. RILLING

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND
10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • JUdson 6-8397

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

SUPREME COURT RULES COURTESY TITLES FOR NEGROES IN SOUTHERN COURTROOMS

April 3, 1964

WASHINGTON, D.C.--The U.S. Supreme Court this week struck down a long standing southern courtroom tradition: the addressing of Negroes by their first names.

The high court upheld the objections of Mary Hamilton, Congress of Racial Equality field worker, who was represented by attorneys of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, which won the high court ruling, expressed "extreme pleasure" on learning of the ruling.

"This assures that southern judicial proceedings will be conducted with dignity and without racial insult.

"This is another milestone in procuring equal justice under law for all Americans," he said.

Mary Hamilton, CORE field secretary, was defendant in this case, which should have far reaching effects toward better treatment and respect for Negroes in southern courts.

Miss Hamilton appeared in an Alabama courtroom last June to answer charges growing out of demonstrations against racial discrimination.

The southern white solicitor, William Rayburn, addressed all Negro petitioners by their first names. Courtesy titles, such as "Miss," "Mrs.," "Mr." were used for white persons.

The incident erupted when the solicitor began cross-examining Miss Hamilton and asked her name.

"Miss Mary Hamilton," she replied.

The solicitor then addressed her as "Mary."

"Please address me correctly," Miss Hamilton answered.

The white lawyer ignored this request, and pressed his question, ending with "Mary." Miss Hamilton repeated her refusal to answer "until I am addressed correctly."

At this point, Norman Amaker, NAACP Legal Defense Fund assistant counsel, raised objections, pointing out that "her name is Miss Hamilton."

The judge ordered her to answer the question and when she refused until addressed correctly she was instantly sentenced to five days in jail plus a fifty dollar fine.

Legal Defense attorneys appealed the case to the Alabama Supreme Court, which upheld the lower court. From there they moved to the U.S. Supreme Court, which acted.

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

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General Counsel

JOHN de J. PEMBERTON, JR.
Executive Director

ORegon 5-5990

Alan Reitman, *Associate Director*
in Charge of Public Relations

WEEKLY BULLETIN #2199 April 13, 1964

ACLU QUESTIONS FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL BARRING OF COMMUNIST CHINESE PROPAGANDA

The American Civil Liberties Union has raised the question of what appears to be a censorship operation by the Foreign Assets Control Division of the Treasury Department to bar written material, whether Communist propaganda or not, from mainland China.

In a letter to Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon last fall, Lawrence Speiser, director of the ACLU's Washington office, requested the Secretary to look into such censoring activities of the FAC. The ACLU reported that pamphlets and magazines sent by Anna Louise Strong from China to individuals in the United States had been returned to her stamped "Return to Sender -- Refused Entry -- FAC Violation." When Miss Strong later sent the material first class -- that is to say, outside the FAC purview of "merchandise or goods," it went through the mails without difficulty.

FAC regulations prohibit the unlicensed purchase abroad or the importation of goods and merchandise from Communist China, as part of the administration of the Trade with the Enemy Act. According to the Treasury Department, "a basic purpose of the regulations is to deprive the Communist Chinese of badly needed foreign exchange by the sale of their products directly or indirectly in the American market." It is on this basis that foreign publications come under FAC jurisdiction.

In its letter the ACLU said it was "aghast that leaflets and pamphlets or any written matter are considered by an agency of the United States Government as merchandise or goods." The letter strongly protests censoring activities such as the Strong incident, and calls attention to a 1962 Congressional law that in effect specifically permits entry into this country of Communist political propaganda.

The ACLU also queried the lack of correct procedure in the Strong case. According to Treasury Department regulations adopted in the wake of the 1962 law, Communist written material or propaganda may be imported by certain "exempt" categories such as government agencies, libraries, universities, and the like. However, any addressee not in these categories is entitled to be notified that material addressed to him has reached the United States, and to have the material delivered to him upon his request. Furthermore, the FAC exempts goods or merchandise valued at less than one dollar -- which the Strong material undoubtedly was. Yet the addressees of the Strong pamphlets were never notified that the material had arrived, and the mail was returned to China without regard to its value.

In its reply to ACLU, the Treasury Department denied that the FAC regulations constituted a censorship program. It noted the "exempt" categories referred to above, and the willingness of the Department to "license, on application, the importation of publications that have been sent as bona fide gifts from Communist China." The facts on the Strong incident, the letter declared, "can only be explained as an oversight."

BOSTON POLICE STUDY CALLS FOR CREATION OF CITIZEN ADVISORY BOARD

A recently-completed study examining the existence of police malfeasance in Boston and the relationship between the police and the community, especially minority group members, has called for sweeping changes in police procedure.

Among the changes recommended by the author of the study, Alan Gartner, a Florina Lasker Fellow in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights at Brandeis University, were: establishment of a citizen advisory board, revision of police recruitment and selection procedures, comprehensive training of officers in human relations and reforms in certain present Boston police procedures.

10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 6-8397

NAACP

Legal Defense and Educational Fund

PRESS RELEASE

President
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Director-Counsel
Jack Greenberg
Associate Counsel
Constance Baker Motley

June 5, 1964

LEHMAN FAMILY AIDS INTEGRATION VIA NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

NEW YORK, N.Y.--The family of the late Senator Herbert H. Lehman has started a drive to gain integrated educations for more Negro youth, it was announced here last week by Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

Director-Counsel Greenberg said that the initial grant of $60,000 will be administered by the Fund under the direction of Dr. John W. Davis, former president of West Virginia State College and Director of the Department of Teacher Information and Security of the Fund.

The Lehman Education Fund seeks to promote good-will and understanding through education by providing scholarships and financial assistance to students to enter desegregated schools, colleges and universities.

It seeks also to inform Negro parents of opportunities for their children to attend newly desegregated elementary and high schools.

The program, after a brief experimental phase, has just commenced functioning on the elementary and secondary levels. The Legal Defense Fund is about to launch the higher education phase for the forthcoming school year, Mr. Greenberg pointed out.

Miss Betty Stevens, southern school coordinator, joined the Fund staff in February of this year.

She visits southern Negro communities which request her services through local civil rights organizations or through the 120 cooperating attorneys of the Legal Defense Fund.

Her job is one of community organization. She informs Negro families of their right to attend schools desegregated by court actions won by the Fund.

She publicizes enrollment dates, assists in filling out application forms, helps allay fears that parents may have that their child will be the only Negro child in a newly desegregated school.

(more)

Miss Stevens' task is made difficult by the fact that the usual means of communication--radio, TV and press--are invariably denied.

Miss Stevens works through church and community groups...organizes door-to-door teams...makes mailings...and arranges for sessions to explain the mechanics of school application and transfer.

These procedures stress to Negro parents of elementary and secondary school youngsters the value of nonsegregated education. She attempts to show

*Negro parents how their children are being shortchanged as matriculants in inferior and segregated schools,

*how segregation curtails the Negro child's motivation to study and learn,

*how Negro parents can enroll or transfer their children to previously all-white schools.

In short, this program seeks to fill the gap between court edict and the reality of follow-through in the daily lives of citizens.

To date, Miss Stevens has conducted campaigns in the states of Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Virginia and Alabama.

The dramatic results of Miss Stevens' work document, Mr. Greenberg said, the willingness of Negro citizens to take advantage of desegregation decisions if they are properly informed how to do so and know their children will not be isolated as lone Negro students in formerly all-white schools.

She signed up 80 youngsters in Albany, Ga. in a single week; 50 in Jackson, Tenn. in two weeks; and 100 in Richmond, Va. in two weeks. She has also launched campaigns in Tampa, Fla., Lynchburg, Va. and Huntsville, Ala.

All these children will enter their new schools this September.

The Lehman Fund will also allow the Defense Fund to work on a college level, by providing scholarships and financial assistance to make possible a flow of Negro and white students into desegregated colleges and universities.

This phase of the program is still in formation.

The Fund will shortly have two additional southern school coordinators, Mr. Greenberg added. Judging by the response received thus far there is a vast need for this service, which will be expanded as rapidly as funds allow.

10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 6-8397

NAACP

Legal Defense and Educational Fund

PRESS RELEASE

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June 5, 1964

SPECIAL GUESTS HONORED BY LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

NEW YORK, N.Y.--The name plaintiffs in the historic 1954 Supreme Court integration decision were among the special guests hailed here last week at the 25th anniversary Convocation of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

At the meetings, which celebrated the 1954 ruling as well as the 1939 founding of the Defense Fund as a separate organization, the five students were applauded for their role in breaking the barrier of Jim Crow.

The were Mrs. Linda Brown Smith of Topeka, Kan., whose name the famed ruling bears; Mrs. Ethel Belton Brown of Wilmington, Del.; Mrs. Dorothy Davis Bost of Prince Edward County, Va.; Spottswood Bolling, Jr. of Washington, D.C.; and Harry Briggs, Jr. of Clarendon County, S.C.

Also feted at the two-day Convocation were leaders of the civil rights struggle in Mississippi, Dr. Aaron Henry, president of the State Conference of the NAACP and Charles Evers, brother of martyred Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary Medger Evers, who is carrying on his brother's work.

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ORegon 5-5990

Alan Reitman, *Associate Director*
in Charge of Public Relations

WEEKLY BULLETIN #2204

June 8, 1964

ACLU ATTACKS REGULATIONS FOR SALE OF PUBLICATIONS IN FEDERAL BUILDINGS

The American Civil Liberties Union announced on May 24 its opposition to regulations which have been proposed by the General Services Administration concerning the choice of publications to be sold by vendors in federal buildings. The stands are generally run by blind persons licensed by state agencies.

In a memorandum filed with the GSA and the Bureau of the Budget, the ACLU characterized the GSA's suggested criteria as "vague, redundant, arbitrary and restrictive.

"If a government agency undertakes to provide facilities for the distribution of publications," the ACLU said, "it must conform to the constitutional principles that protect the free press. We submit that the proposed General Services Administration standards regulating the sale of publications at vending stands in federal buildings fall short of these principles."

The ACLU urged the rejection of the GSA's proposed censorship criteria on the grounds that this type of censorship violates the right of the citizenry to sell to buy and to read written material of almost any nature without hindrance.

The selection of the publications in question became a public issue in January, 1963 when a GSA official in San Francisco, now retired, issued an "approved" list of magazines for concessionaires in his region. This list resulted in the removal of many nationally-known periodicals before it was rescinded in July, 1963, following criticism from the press and other sources. At that time the GSA began consideration of an overall policy to regulate the operation of vending stands in federal buildings. Its proposals are now before the Bureau of the Budget.

The GSA proposes to limit the sale of periodicals and publications to "those determined to be appropriately consistent with the public dignity and nature of governmental business transacted in the federal property wherein the vending facility is located." The decision would be made by the heads of the GSA regional offices and the state licensing agency. The criteria for determining whether its standard is being met would be examination of publications as to whether they:1)meet customer demand, preference and acceptance; 2) are "patently offensive;" 3) are in good taste "under the decency concepts of the average person;" are prohibited from sale by state or local law and 5) are barred from the mails.

The ACLU finds these criteria at fault both in their substance and because they would be difficult if not impossible to implement within constitutional limits.

Concerning the standard of customer demand, preference and acceptance, the civil liberties organization said: "If this criterion is intended to mean only that the vendor will stock publications which his experience shows meet the demands of the free market, then, of course, we have no objection. If, however, it is intended to mean that his stock must be acceptable to all his customers, then, of course, it is wholly objectionable. The power of the majority cannot be permitted to dictate the tastes of the minority." Commenting on the criteria of "patently offensive," the memorandum states: "This criterion is drawn from Manual Enterprises v. Day, 370 U.S. 478, but ignores half of the standard which the Supreme Court laid down. Patent offensiveness by itself is not enough. Without a showing that a publication has 'prurient interest' appeal, there can be no showing of obscenity. Outside the area of obscenity, this standard is equally deficient. If applied to political literature for example, there are those who find Communist publications, John Birch Society publications, and shades of opinion in between, to be patently offensive. Surely, however, there is no ground for suppression."

Both the Bureau of the Budget and the GSA responded to the ACLU memorandum stating that they would carefully consider the Union's views.

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ACLU WITNESS OPPOSES CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO REVIVE RELIGIOUS EXERCISES IN SCHOOLS

A leading New York clergyman, appearing before the House Judiciary Committee on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union on May 21, strongly condemned proposed constitutional amendments to permit prayers in the schools. The Rev. Edward O. Miller, Rector of St. George's Episcopal Church of New York City, warned that "the threat is not the secularisation of our schools but the secularization of our religion."

The Protestant leader was one of a series of persons to testify before the House panel on amendments offered by Representative Frank J. Becker and other Congressmen. All would have the effect of reversing the U.S. Supreme Court decisions of 1962 and 1963, which outlawed prayers and Bible-reading in the public schools.

Contrary to the opinion of the Court's detractors, Rev. Miller argued, "you cannot kill God by a Supreme Court decision." He said the high court's decisions did not impair religious freedom, because individuals could apply the remedy suggested by President Kennedy: to "pray a good deal more at home...."

He expressed the belief that American home and community life and the American churches cannot be so weak that government help is needed to inculcate religious values and inspire prayer. It is not the Court's decisions, but the proposed amendments which represent a great threat to the religious liberty enjoyed by all under "the brave American experiment" of the secular state, the Rev. Miller said.

He suggested Thomas Jefferson's "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom" in colonial Virginia, and the religion clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution set a bold new precedent in the development of church-state relations. Previous to this period, the clergyman noted, observance of a "civic religion" inseparable from civic responsibility was obligatory in all civilizations and cultures. He said the Protestant Reformation was a great step forward for religious freedom, because it encouraged "religious territorialism" and permitted unhappy subjects of any one monarch to migrate to a more satisfactory religious climate.

The First Amendment declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.... The essence of the 'no-establishment' clause," the Rev. Miller contended, "was that there would be no 'official' civic religion to which all loyal citizens must pay at least lip-service. A lesser part of this provision was the guarantee that no church or ecclesiastical hierarchy would be supported by taxation, but that was subordinate to, and implementive of, the protection against religious qualifications for citizenship," he added.

Rev. Miller remarked that in spite of the First Amendment prohibition, "vestiges of the establishment pattern of European Christendom persisted in America for many decades after the beginning of our noble experiment." Among such "vestiges" he named theistic qualifications for oaths of office, Protestant practices in civic ceremonies and institutions, school Bible-reading, etc. The Episcopal leader said it was natural that the groups who had created these secular but sectarian institutions would declare themselves "shocked" by the Supreme Court's efforts to place persons of all religious persuasions on an equal footing, by eliminating the religious institutions.

Yet, the preservation of such institutions presents two grave dangers, Rev. Miller warned. On the one hand, absolute majority rule would bring "divisive sectarianism..., with a strong pattern of Mormon practices provided for school districts in Utah, Roman Catholic sacramentalism in Boston and New York City, and Black Muslim rites in Harlem and South Chicago." And on the other hand, adoption of a vague, weak non-sectarian religion would, he charged, "be a regression to Constantinianism, if not to the emperor-cult of pagan Rome, where a single attenuated religion was the universal test of civic belonging." Such a non-sectarian religion would encourage the growth of a local, as opposed to cosmopolitan, culture, in which persons would be unable to imagine others different from themselves, Rev. Miller said. "For members of the minority, who are no less citizens because their faith is different, the result is not merely a moment or two of inconvenience but an impairment of equal citizenship," he added.

DELAWARE CLU CHAPTER DECRIES RESTRICTIONS ON TEACHER "PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY"

The Delaware Chapter of the Greater Philadelphia Branch of the ACLU recently issued a report asking the University of Delaware to delete provisions in its faculty handbook which the Chapter said infringed on academic freedom. Under the heading "Engagement in Political Activity", the handbook said: "The position of the University of Delaware as a state-assisted but non-political institution imposes on faculty members special responsibilities for the use of good judgment in political matters. In general, members of the Faculty are expected to refrain from partisan political activity, especially at the State level... Faculty members proposing to engage in political activity of any sort are expected to notify the President of the University in advance...."

Among its arguments against the restrictions on outside political activity the ACLU report stated: "The Handbook falsely equates 'good judgment' with refraining from political activity 'especially at the State level.' The debates in our State's highest councils need the enrichment that would come from engagement in partisan political activity by the trained minds of our University's faculty. The Handbook contains no definition of 'good judgment,' hence the entire statement, which is premised on the necessity to exercise 'good judgment' has no meaning. If 'good judgment' means the honest judgment of the teacher according to his own best lights, the entire statement is useless; if... somebody else's judgment is involved, the policy constitutes an interference with the teacher's judgment and hence an infringement on academic freedom.

"The implication of the Handbook provision is clear that the judgment to be exercised is to be that of the University's President. Otherwise, why the requirement of clearing with him? A college president is the last person with whom a faculty member should have to clear his outside activities.

"The faculty was not consulted in determining the provisions of the Handbook.

"Stripped of all the verbiage, the provision of the Handbook seeks to empower the University's President to censor political activities of the faculty. This is especially serious at Delaware because (a) there is no tenure and (b) there is no salary scale, and (c) there is no ... faculty group which must be consulted with respect to discipline or dismissal of the faculty members."

University officials explained that the policy, which had been in effect for years, was born out of a concern for the effect of political activity on the teacher's academic work. The Handbook does not limit participation in local community government.

The position advanced by the Delaware chapter was based on the principles put forth by the ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee in 1956 which stated: "In his private capacity the teacher should be as free as any other citizen to participate in political, religious, and social movements and organizations and in any other lawful activity, and to hold and to express publicly his political, religious, economic, and other views."

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

IN A COLUMN in the December 15, 1963 issue of the Toledo Blade, Eric Sevareid spoke of the treatment given Lee Oswald, suspected assassin of President Kennedy. He sharply criticized what he called the growing practice "in this age of publicity" of convicting individuals before they are tried -- by the police, the FBI, and the news media. ... THE U.S. SUPREME COURT has turned down the ACLU of Southern California's appeal from a California Supreme Court ruling that Los Angeles can require users of school facilities to pledge in advance to refrain from using school property for any illegal purpose. The high court held against ACLU's contention that the Los Angeles rule unconstitutionally denied the rights of free speech and assembly, stating that the rule did not inquire of political beliefs, merely asked for a statement of intention not to use school facilities to commit illegal acts. ... DUE TO ACLU INTERVENTION, Dr. D. N. Pritt, a London barrister invited to speak at Carnegie Hall in New York last fall, was granted a visitor's visa for entry to the U.S., which was first denied him. ... A STORM OF PROTEST was raised by a report that a film about President Johnson made by the U.S. Information Agency omitted a scene showing a rabbi, in order to avoid Arab objections. USIA denied censorship, but Senator Keating of New York and three N.Y. Congressmen protested USIA policy, and Dr. Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress, declared that the USIA forbad showing of things relating to the Jewish faith in order not to disturb Middle Eastern countries. ... SPEAKING BEFORE the Greater Pittsburgh Chapter of the ACLU, Irving Brant, editor and author, strongly criticized Common Pleas Court Judge Gwilym Price Jr. for accompanying police to a downtown theater to protest the showing of allegedly obscene movies. Brant warned American citizens to be alert to dangerous attacks on their civil liberties.... THE BANNING of a Jane Mansfield movie by county and city officials without resort to legal proceedings was condemned by the Pittsburgh chapter of the ACLU.

10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 6-8397

NAACP

Legal Defense and Educational Fund

June 11, 1964

PRESS RELEASE

President
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Director-Counsel
Jack Greenberg
Associate Counsel
Constance Baker Motley

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND BREAKS U. OF MISSISSIPPI BARRIER

JACKSON, MISS.--A federal judge this week issued a temporary restraining order requiring University of Mississippi officials to admit 18-year old Cleveland Donald, Jr., a Negro transfer student, for the University's 1964 summer session, which began today. Acting on a motion brought by NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys, Judge William Harold Cox of the Southern District of Mississippi enjoined further efforts to block Donald's immediate admission, thereby opening the door for the third Negro to enter that state's university.

In 1962, James H. Meredith became the first Negro to enter a previously segregated Mississippi college after lengthy litigation. Meredith graduated in August, 1963. In June, 1963, Cleve McDowell became the first Negro to enter the Univeristy of Mississippi Law School, but was expelled in September after being apprehended with a gun on campus.

Donald is thus the only Negro in attendance at Ole Miss, as Legal Defense Fund attorneys are currently appealing McDowell's expulsion to federal court. They contend that McDowell had a right under state law to have a gun while traveling on the state highways.

Efforts to Continue

Legal Defense Fund attorney Derrick A. Bell, who appeared last week on Donald's behalf, indicated that he was extremely pleased with Judge Cox's decision and stated, "We shall continue our efforts to convince federal judges at the District Court level of the correctness of our position in civil rights cases." Mr. Bell was joined in the action by Director-Counsel Jack Greenberg and Associate Counsel Constance Baker Motley in New York and by Carsie A. Hall, Fund cooperating attorney in Jackson.

(more)

Donald has completed one year at predominantly Negro Tougaloo College in Jackson and plans a pre-law course, with a major in political science. He applied for transfer in February, 1964. His application was provisionally approved by University officials in May, but before final admission could be obtained, the Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning intervened.

The Board, a state body whose members are appointed by the Governor, ordered the University to defer action on Donald's application while they sought an opinion in federal court as to whether the Meredith decision required them to admit all Negroes who applied. Legal Defense Fund lawyers contended that the prior decision had been a "class action," requiring the admission of all qualified Negroes, but rather than litigate this issue--which would probably have required a long time--they brought on June 6th a new action seeking immediate relief for Donald, whose education will not be delayed.

In support of their motion, Defense Fund attorneys obtained affidavits showing that the University officials had made careful preparations for Donald's admission and protection, and that delaying his entrance would not only be detrimental to him scholastically, but would interfere with the University's plans to enroll him peacefully at the school. They further argued that the Board's action was designed merely to perpetuate racial segregation at the University.

Ruling in favor of the Legal Defense Fund attorneys, Judge Cox gave little consideration to the Board's contention that the admission of Donald would lead to riots and possible bloodshed on campus and elsewhere in Mississippi. The Defense Fund had noted that the large number of teachers, the high proportion of married students and the scholastic pressures of the accelerated summer program made it unlikely that Donald's admission would occasion events similar to those occurring at Meredith's admission.

10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 6-8397

NAACP

Legal Defense and Educational Fund

PRESS RELEASE

President
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Director-Counsel
Jack Greenberg
Associate Counsel
Constance Baker Motley

June 16, 1964

DEFENSE FUND TRIUMPHS IN MEMPHIS SCHOOL CASE

MEMPHIS, TENN.-- The board of education was instructed to speed school desgregation, to redraw zoning lines and to consider a plan for integrating teaching staffs by a Sixth Circuit court here last week.

The court acted on an appeal by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Struck down was the board's previous desegregation plan, under which integration would not have reached all grades until after 1970. The new ruling requires that all elementary schools be integrated this September, junior high schools in 1965, and senior high schools in 1966.

Defense Fund attorneys had pointed out that as of this year, only 294 of the 50,953 Negro youngsters in Memphis attended school with the 54,684 white students. Desegregation began with 12 students in 1961, after a year and a half of litigation by the Legal Defense Fund.

The court further ordered that new school zones be set up. Fund lawyers had argued that when the board had done away with dual zone lines (separate maps applied to the two races), it had formed new zones by irregular lines or by gerrymandering, thus maintaining a high degree of segregation.

Two other arguments made by the Defense Fund were heeded by the court. In outlawing the board's minority transfer plan, the judges ruled that the plan was designed to perpetuate segregation by allowing pupils to switch from bi-racial schools.

(more)

In addition, the court cited its own decision in a case brought by the Legal Defense Fund against the Chattanooga Board of Education, in which it ruled that "assignment of teachers by race may impair the students' rights to an education free from any consideration of race." The judges asked the federal district judge to determine whether the Memphis Board should submit a plan for teacher desegregation.

Arguing the case for the Legal Defense Fund was Assistant Counsel Derrick A. Bell. He was joined in the action by Fund Director-Counsel Jack Greenberg and Associate Counsel Constance Baker Motley of New York, and Fund cooperating attorneys R.B. Sugarmon Jr. and A.W. Willis Jr. of Memphis.

Also participating in the suit were cooperating attorneys B.L. Hooks, H.J. Lockard, and B.F. Jones, all of Memphis.

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10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 6-8397

NAACP

Legal Defense and Educational Fund

PRESS RELEASE

President
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Director-Counsel
Jack Greenberg
Associate Counsel
Constance Baker Motley

June 16, 1964

DEFENSE FUND ASKS U.S. SUPREME COURT TO REVERSE FREEDOM RIDER CONVICTIONS

James Farmer Among Petitioners

WASHINGTON, D.C.--The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund last week asked the nation's highest court to review the convictions of James Farmer, national director of CORE, and 28 other "Freedom Riders" arrested in 1961 in Jackson, Miss.

The appeal by Defense Fund Director-Counsel Jack Greenberg to the Supreme Court represents the fifth step in the lengthy defense of the 303 persons who attempted peacefully to desegregate that city's bus and railroad terminal facilities.

The State of Mississippi required separate trials for each of the 303 Freedom Riders, all of whom were convicted of breach of peace and disorderly conduct in City Court, fined from two hundred to five hundred dollars and given sentences ranging from 60 days, suspended,to four months in jail, not suspended.

Two decided to pay their fines and serve their sentences, and on appeals to the County Court, 54 others chose not to contest the charges, accepting fines and suspended sentences. Bond money in excess of $370,000.00 had to be raised for those who continued to appeal.

Last week's action on behalf of Mr. Farmer and the other 28 leaves over 200 cases pending at various levels of the Mississippi courts. Defense Fund attorneys had repeatedly asked that the cases be consolidated, as the facts and charges were practically identical, but Mississippi repeatedly denied this request.

Mississippi's unusual requirement of separate trials, held two a day over many months, has brought Defense Fund legal expenses in this case to more than $70,000.00. Those who sought new trials in County Court had their convictions affirmed and their sentences increased to $500.00 fines and four months in jail.

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The cases continued at snail's pace on appeals to the Circuit Court and the Mississippi Supreme Court throughout 1962 and 1963. The state courts consistently refused to consider the constitutional arguments raised by Defense Fund lawyers, and in March of this year the Mississippi Supreme Court affirmed the convictions appealed last week.

Jackson Police Captain J.L. Ray, who made the arrests immediately upon the arrival of the racially mixed groups at the terminals of the Greyhound and Trailways bus lines and the Illinois Central Railroad Station, repeatedly testified that the defendants were at all times peaceful.

It was their "presence," their refusal to leave the terminals, that was offered as evidence of guilt. Captain Ray cited the "ugly and angry" mood of gathered white persons as a reason for asking the Freedom Riders to leave, but at no time did he arrest any of those who threatened to create disturbances.

Among the defendants are several whose bus was overturned and burned near Anniston, Ala. on the way to Jackson. Others arrived by train from Memphis in the drive to test interstate travel facilities throughout the South.

In support of the appeal submitted last week to the U.S. Supreme Court, Legal Defense Fund attorneys made the following points:

*the convictions violate due process of law, as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, in that the records show no evidence of guilt;

*the convictions violate due process of law, since the breach of the peace statute is so vague as to give no ascertainable standard of guilt, and fails to warn of the conduct punishable;

*the arrests, prosecutions, and convictions fly in the face of due process and equal protection of the laws, since they were "designed to enforce racial segregation required by state statutes and by ordinance of the City of Jackson in interstate facilities;"

(more)

*the convictions violate the First and Fourteenth Amendments, since the Freedom Riders were exercising their rights of free expression and assembly in their peaceful actions;

*the prosecutions violated the "Commerce Clause" of the U.S. Constitution (Art. 1, Sect. 8, clause 3), since they placed an illegal burden on commerce. Federal law forbids racial discrimination in interstate travel facilities.

The State now has a month in which to reply to the Defense Fund brief, after which the high court will decide whether or not it will review the convictions. Because of the summer recess, a decision is not likely until after the Court convenes in the fall.

Joining Director-Counsel Greenberg in the appeal were James M. Nabrit III and Derrick A. Bell of the Defense Fund's New York headquarters, and Jack Young, Carsie A. Hall and R. Jess Brown, Fund cooperating attorneys in Jackson.

Messrs. Young, Hall and Brown are the only lawyers in the entire state of Mississippi who handle civil rights cases.

Of counsel in the proceedings were Carl Rachlin, general counsel of CORE, and Leroy D. Clark and Michael Meltsner of the Legal Defense Fund.

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WALL STREE JOURNAL

June 22, 1964

Policing Civil Rights

Administration Seeks To Ease Way for South In Accepting New Law

Projects Under Way to Get Fast, Peaceful Compliance; Courtroom Headaches Seen

Will Big Firms Take Lead?

By JAMES HARWOOD
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Now that Congress is nearing passage of far-reaching civil rights legislation, the Johnson Administration is searching for short-cuts that might help get Dixie's citizens to accept the measure gracefully and thus minimize touchy enforcement problems.

Otherwise, Administration strategists fear the coming law may bear few of the racial-equality fruits promised during the long months of Congressional consideration; enforcement by outright compulsion alone would be tortuous and slow. And civil rights advocates might feel more impelled to carry their struggle into the streets this summer.

Even before the bill passes, Administration agents are trooping the South to set up quick voluntary compliance with its provisions, particularly in desegregation of public accommodations and schools. Much of this missionary work is being done by such race relations groups as the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and the Potomac Institute here in Washington. This week the council is sponsoring an Atlanta gathering of about 30 representatives of women's groups, including the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Council of Catholic Women and National Council of Jewish Women, coming from such Southern cities as Charlotte, New Orleans, Birmingham and Tampa; they'll hear advice on how they can assist home-town compliance on public accommodations. Last Friday the Potomac Institute held a strategy session with representatives of similar groups to plan distribution of "campaign" literature designed to show Southerners that any economic loss from past desegregation moves has been minor.

Meeting With Southerners

So far Federal officials and national business, labor and church leaders have held more than a dozen meetings with local Southern groups, such as chambers of commerce, seeking to promote peaceful compliance. A particular hope is that bigger businesses will take the lead in desegregating such public accommodations as hotels, motels, theaters and restaurants and that smaller proprietors might then fall peacefully into line. While no firm commitments from individual companies have been won so far, some are expected now that the Senate has finally passed the bill.

Julius Manger, chairman of the New York-based Manger Hotel chain with several Southern hotels, and other cooperating businessmen are striving to persuade local Southern leaders that resistance is futile. Says a Government official coordinating the activity: "We are trying to convince them that putting off compliance is only buying trouble for a town. This isn't like prohibition. The law isn't going to go away."

Leaders of the missionary bands believe their forays have set the stage for some immediate compliance in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas, if only in the larger cities. Breakthroughs are looked for in such Dixie landmarks as Savannah and Columbus, Ga.; Nashville, Tenn.; Spartanburg and Charleston, S.C.

In some racially moderate cities where breakthroughs have long since been made, Government men are counting heavily on local initiative to extend the desegregation trend. Toward that end, a subcommittee of the Atlanta coordinating committee, a biracial group appointed by Mayor Ivan Allen, will hold an initial meeting on Wednesday to speed public accommodations compliance in Georgia's biggest city, starting with a scrutiny of what the Senate-passed bill requires. On hand will be some 30 representatives of restaurants and other retail businesses.

Courtroom Strategies

In case the voluntary efforts fall short, Justice Department attorneys are beginning to draft courtroom strategies that might produce the most results in the simplest fashion. Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, who will be in charge of the department's efforts to enforce the law, says he expects considerable litigation along with voluntary compliance, and civil rights groups have indicated they will try for early court tests of the legislation. The simplest legal actions may add up to an awesome task. During the new law's first year, the department expects to ask Congress to double its present civil rights staff of about 55 lawyers and boost its annual appropriation by more than $1 million.

Meantime, officials at the Health, Education and Welfare Department are charting plans to help schools shed racial barriers, including a scheme for "back-alley academies" where Southern teachers could quietly prepare to cope with integration problems. And the U.S. Civil Rights Commission is pondering past school desegregation cases, searching for keys to quick transformation elsewhere.

Because most of the Government's civil rights talent has been committed to getting a bill passed rather than preparing for its enforcement, there's a frenzied air about the current preparations. In the rush, some of the less urgent matters, such as planning for enforcement of fair employment provisions that won't take effect for another year, are being deliberately allowed to wait.

Right now, some Administration officials see themselves in a race to get meaningful results before segregationist leaders, such as Alabama's Gov. George Wallace, rally Southern resistance like that following the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation. This summer's promised civil rights demonstrations also threaten to inflame local sentiment in the South, making compliance harder to achieve. Furthermore, President Johnson knows that lack of prompt achievements from such a highly touted bill could

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stir disaffection among Democratic-inclined Negro voters this November.

Problem of Acceptance

No amount of effort, it's conceded, will alter the fact that gaining public acceptance for the measure will be far more difficult than passing it, tough as that job has been. Civil rights advocates in and out of Government expect that this summer itself may demonstrate that the measure won't exactly shift the civil rights struggle from the streets to the courts, as former President Kennedy hoped when he proposed it.

But in border areas and some Southern metropolitan centers, Government prompting backed by the new law is expected to accelerate desegregation in such important fields as jobs, public accommodations, and schools.

In the school field, for example, "the bill is coming at a time when it may have the most tangible effect," one Justice Department official declares, explaining that the Government has already done a lot of spadework with Southern school districts, notably in Florida and Texas, trying to get voluntary desegregation. One new target could be Gulfport, Miss. The official says that "five years ago many school districts would have waited to be sued" under the bill's new authority for the Government to institute antisegregation suits. "Now many will just go ahead," he ventures.

Not only can school districts expect considerably more Federal prodding now, but the Government will stand ready, with financial and other help, to ease the pain of transition. The bill provides that communities can get Federal funds to hire advice from private sources on how to desegregate.

One official frankly calls this a "kind of bribe money." The idea, he explains, is to first unsheathe the threat of court suit, then hope local officials will reason this way: "The Government is going to sue. It will cost us money to defend the case. The law makes it clear we'll probably lose. So if we've got to do it, we might as well get some Federal money to help us."

The bill also authorizes the U.S. Commissioner of Education to set up special "institutes" to train school personnel to deal with desegregation problems. HEW officials now are seeking Southern colleges willing to set up summer training sessions that "teachers can slip off to unnoticed." It's thought such schools will have some euphemistic title like "special education problems institute" that won't give away their real purpose.

"The less publicity the better," a Government official says. "Teachers go off to 'educational institutes' all the time for one reason or another. We hope they can attend these racially oriented ones without attracting local attention."

Equally covert are Government efforts to public accommodations compliance. Under the new law's provisions, lawyers say, there won't be many businesses that can legally seek patronage from the public without welcoming all races. Such sweeping coverage of thousands of shopkeepers raises massive problems of enforcement. So the emphasis will be on persuasion rather than courtroom compulsion.

Drive Will Step Up

After the bill is passed, the drive for voluntary compliance will step up, as a new Federal agency, the Community Relations Service, swings into action. When Negroes complain they've been turned away from soda fountains, theaters or similar establishments, the agency will intervene and try to settle the dispute peacefully.

Where efforts at voluntary compliance fail, however, the Government will go to court. And that may surely be necessary in such a Deep South state as Mississippi. "Few Mississippians are expected to throw their doors open to Negroes simply because Congress has passed a law," one attorney says.

In such a state, prosecutors could be heading into a legal labyrinth. Lawsuits in the public accommodations field will break completely new ground. Justice Department lawyers say it isn't certain that a court could enjoin a whole townful of merchants to stop discriminating; if not, each one might have to be prosecuted individually—an almost impossible task. Even if large groups could be enjoined, one attorney muses, the courts might be faced with wholesale problems of contempt actions against individuals refusing to comply with court orders. Moreover, before the Government can win a case, it must show the alleged discrimination is part of a broad "pattern or practice" of racial bias. These three words could take years to define in court, attorneys fear.

Looking at such problems, one of President Johnson's civil rights advisers even goes so far as to say, "I don't think the bill will do much good, except in the marginal Southern areas that have shown progress already."

Only as a last resort, Administration spokesmen say, will the Government resort to the bill's most drastic provision: Cutting off funds from Federally assisted programs administered locally on a segregated basis. The Government already is acting to remove racial bars in certain aid programs; it will help build no more segregated hospitals, for example. But many considerations argue against any sweeping shutoff of Federal money to Southern states.

"The most difficult area will probably concern welfare payments," a HEW official says. "Suppose we believe Negroes on old-age assistance are being helped at only segregated facilities. And state officials tell us, 'Go ahead and cut them off. Then the Negroes won't get any benefits.' What does the Federal Government do then? I'm afraid I don't have the answer. The last thing we want to do is cut off funds."

Farther down the road, lawyers expect, will be knotty legal questions surrounding the bill's anti-job-discrimination features. A new five-member Federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission will set standards for unlawful employment practices much as the National Labor Relations Board determines unfair labor practices. To back up the commission in court the Justice Department must again prove discrimination was part of a "pattern or practice," whether by the employer or by the community. Because of the intricate questions of job qualifications, Government lawyers fear these cases might be far more difficult than ones involving whether a Negro was refused service at a lunch counter.

Breather for Business

The job provisions of the new law won't be effective for a year after the President signs it, to let businesses prepare for the changes. Because of the time lapse, firm preparations for enforcing this section will not be made for several months.

Though the Administration considers the bill's voting rights provisions highly important, they mainly follow up more basic safeguards enacted in 1957 and 1960; the new provisions are expected to make it easier for the Justice Department to prove voting-discrimination charges in court.

In all its enforcement planning, the Administration is concentrating on the South almost to the exclusion of the North—assuming that's what Congress intends. "It's become pretty clear that we're not supposed to mess around in the North," one HEW official declares. Lawyers say the "patterns or practices" provisions in effect rule out Government participation when Negroes complain of individual instances of job or accommodations discrimination in the North. Moreover, the law would require the Government to first yield to state anti-discrimination agencies, which exist mainly outside the South. And the bill includes a blunt notice that nothing therein will pertain to so-called "de-facto" school segregation resulting from racially imbalanced neighborhoods.

10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 6-8397

NAACP
Legal Defense and Educational Fund

PRESS RELEASE

President
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Director-Counsel
Jack Greenberg
Associate Counsel
Constance Baker Motley

June 24, 1964

U.S. SUPREME COURT UPSETS SIT IN CONVICTIONS OF 77

WASHINGTON, D.C.--The convictions of 77 peaceful sit-in demonstrators were voided here this week by the U.S. Supreme Court, ruling on ten cases originating in five southern states.

The high court based its decisions on various grounds in acting on the appeals in ten separate cases, seven of them brought by Legal Defense Fund lawyers. Fund attorneys assisted in the other three.

It was the fourth consecutive year that Defense Fund actions led to legal victories in the Supreme Court vindicating the efforts of Negroes to obtain non-discriminatory service in facilities open to the public.

According to Fund Director-Counsel Jack Grenberg, this week's decisions will lead to the voiding of hundreds of sit-in convictions now pending on appeal. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 will guarantee service in places of public accommodations in the future, Mr. Greenberg added.

Among the grounds for its decisions in upsetting the sit-in convictions, the high court held:

*that Maryland courts should re-examine one case in light of subsequent passage of state public accommodations laws;

*that South Carolina students had no fair warning that the trespass law applied to failure to leave upon request;

*that there was no evidence, in the case of five other South Carolina students, of breach of the peace;

*that Florida's policy of segregation was embodied in a rule requiring restaurants to have separate washrooms.

(more)

The Supreme Court also agreed to hear next term Legal Defense Fund appeals on behalf of 14 more sit-in defendants from South Carolina and Arkansas.

This week's court actions were the last until the nine justices return in the fall. In addition to securing victories in the sit-in decisions, Legal Defense Fund lawyers won numerous historic cases in the 1963-64 term just ended. These include:

*a ruling that school desegregation in the south must proceed at a faster rate, and that Atlanta's grade-a-year and pupil-assignment plans are insufficient;

*a ruling that Negroes are entitled to courteous treatment in southern courtrooms, and may not be addressed by their first names;

*an affirmation of the principle that criminal convictions by juries from which Negroes have been sytematically excluded are unconstitutional;

*a refusal to review a lower court decision outlawing discrimination against Negro physicians and patients in publicly supported hospitals;

*a judgment reversing the convictions of 438 Negro students arrested while peacefully demonstrating against discrimination in Orangeburg and Rock Hill, S.C.

In all, the Legal Defense Fund took part in 26 actions in the Supreme Court this term, more than any other organization except the U.S. Department of Justice.

10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 6-8397

NAACP

Legal Defense and Educational Fund

PRESS RELEASE

President
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Director-Counsel
Jack Greenberg
Associate Counsel
Constance Baker Motley

June 26, 1964

YOUTH - LAWYER PARTNERSHIP HAILED FOR RIGHTS TRIUMPHS

Defense Fund Announces Summer Attack on Lawlessness

WASHINGTON, D.C.--The unusual partnership of young people and lawyers "will push the country over the top on civil rights faster than anyone ever would guess it could be done," NAACP Legal Defense Fund Director-Counsel Jack Greenberg told the Youth Banquet of the national NAACP Convention here this week.

At the same time, Mr. Greenberg revealed Legal Defense Fund plans to combat the growing wave of lawlessness on the part of Southern officials and citizens' groups.

For the summer, the Defense Fund will have the services of W. Robert Ming and his Chicago law firm and of Charles P. Morgan Jr. of Washington. "Both are superb professionals in this struggle," Mr. Greenberg said.

Attorney Ming is "one of the foremost civil rights lawyers and scholars in the country," Mr. Greenberg noted. Mr. Morgan was "the only white lawyer in Birmingham, Ala. with courage to speak up against the outrages of that city, and as a reward was driven from it."

Mr. Greenberg further announced an increase in the Defense Fund staff to 17 full-time lawyers. He added that top law professors are conducting a series of seminars under Fund auspices "to sharpen the training of our 120 cooperating lawyers throughout the South, without whom there would be no such thing as civil rights in their communities.

"Our goal is that when there is a job to be done, there should be a lawyer available to do it," Mr. Greenberg stated.

(more)

In his talk to the assembled young paople, Mr. Greenberg traced the pace-setting role of the law that led to the historic precedent of Brown v. Board of Education in 1954.

Lashing out at tokenism, Mr. Greenberg warmly praised the youths who, in seeing through the "hypocrisy of our community leaders," initiated the sit-ins and peaceful demonstrations in the '60's.

"It is no accident that the sit-ins began in Greensboro, N.C. and rapidly spread through Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte and elsewhere in that state because those are the communities where tokenism was practiced as a fine art," he continued.

Mr. Greenberg said that attorneys are now at work to secure enforcement of the precedents Legal Defense Fund suits have created over the years. He stressed the efforts to integrate schools and hospitals, and to defend demonstrators.

Citing the recent U.S. Supreme Court reversal of 77 sit-in convictions, Mr. Greenberg emphasized that the law has repeatedly sanctioned peaceful demonstrating, and that "violence almost always has come from white supremacists.

"The hallmark of a demonstration is what NAACP youth and the youth of other organizations were doing when they quietly sat at the lunch counters all over the South, or paraded on the state house grounds and made solemn witness against the greatest moral crime that exists in this country.

"We will triumph if we keep it that way, as I am sure we will," Mr. Greenberg told the banquet meeting.

- 30 -

10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 6-8397
NAACP

Legal Defense and Educational Fund

PRESS RELEASE

President
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Director-Counsel
Jack Greenberg
Associate Counsel
Constance Baker Motley

July 10, 1964

ATLANTA RESTAURANT SUIT
TO TEST NEW 'RIGHTS ACT

NAACP Legal Defense Fund Attorneys Score Historic "First"

ATLANTA, GA.--Federal District Judge Frank A. Hooper here has named Friday (July 17th) as the day on which the new civil rights act will be tested.

NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys secured an order to have segregationist restaurant owner Lester Maddox "show cause" why Negro citizens should not be served.

The suit, filed by Legal Defense Fund Cooperating Attorney William Alexander, is in behalf of three Atlanta clergymen.

It is the nation's first suit to enforce Title Two of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is also the first suit of a series of suits to be filed in hard core southern states, according to Constance Baker Motley, associate counsel of the Fund.

In the Atlanta suit, George S. Willis Jr., Woodrow T. Lewis and Albert L. Dunn, all clergymen and students at the Interdenominational Theological Center here, asked the U.S. District Court for an injunction against discriminatory practices of Maddox and the Pickrick Restaurant.

The plaintiffs, acting on behalf of themselves and other Negro citizens of Atlanta, were "denied and deprived" service at the Pickrick on Friday, July 3rd.

Maddox, on that day, confronted the neatly dressed Negro clergymen with a drawn pistol. He called for Pickrick customers to grab ax handles (which he keeps in a box at the door) and charge the Negroes.

(more)

Some of his customers, including women, responded and descended on the Negroes, who retreated, saying they would return.

The complaint states that discimination against Negroes at the Pickrick is in violation of plaintiffs' rights to full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages and accommodations of places of public accommodation.

The Pickrick restaurant serves and offers to serve interstate travelers. Its operations affect travel, trade, traffic, commerce and transportation between states. A substantial portion of the food it serves moves in commerce.

This places it precisely within the scope of the new civil rights act.

Meanwhile in New York City, Jack Greenberg, Fund director-counsel, announced that his staff "is prepared to move quickly and vigorously in any community where there is interference with or violation of Negro citizens' rights secured by the new act."

A survey this week of the Fund's 120 cooperating attorneys in deep south and border states indicates that compliance to date has been good.

However, several suits are imminent in Alabama at this time and the Fund staff has been augmented in the event pockets of defiance erupt, Greenberg said.

Joining Alexander and Mrs. Motley in the Atlanta suit was Assistant Counsel Michael Meltsner of the Fund's New York City headquarters.

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From Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia For immediate release 1964

SOCIOLOGIST TO SPEAK AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Atlanta, Georgia, April 2 - Special -

Atlanta University Department of Sociology will present Dr. T. Lynn Smith as the guest speaker at a lecture to be held in Dean Sage Auditorium on Monday, April 6, at 8:00 p. m. The public is cordially invited to attend this lecture. Dr. Smith's topic will be "The Homogenization of American Society."

Receiving both his M. A. and Ph. D. degrees in Sociology from the University of Minnesota, Dr. Smith visited each of the twenty Latin American countries in 1951 as a Guggenheim Fellow gathering materials for demographic studies of Latin America. His book, Brazil: People and Institutions, included some of his findings. In 1962, he served as a member of the faculty for the First International Course on Agrarian Reform held in San Jose, Costa Rica, under the auspices of the Inter-American Development Bank and the Food and Agriculture Organization. Dr. Smith holds honorary doctorates from the University of Brazil and the University of Sao Paulo and in 1953 was decorated by the Brazilian Government with the Order of the Southern Cross.

While at the University, Dr. Smith will give two lectures to students and faculty only, the series of three lectures being made possible by a grant from the American Sociological Society.

A Deep South quest for "militant teen-age segregationists" through the dusty, drouth-plagued October glare of Mississippi yielded half a dozen attractive, voluble youngsters eager to proclaim white superiority, southern culture, Negro contentment, and their love and contempt for colored neighbors and servants.

These high school and college boys and girls also exhibited a common Deep South innocence of the Negro Movement they believed fomented by "outsiders" and Communists (the NAACP, the only civil rights organization they know, seems to them a blend of both) and a two-sided, intense feeling of warm attachment and savage scorn for insurgent Negroes among them.

From here, the mutual ground fell away into varying attitudes ranging from the valiant "Never!" of one lawyer-farmer's son who would "die for" segregation to the "it's coming" of several others and the rather anguished concern of a pretty 17-year-old "segregationist" who does think "it's awful that Negroes can't come to our churches."

The good-looking, sweetly mannered young people I talked to seemed more than anything else gripped by an inexpressible and poignant loyalty to the precarious present and the easy past of the white South, a loyalty uncorrupted by alien information and ideas from outside the tight but turbulent little world of Mississippi.

This ~~A~~ charming boy from Lexington in Holmes County in the Delta, eager to explain the white Mississippi viewpoint, answered questions at word-tumbling length, his perorations replete with nice, old-fashioned "Yes'ms," and "No'ms." He is Doh Barrett, ~~18 years old,~~ a Phi Delta Theta pledge at the University of Mississippi at Oxford, whose forebears came to Mississippi from Virginia and South Carolina, and whose great-grandmother gave a hidden $80,000 to the Confederate Army after her plantation, Newstead, was used by Grant as headquarters during the Vicksburg campaign, then sacked and ruined, he recalled.

"She turned it over, lock stock and barrel," he said, his round, rosy face glowing and his eyes dark with love. "That's the kind of heritage I came from, and I'm proud of it."

Mr. Barrett's more recent heritage includes a pleasant childhood of play in the backyard pecan tree houses, fishing and hunting, adoration of a beautiful mother (she was beauty queen in high school, in Millsaps College and at Ole Miss) and trusting attachment to an energetic and commanding father (He's got more sense in a minute than I've got in three weeks; he's the wisdom I draw on.") He also exhibits the usual masculine pleasure in two little sisters and prise tingled perhaps with rivalry for an older brother, Pat, Jr., taking psychology at Millsaps and planning to study law at Ole Miss.

"Yes, of course, I used to play with Negro children," he said. "We quit, well, we quit when...when we both realized the difference, and they went their way and I went mine. You may be surprised that our next-door neighbors were Nigras, they lived catty-corner across the street from us the nearest neighbors."

Mr. Barrett spoke ardently of the good Nigras andhis affection for them and their profound loyalty to him andhis. He smiled quickly and radiantly in emphasis of these ancient felicities, with a savoring happiness which also illumined his descriptions of his family, and his girl, who is "wonderful, just wonderful."

Dora who cooks and cleans up is "a young 43," like his mother; they were born on the same day and exchange birthday presents. Allie Mae, a registered nurse by correspondence course,"respected by the white community and venerated by the Negro community," nursed little Don when he was born and promised his grandmother "she'd always take careof Sara", his mother, and, indeed, visits frequently in Miss Sara's bedroom and on the phone. Amelia, older, cooks on Sunday and Pecolia, he confided with a flash of delight, "is making me a quilt." There are several Negro hands on his cattle farms who are also lifelong familiars at the Barrett house in Lexington.

Lexington is the seat of Holmes County, seven miles in the hills at the edge of the Delta, "the heart of Mississippi and the citadel of Southern rights," with "stark nekkid bluffs looking out to the Mississippi." It is to him the most beautiful place in the world, a rich center of farming which produses the best crops and "the best people, too." The citadel of Holmes County has 19,600 Negro citizens and 7,000 whites.

"I feel, as do most of the white population of the South, that the Negro is inherently unequal," said Mr. Barrett. "Now they say it's lack of opportunity, cause and result, the reason men first took the fire and light of learning, that the Nigras never had the need in Africa because they could just pluck the fruit of the woods and all, and sustain life on that. You can't say they didn't get learning and civilization because of the easy climate, because they've got a range of all climates and mountains and jungles. They came into contact with the Saracens in North Africa. And Alexander the Great and they never did catch the light of learning, nobody in the region. If they hadn't been taken over by the white man...

"Well, where they're not, they're still eating each other," his voice vibrant with a triumphant disgust.

"But the white South has taken the Neegra, fed, clothed, taught them how to speak and wear clothes and taught him Christianity. Still, look at 'em, their illegitimacy rate!"

(Mr. Barrett was at such polite pains to say the respectful southern "Nigra" and never to lapse into the easy and offensive "nigger", and I am so vigilant with my proper and hard-learned "Negro," that we quite rattled one another, so that he once, in the heat of exchange, said "Neegra" and, again, "Neeger," and I once wildly pronounced it "Nigroo," to our mutual dismay. But we both behaved nicely upon these lapses, quite as if they had not occurred, and proceeded as nice as you please.)

"In my opinion," he said," the South made its biggest mistake ---because they hated to do it out of our love and affection for the Nigras --- but our mistake is in talking states' rights instead of anthropology."

"The moderates (and here Mr. Barrett used the term as it is widely understood in Mississippi, as comparable to Communists or other enemies of order and freedom), prophets of gloom and doom, say it's coming, we gotta accept it. I think if the Nigra is able to live on an equal footing after the troops leave, then we are wrong---wrong when we say the Nigra is not capable.

"Yes'm, I expect there'll have to be an occupation before there'll be integration in Mississippi, and the Kennedy twins are ruthless enough to do it without batting an eye if they're reelected. It would probably be the most tragic thing that could happen to our beloved state. But, afterward when the troops leave..." and here he explained that white resistance to the troops would be so adamant that upon their despairing withdrawal , "everything would be just like before, only the poor Nigras would lose all the friendship and good will they had."

Mr. Barrett's uncle is a cotton planter and head of the Citizen's Council in Lexington and his father is a founder. Don himself is "a sort of honorary member", because he "wanted to give my five dollars" though he is under the usually accepted age of members through school and of man's estate.

Contemplating a hypothetical Negro political control in the Delta with its 65 to 70 Per cent Negro majority---"Although it would never happen" --- Mr. Barrett said ~~with~~ such a regime "without white man's control would be chaos."

"If we turned politics over to them, we'd have another Congo. It's not wild like that under the patient, restraining hand of the white man, they behave reasonably well.

"Do anything to us? I don't think so, no'm. I don't believe the Nigras, if they got control would have any reason to hurt people who have nurtured and cared for them, but it would be chaos. Yes, out of their incompetence. The economy woubd collapse, and it would be like Reconstruction. You remember the Nigras in power in Reconstruction were voting themselves carriages and all kind of luxuries. It wouldn't be out of malice---they're a kindly people---but out of inabilizy to run things. The southern code of hospitality, gentleness, kindmess, they've learned it and accepted it.

"If the majority of Nigras with the vote there (in Charles City County, Va.) haven't taken over, it's because they haven't got the initiative.

"But look at Memphis. Nigras are 32% of the electorate. They're beginning to control politics, and Memphis is beginning to look like a dirty, northern city," he reported in another gust of disgust.

Mr. Barrett also suffers some apprehension over treatment of white women under black domination.

"If the social system is thrown out of kilter, as moderates would do, there would be more danger than there is now under the patient hand of white leadership. I would certainly take up arms to protect our women. To me there is nothing more wonderful than a southern lady. Gosh! It's really undefinable. But cultured, genteel, intelligent, beautiful---usually beautiful, anyway."

In defense of the social and economic system Mr. Barrett would not eat with a Negro, or call one Mr. or Mrs. or Miss, because "it's not socially acceptable, it's not done---anymore than I'd cut more than one piece of steak at a time or tuck my napkin under my chin."

Nor could he chamge his manners for distinguished Negroes or a change of scene. In Milwaukee, where he visited an aunt and "a wonderful yankee uncle---the only good yankee I know", he did not desist from giving his bus seat to standing ladies, in the Mississippi way, just because it was not the custom in Minnesota.

As to celebrated and accomplished Negroes, Mr. Barrett says, "More power to 'em." He cited "Gaston in Birmingham"(a millionaire Negro banker and large property owner).

"You can see he obviously has a very high I.Q., is well-mannered and a fine man, I'm sure. Well, it's just a combination of genes that worked out that way. But the chances are 1 in 5000 that his children would be like that."

There are "exceptional" Negroes in Lexington, who own stores, cafés and funeral businesses, but no professionals.

"We are courteous and treat them with the respect due their education," he explained. "There's none of this pushing around or 'Get outa my way' for them in stores or anywhere---or for the lowest field hand either."

Mr. Barrett scoffs at the outsiders' notion that it's deprivation and "brutality" which makes Negroes migrate from the South.

"That's ridiculous. It's economic. The Negro definitely was necessary to farming 20 years ago. My uncle owns a plantation where he had 60 families chopping cotton, borrowing money, depending on him, you know, old style sharecropping. Ten of the fifteen live there now because they love my uncle and they depend on him, he just needs five of 'em. But he gives them Saturday night spending money and everything and he could say, "Fred, go up the hill and kill me a big snake, or go cut off your head," and Fred would do it.

"They don't help him; they're an economic liability. He supports 10 families out of love and loyalty. He's a fine fellow, president of the Tchula Citizens Council. The others left because they had to sell their small farms, and had no place to live. Now you just see old grandfathers and little

bitty children, pickaninnies, the young ones have gone to Chicago.
"

"My girl, I talked to her on the phone and this horrible thing had happened. Houston was dead. Houston drove their tractor and she just loved him. Mr. Foose's father (that's his name, Mary's father, Mr. Foose) and Houston's father were always on the place together, Houston's father had worked for Mr. Foose's father all that time, and they loved him.

"The Citizens Council, Mr. Foose is a leader in it, is not like the Ku Klux Klan. We hate violence. But we are determined to keep our Way of Life," he pepeated with rapid and rising fervor. "Nobody can take it away from us, and I would die for it. I wouldn't do anything foolish, but we will not give up.

"People say Nigras are catching up---that's wonderful---but that's no justification for social change in 1963, for what might happen in 500 or 1000 years.

The militant Mr. Barrett is not much disturbed by the current Mississippi Negro drive to write-in 15,000 or 20,000 Negro protest votes for Aaron Henry, a state NAACP president, for governor, and Rev. Ed King, a young white civil rights devotee, for lieutenant-governor, and to draw 200,000 disfranchised Negro votes in a straw election for Henry. Nor does he share outside dismay at intimidation of Negro voting aspirants---random violence, arrests of demonstrators, eviction of would-be voters from jobs and property, and a few killings.

"Federal right to vote. No, the Constitution gives the states the right to say who shall vote and who shall not. There's no such thing as the right to vote; it's a privilege, earned only after qualifications set up by the state have been met. Instead of reducing voting requirements, we ought to make them more strict. I believe in the poll tax. Our $2 poll tax goes straight to the schools, white and colored.

"I don't think there's any harm in a few qualified Negroes voting. But you can't open the floodgates. I don't condone violence, but the state has the right of police power to protect the health, morals, and general welfare of the people. And when feelings are running high and the spark is there, they could set off a riot.

"I think the police were right in Greenwood and Jackson (scene of summer disorders and mass arrests of Negroes seeking the vote and other civil rights.) And about these peaceful grievances, they should not trespass on private property.

"Now in Jackson, the first day they didn't have a riot. But when they attacked each other. White persons were hitting Nigras and Nigras were nonviolent, because they do what they're told, they're controlled so thoroughly from the top.

"I went to Greenwood to buy duck decoys, it's just 35 miles from Lexington. That Gregory, he looked *awful*," Here Mr. Barrett smiled and knit his blond brows in pitying distaste at the Negro comedian who met police with nigger taunt for nigger taunt, "He tried *so* hard to get arrested, but they wouldn't. That police dog (an officer's dog set on the demonstrators, which attacked three Negroes and injured one), well dogs are psychologically bad. But it's right to use them if need be, if it's the only way to control them. You ought not to kill people, either, but if attacked you have to fight back."

~~Mr. Barrett [illegible]~~

Mr. Barrett went "defending my state---no, not that, either, as an observor," to the University of Mississippi upon the entrance of James Meredith to the University. He drove to Oxford with a friend, without his father's permission.

"I was close enough to the marshalls to see what was happening," he explained,"some of the boys were armed, and one man was standing by the Y Building shooting out street lights with a 22 rifle. The students were jeering and sneering and occasionally tossing a cigaret butt at the marshals...All of a sudden McShane said, "Gas 'em!" and from a clear blue sky a patrolman got hit in the head, from behind, and knocked down by a marshal throwing tear gas, that metal case hit him.

"Barnett made a mistake. That Sunday, if he'd issued a call to white males of Mississippi to stand firm at the gate, why you'd have seen 600,000 men mustered at the gate. I know all of Holmes County would have come, except a couple of scalawags.

"I didn't attack the marshals, and I was not armed, it was not my place to. But if Governor Barnett had called the Citizens Councils and other responsible citizens, and had said, come, it is Armageddon, get your gun, well I certainly would. Yes ma'am!

"Oxford seemed to me a nightmare. I felt I was not in the United States, but in Budapest or a Warsaw ghetto. If that was American action, then God save us."

If whites and Negroes attend schools together, he wonders "what's to keep little white Mary from bringing home little black Johnny from school some day, and that leads to mixed dating and mixed marriages."

Would either of his sisters grow up to choose a Negro husband? "Heavenly days, no! But girls who haven't had the upbringing would if we change the social order."

He considers Cleve McDowell, the Negro recently expelled from the University for carrying a gun, as "more dangerous than Meredith."

The way he behaved, like I've heard people say,'he's a good Nigra, he just wants an education.' And that would lead to acceptance. He behaved like a nigger, he would open doors, he had good manners and he scuffed his feet and held his head down. So, he could be the leak in the dyke, and then the dams burst.

"Of course, Meredith was the most segregated Nigra in the United States. He was ignored. Yes," he laughed in appreciation of the placard rhyme which appeared on the campus, "'Ignore the Nigger with Vigor.' And 'Nigger free in 1963.' Ole Miss has never really been integrated."

Mr. Barrett was "not much impressed" by the Negro March on Washington. It "wasn't any different from what I see Saturday night in Lexington when they come to town to get drunk and cut up, except they're happier in Lexington." He smiled fondly at

"No ma'am," Kay answered a question about "superiority." "Like it says in the Bible, all men are created equal. I think they are equal in a way because both of us are humans. But the Negro has been like a slave and accepted as such. Well, yes, that!s good to keep it that way, because that's the way they started out."

The young man, first of the restive others to enter the discussion, volunteered: "I talked to colored boys my age and a few years ahead. When they started having all this, they wanted to stay in their places. The Nigras had better schools, cafeterias and everything. Both were human beings but separate, and were treated like human beings. I think the NAACP pressured them, it was NAACP pressure."

He mentioned a gang of "Night Hawks", teenqge Negroes arrested for gang thefts and vandalism.

"Most Negroes here," a tall, dark girl with a sweet and earnest face offered hesitantly, "Most Negroes here I've been associated with are not as clean as a lot of white people. I!m so prejudiced, though," She added. [illegible] "Still, I wouldn't want to eat with them."

"It's an instinct inside," said the serious and slender brunette. "You've been brought up and taught thqt you are superiot and they are inferior. If you have it in your mind from childhood, you can't drive it completely out,"

Mr. McMillan, just before leaving, contributed: "I was raised with niggers, played with niggers. My grandparents would have tanned my brithhes if I'd mistreated any of them. But why mix with them? They had better schools until last year, when we built a new white school. They did think they were well off.

"I've got some been working for me 17 years, and they'd jump in

PAGE (s) MISSING

Friends of Captain Hugh Mulzac
189 Maple Street IN 9-2141
Brooklyn 25, N.Y.

Dorothy Burnham - Coordinator

RECEPTION TO HONOR HUGH MULZAC ON THE OCCASION OF THE PUBLICATION OF HIS BOOK: A STAR TO STEER BY

Hugh Mulzac, Captain of the Booker T. Washington, will be guest of honor at a combination autographing party and reception tendered him on the occasion of the publication of his book A STAR TO STEER BY, which is the story of his life.

The affair will be held from 3:30 p.m., Sunday, April 7, at the YWCA, 361 West 125th Street, New York City.

Miss Beulah Richardson will read excerpts from the book and Miss Louise Jeffers will render an original ballad dedicated to Captain Mulzac. Hope Stevens, Esq.; Richard B. Moore; George B. Murphy, Jr.; and representatives from the publishers and former crew members will also participate on the program. All friends and acquaintances of Captain Mulzac are invited to attend.

—30—

and organized a gang of welders to join him in writing a letter to President Roosevelt. Several days later they received a reply: the President thought it would be a good idea - and thus was the Booker T. born.

Originally Washington officialdom saw the Booker T. Washington as manned by an all-Negro crew. Such did not become the case and the exploits of both Captain and his completely integrated crew made of this ship a seafaring ambassodor of goodwill whereever she docked.

While Captain Mulzac relives adventures aboard that almost legendary Liberty ship, he does not gloss over his years of struggle and abuse until achievement was won. He describes the seamen's fight for decent berths and decent wages; and portrays the Negro seaman's concerted effort to win social and economic equality; and the redress of sore grievances.

The Mulzac story is exciting reading but even more it is the story of a life which found it could not be fulfilled until the dreams of others came to fruition.

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A STAR TO STEER BY by Hugh Mulzac, as told to Louis Burnham and Norval Welch. International Publishers, New World Paperback $1.85; Cloth $5.00

From a sermon delivered the
evening of November 22, at
Temple Emanuel, Houston, Texas
by Rabbi Robert I. Kahn

Weep, America, weep!
For that bullet was aimed at you
And everything you stand for.
It was aimed at Washington and Jefferson,
at Jackson and Lincoln,
At Wilson and Roosevelt.
It was aimed to shoot holes in the Declaration of Independence
Especially those wild words about life and liberty.
Weep, Americans, weep!
For the climate that spawned this violence
For those of the far left and the far right,
For Fascists and Communists,
So unable to convince others in the open marketplace of ideas
So unable to persuade by logic,
So unable to win men's hearts
That for ballots they substitute bullets, for discussion, death.

Weep,Americans, weep!
John F. Kennedy is dead.
But what he stood for lives
What he believed is still with us
What he lived by is still vital.
All of us
Republicans and Democrats
Christians and Jews
White~~s~~ and Negro~~es~~ and Oriental
All of us must share his concern
For the American dream.
A dream of mankind free and unafraid
A dream of men no longer hungry
A dream of nations no longer at war.
To be any less concerned
To dream any lesser dream
Would be to betray his life
And mock his death.

NEWS *from* HILL *and* WANG, *Inc.*

141 Fifth Avenue New York 10, New York Algonquin 4-6975

Vasiliki Sarant, Publicity Director

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE January 15

SECOND VOLUME OF LANGSTON HUGHES AUTOBIOGRAPHY -- February 19

I WONDER AS I WANDER by Langston Hughes. An Autobiographical Journey. 416 pages. Cloth $4.95. Paper $2.45 AC-68

The second volume of Langston Hughes' autobiography, I WONDER AS I WANDER: An Autobiographical Journey, will be published on February 19 in the American Century Series at $2.45 (AC-68). Long out of print, the book will also be available in cloth at $4.95.

In this volume Hughes looks into his life in the 1930's and recalls its most dramatic and intimate moments. It is a personal narrative filled with adventure and exciting episodes. He journeys through Cuba, Haiti, Russia, Soviet Central Asia, Japan. He finds himself in Spain during the Civil War. He lives through democracies and dictatorships, through wars, revolutions. He meets famous people - from Arthur Koestler to Emma, the Black Mammy of Moscow.

THE BIG SEA, the first volume of Hughes' autobiography, was published last Fall, and is a lively description of his life in the 1920's, those fabulous years in Paris and Harlem. In Paris he was a cook and waiter and in Harlem he was the rising young poet, in the center of the "Black Renaissance." He also traveled as a seaman on freighters to Europe and Africa, and taught English in Mexico.

And all the time he was writing.

Other recent titles of related interest: THE BEST OF SIMPLE and SOMETHING IN COMMON, both by Langston Hughes; AMERICAN NEGRO POETRY edited by Arna Bontemps; THE LINCOLN NOBODY KNOWS by Richard Current; THOREAU: People, Principles and Politics edited and with an introduction by Milton Meltzer.

Sample Copy   Sample Copy

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION , QUESTIONNAIRE AND OATH.

I, ______________, do hereby apply to the Board of Registars of Dallas County, State of Alabama, to register as an elector under the Constitution and laws of the State of Alabama, and do herewith submit answere to the interrogatories propounded to me by said board.

____
NAME OF APPLICATION

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. State your name, the date and placcof your birth, and your present address:____________________.

2. Have you previoulsy applied for and been denied registration as a Voter?______(a) If so , give the facts:____________________.

3. Has your name been previously stricken from the list of persons registered:____________________.

4. Are you now or have you ever been a dope or an habitual drunkard ?____________. (a) if you are or have been a dope addict or an habitual drunkard, explain as fully as you can:____________________
____________________.

5. Have you ever been legally declared insane ?______(a) if so, give details:____________________
____________________.

6. Give a brief statement of the extent of your education and business experience:____________________
____________________.

7. Have you ever been charged with or convicted of a felony or crime or offense involving moral turpitude ?______________(a) if, so give the facts:____________________.

8. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces of the Unites State Government?_____________(a) if so, state when and for approxmiately how long:____________________.

9. Have you ever been expelled or dishonorable discharded from any school or collage or from any branch of the Armed Forces of the Unites States, or of any other Country?_____________(a) if so, State the facts:____________________.

10. Will you support and defend theConstitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama?______________
____________________.

11. Are you nor or have you ever been affiliated with any group, or organization which advocated the overthrow of this United States Government of any State of the United States by Unlawful means ___________(s) if , so , State the facts: ______________________

____ __________.

12. Will you bear arms for your Country when called upon by it to do so?_____________(a) if your answers no, give reasons:______

____.

13. Do you believe in free election and ruled by the majority-

____.

14. Will you give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United State Government or the Government of the State of Alabama?___6

____.

15. Names some of the duties and obligation of citizenship?

____

(a) Do you regard those duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe to any other secular organization when they are in conflict?_________________________

16. Give the names and post Office address of two persons who have present knowledge of your present bona-fide residence at the place as stated by you:_______________________________________.

17. Are you married or single ?__________(a) If married, give names, residence and places of birth of your husband or wife as the case may be:__________________________ ____________________.

18. Give the names of the places , respectively , where you have lived during the last five years, and the names or names by which you have been known during the last five years:__________6

________________ ____.

19, If you are self- employed , State the nature of of your business:____
(a) If you have been employed by another during the last fiveyears, state thenature of your employment ant the names of such employer or empoyersand his or thier addresses:_______ __________________

________ ________ ____.

20. If you claim that you are a bona-fide resident of the State of Alabama , give the on which you claim to have become such bona- fice resident:__________________________(a) When did you become a bona- fide resident of Dallas County?____ ______________(a) When did you become a bona-fide resident of (Commuity) Ward of precinct.__________________________________ ____________ __________.

21. If you intent to change your place of resident prior to the next general election State the facts:____________________

____.

For Further information call Mrs. A. P. Boynton- Tr. 2-3759 or Rev. Bernard Lafayette Tr. 2-2154.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

THE BASIC LAW OR FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF GOVERNMENT WHICH TELLS HOW LAWS ARE MADE, PASSED, AND HOW PEOPLE ARE ELECTED TO OFFICE. TELLS THE BASIC RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT.

CONSTITUTION OF ALABAMA

THE BASIC LAW OR PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA THAT GOVERNS THE PEOPLE OF ALABAMA.

THE MAIN DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

1. EXECUTIVE	2. JUDICIAL	3. LEGISLATIVE
PRESIDENT	SEPREME COURT	CONGRESS
ENFORCES THE LAW	INTERPERTS THE LAW	MAKES THE LAW

PREAMBLE

IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE, LEBERTY, FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, AND PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WAS ESTABLISHED.

AMENDMENT 13---------------SLAVES FREED
AMENDMENT 14---------------GUARANTEE OF PROTECTION TO ALL CITIZEN.
AMENDMENT 15---------------THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES SHALL NOT BE DENIED BECAUSE OF RACE OR COLOR. (WE WERE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE UNDER THIS AMENDMENT)

MEANING OF CERTAIN WORDS

SECULAR.....NOT UNDER CHURCH CONTROL: NOT SACRED: NOT BELONGING TO A RELIGIOUS ORDER. AS, SECULAR COURTS, EDUCATION MUSIC.

BONA FIDE...WITHOUT FRAUD, IN GOOD, AS A BONA FIDE CITIZEN OR A BONA FIDE TRANSACTION.

PREVIOUSLY..GOING BEFORE, OR HAS HAPPENED BEFORE.

TURPITUDE...CORRUPTION, A CORRUPT ACT OR PRACTICE.

INTERROGATORIES....WORDS USED IN ASKING QUESTIONS. SENTENCES IMPLYING QUESTIONS.

AFFILIATE...TO CONNECT OR ASSOCIATE ONESELF.

(MEANING OF) THE MAN ON THE STREET.....THE MAN ON THE STREET SHOULD ACT AND LIVE MORALLY HIGH.

WHAT THE COUNCIL DOES

COLLECTS FACTS:

On integrated facilities, school transfers, MDTA and Apprentice programs, available houses for sale, Hill-Burton projects, etc.

SUPPLIES FACTS:

To individuals who want to patronize integrated facilities, groups working to extend desegregation, public officials who need informal information, writers and students.

PROVIDES A COMMUNITY FORUM:

-e.g., Series on Human Relations and Metropolitan Growth

Feb. -- Realtors, government housing officials, planning officials on Housing.

March- Professionals in industrial management, vocational education, training, labor, on Employment.

April --School Board and Professional Educator on Education.

PLANS AND ASSISTS IN COMMUNITY PREPARATION FOR CHANGE:

-e.g., Special programs to encourage school transfers, orient Negro students to new "white" schools, assist individual transfer students and families.

OFFERS HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION.

-e.g.,Panel of Americans special intergroup program for students.

GIVES OPPORTUNITIES FOR FRIENDSHIP:

To Negroes and whites as they meet in all kinds of situations, from dinner parties to picnics.

PRESENTS BROAD BASE OF COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR DESEGREGATION:

576 individual members, from all parts of the Metropolitan area, cutting across racial, religious, professional lines.

INTERPRETS ATLANTA TO VISITORS FROM OTHER STATES AND COUNTRIES

- e.g., Ambassador from Ceylon, Official of Tanganyika, northern Baptist ministers, British journalist.

WORKS WITH ATLANTA SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE:

Special program to interpret and enlist support of white community; observors in court, visitors to jails, contacts with families of student demonstrators, information to ASLC.

COOPERATES WITH OTHER AGENCIES:

-e.g., With YWCA in workshop for high school students, with ACLU Lawyers Committee in distributing information in Newsletter, with state, regional and national agencies. (The Council is affiliated with the Georgia Council on Human Relations)

SOME SPECIFICS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE COUNCIL IN 1963:

. Negotiated desegregation of Smith-Hughes Vocational School.

. Negotiated desegregation of neighborhood and drive-in movies.

. Designed, printed and distributed 35,000 anti-discrimination stickers.

. Prepared, kept current and distributed list of integrated facilities in Greater Atlanta.

. Presented speakers to interracial audiences including Associated White House Press Secretary, Protocol Officer of U.S. Department of State, and Atlantans invited to Presidential White House Conferences.

. Helped publish Directory of Equal Opportunity Employers in Metropolitian Atlanta area.

. Programmed more than 100 visitors at average of 3 days each for State Department.

. Counseled with Negro transfer students and parents.

. Maintained liaison with Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, printed document ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY for community information.

. Assisted officials and citizens in Decatur and DeKalb County in human relations developments.

. Planned special programs to increase support and use of desegregated facilities, including restaurants and swimming pools.

. Cooperated with other agencies in programs to extend desegregation in education, employment, housing, health services, social services, etc.

WHAT IT IS:

A private, voluntary, tax exempt organization of individual members who live in Greater Atlanta, who pay annual dues, elect officers, serve on committees, give money and join with fellow citizens to enlarge the "coalition of conscience" to bring about better human relations in our community.

WHAT ITS RESOURCES ARE:

Director's salary currently paid by the Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee, but all other expenses paid out of funds from individual contributions.

WHAT IT NEEDS:

$20,000 to fill increasing demands for more information, more human relations education, more opportunities for friendship, more preparation as Metropolitan Atlanta, with the rest of the nation, faces inevitable changes.

WHO RUNS THE COUNCIL:

Members elect 5 officers and 20 Directors for 2-year terms. This Board of Directors is solely and completely responsible for the policies and program, and the staff works under its direction.

Officers for 1964-66

Chairman -Mr. M. Stanford
1st V. Chm.- Dr. J. Rothschild
2nd V. Chm.- Dr. E. Weaver
Secretary -Mrs. Sujette Crank
Treasurer -Mr. H. Jackson

Directors Are

Mrs. Philip Brachman
Mr. Martin Handrick
Mrs. Clifton Hoffman
Dr. William Jackson
Dr. Jon Johnston
Mr. Sinclair Jacobs
Rev. Eugene Pickett
Miss Norah McNiven
Dr. Sam Williams
Mr. Q. V. Williamson
Mrs. P. Q. Yancey
Dr. Tilman Cothran
Mr. Carl Holman
Mr. Donald Hollowell
Mr. Charles Mathias
Dr. Margaret Rowley
Mrs. John Stanley
Dr. John Tumblin
Dr. Clinton Warner
(Mrs. E. Paschall, Ex. Drct.)

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF
GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303
Telephone: 523-1581

Date_______________

I pledge $_________ for the support of the COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA for April, 1964 to April, 1965.

Payable: Now__________________

Installments__________________

In Full__________________

____
(Signed)

NAME:__________________________

ADDRESS:__________________________
____

TELEPHONE:__________________

Contributions are tax deductible

. . . There is little argument that there will be change in 1964 . . . but what kind of change in Greater Atlanta, and how will be accomplished?

Will restaurants be open?
Will hotels be open?
Will schools be open?
Will housing be open?

WILL HEARTS AND MINDS BE OPEN?

GIVE

DOLLARS FOR DEMOCRACY

GIVE

to the

COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS OF
GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

NEWS from BRUCE
Howard Smith, Publicity Director

The BRUCE PUBLISHING COMPANY
400 NORTH BROADWAY
MILWAUKEE 1, WISCONSIN

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MILWAUKEE, WIS. -- A revised and enlarged edition of An Evil Tree, a best-selling study of communism for high school students has been announced by Bruce of Milwaukee. The author is Agnes Murphy, professor of History and Philosophy at San Diego College for Women.

Released in a new paperback format, the book traces the ideology, objectives and tactics of atheistic communism and outlines the lives of its founders. The revision also contains a new section on the communist conspiracy, in which the subversive campaign in the United States is compared to a submarine, lying chiefly below the surface of American life, but nevertheless presenting a deadly danger to American liberty. This section records the recent infiltration of campuses, anti-anticommunist counter-movements, and psychological warfare promulgating the idea that communism poses no internal threat to America.

A new study guide has been incorporated, listing for each chapter points to remember, points to ponder, projects and suggested readings. The bibliography has been extensively revised.

A reviewer for the Catholic School Journal called the book "especially valuable as a pointed study of the evils of Communism,

(more)

and should be useful as a supplement to existing high school courses in United States history. The author has had direct experience in the field in which she writes, and has produced a text that is outstanding for its conciseness, clarity and power. It is an excellent study of the major problem of our time." The Fort Worth Star Telegram says: "Prepared especially in answer questions in the minds of young people. The author has amassed a large quantity of material and has presented it in a concise and readable manner."

Also available (for classroom use) is a handbook offering background material on Communism for teachers, A Sourcebook for a Course on Communism. This includes a comparison of the Communist and Christian interpretations of such words as peace, bourgeoisie, capitalism, communism, socialism, democracy; a bibliography of works on Communism; and a list of test questions on the material in An Evil Tree.

#

AN EVIL TREE, by Agnes Murphy, Ph.D., revised edition, $1.25, xvi & 216 pages; published by The Bruce Publishing Company, 400 North Broadway, Milwaukee 1, Wisconsin

THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

February 28, 1964

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: The Civil Rights Bill

This memorandum was prepared for Commission, staff and state advisory committee use in response to many recent inquiries from committee members and Members of Congress.

In this memorandum we summarize the main provisions of the Civil Rights Bill as passed by the House of Representatives and which is now pending in the Senate. The main allegations advanced in opposition to the legislation are mentioned and discussed briefly.

TITLE I - VOTING

The 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Act sought to guarantee to all citizens the right to vote without discrimination as to race or color and authorized the Attorney General to commence court action to prevent persons from interfering with the right to vote. However, the Commission on Civil Rights found in 1963 that there are still at least 100 counties in 7 States where qualified Negro citizens are denied the right to vote by being forced to meet standards not applied to white citizens. Title I is intended to cope with problems encountered in the implementation of these earlier Civil Rights Acts.

With respect to elections held for the purpose of electing Federal officials, the bill would:

a. prohibit the imposition of different standards for Negroes and whites seeking to register and vote,

b. prohibit the denial of the right to vote because of immaterial errors or omissions,

c. require that any literacy test employed as a qualification for voting be administered in writing and a copy of any individual's test be available on request,

d. establish a rebuttable presumption that any person who has completed the 6th grade is literate.

With respect to any voting proceeding commenced by the Government, the Attorney General or the defendant may request the appointment of a three-judge court to hear the case initially. Appeals would be taken to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Attorney General would not have authority to register any voters.

Amendments: Title I was amended twice on the floor of the House with the effect that now defendants as well as the Attorney General may request the appointment of a three-judge court. Also persons who have completed the 6th grade in an English language school in Puerto Rico will be presumed to be literate. This provision originally applied only to the States, territories and the District of Columbia.

TITLE II - DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Discrimination would be prohibited in specific places of public accommodation whose operation affects interstate commerce or whose practices of discrimination are supported by State action. An example of the latter would be State or local laws requiring proprietors to exclude or segregate Negro customers. The public accommodations covered include hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, gasoline stations, theaters and staduims or other facilities which are part of an establishment covered by the bill.

The provision would be enforced by civil actions brought by the persons discriminated against or by the Attorney General. The Attorney General could use Federal, State or local public agencies to secure voluntary compliance before beginning the court proceeding.

The civil rights bill would not make persons or businesses licensed by a State or city subject to the Act by virtue of their license. Nor are all businesses offering goods and services to the public covered. Only those establishments specifically listed in the bill or physically part of a listed establishment would be subject to the Act. (The bill would not prohibit racial discrimination in barber shops, beauty parlors and many other service establishments, retail stores, bowling alleys and other places of recreation unless such places serve food. It would not cover hotels or lodging houses which have less than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the proprietor.) Merely operating under a State regulation would not make an establishment subject to the Act.

It has been suggested that the public accommodation section would be a vast extension of Federal control and that it is unconstitutional. However, businesses open to the public are already subject to many Federal, State and local regulations (e.g., anti-trust laws, zoning ordinances, health and sanitation standards) designed to protect the public and business itself. Also, the proposed legislation prohibiting racial discrimination by certain businesses serving the public is similar to statutes already in existence in 30 States. These statutes have been held constitutional.

Amendments: Discrimination "supported by State action" was redefined by the House to mean discrimination or segregation carried on under color or any law, statute, ordinance or regulation; or carried on under color of any custom or usage required or enforced by public officials; or required by action of the State.

Finally, the Committee version of the bill made it unlawful to incite, aide, or abet any person to discriminate against another. The House deleted this section, but left in tact the prohibitions against intimidation, coercion and retaliation.

TITLE III - PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Attorney General is authorized to institute civil actions against any publicly owned or operated facility (such as a State owned park) whenever he receives a complaint of discrimination. Such facilities are required by the Constitution not to engage in racial discrimination, but many still do discriminate.

He is also authorized to intervene in any action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin.

Amendments: The Committee version of the bill made the United States liable for court costs in any proceeding under this Title, and the House added "reasonable attorney's fees" to these costs.

TITLE IV - PUBLIC EDUCATION

The U.S. Office of Education is directed to conduct a survey on the availability of equal educational opportunity. It is authorized to render technical assistance to school districts in the implementation of desegregation plans, to arrange training institutes for school personnel and to make grants to school boards to employ specialists for in-service training. These plans have been required by law since 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled that enforced racial segregation in public schools violates the Constitution. This provision is intended to assist school boards which wish to comply with their constitutional obligations.

The Attorney General is authorized to institute civil actions upon receipt of complaints alleging the continuance of school segregation.

It has been alleged that the U.S. Commissioner of Education "could influence the transfer of children from one school to another . . . . until racial balance exists." The civil rights bill gives no authority to the Commissioner of Education to require or influence the transfer of children.

Amendments: The House redefined "desegregation" to make it explicitly clear that it does not include the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

Another amendment provided that besides school boards, States, municipalities or school districts, other governmental units might apply for technical assistance provided that the unit is legally responsible for operating public schools.

TITLE V - COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The life of the Commission on Civil Rights is extended for four years and in addition to its present functions of investigating denials of the right to vote and infringements of equal protection guarantees, and appraising Federal policies, the Commission is directed to serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information and to investigate general allegations of voting frauds not related to racial discrimination.

Amendments: The Committee version of the bill made the Commission a permanent agency, but the House limited its life to four years. In addition, the House specifically prohibited the Commission from inquiring into or investigating fraternities, sororities, private clubs or religious organizations.

TITLE VI - FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Each Federal agency which administers a program of financial assistance by grants, loans or contracts is directed to require the elimination of discrimination under the program.

Action of a Federal agency effectuating this requirement might include the termination of or refusal to grant assistance. If such action were taken, it would be subject to review by the courts.

This Title has been attached as an extension of Federal control beyond that presently exercised as part of the normal supervision of Federal expenditures.

The Supreme Court has ruled that the Constitution prohibits the Federal Government or its instrumentalities from discriminating because of race. Other Federal courts have ruled that private or public agencies receiving Federal financial assistance cannot deny the benefits of the program to persons because of their race. Title VI of the civil rights bill simply states these rulings as a principle supported by Congress. It says in effect that when Federal tax monies are collected from all citizens regardless of color the benefits flowing from Federal expenditures of these monies should be available to all citizens regardless of color. For example, this Title would require:

> Hospitals constructed with Federal funds to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

State employment agencies entirely financed by Federal funds to refer qualified job applicants to employment opportunities without discrimination;

Elementary and secondary schools constructed and maintained by Federal funds to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

Colleges and universities receiving Federal funds for the construction and operation of research centers to admit students without discrimination.

It has also been alleged that this section would apply to farmers and to homeowners, implying that they will be "subject to Federal Control." Actually, the bill simply means that when Federal money is made available to help farmers it must be available to Negro farmers as well as white farmers without racial discrimination. It means that when the Federal government makes funds available for the construction of homes, the homes must be offered to all eligible persons without regard to race.

Amendments: The procedures to be followed in the administration of this Title were amended by the House to require that (1) the President approve all implementing rules and regulations, (2) a hearing be held before compliance steps are taken, and (3) Congress be notified 30 days before funds are denied or discontinued to a program.

Another amendment makes clear that this Title would not apply to Federal programs which insure or guarantee loans by private institutions. The Housing Executive Order remains unaffected by this amendment.

TITLE VII - EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

An Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is created to receive or initiate complaints alleging discrimination by employers in industries affecting interstate commerce with 25 or more employees or by labor unions or employment agencies whose activities affect interstate commerce. The Commission initially would seek to eliminate any discriminatory practices found by conciliation and persuasion but where these efforts fail is authorized to bring civil actions in which the courts would review the facts de novo. If the court finds racial or religious discrimination, it would order the discriminating employer, employment agency or union to treat all persons on the basis of their merit and ability rather than on their race, religion, national origin or sex.

It has been alleged that employers could be told by Federal officials "whom they shall hire, fire, promote and demote, and how they shall handle their employees," that employers could be required to maintain a work force which is balanced along racial or religious lines, and that the rights of employees within their company could be destroyed.

The civil rights bill does not give the Federal government these powers. It only requires that employers, labor unions and employment agencies treat all persons on the basis of their merit and ability and without regard to their race, color, religion or national origin. Employers subject to the bill are free to hire, promote or fire anyone they want provided their action is not based on the person's race, color, religion or national origin. And, under the bill, it would be as unlawful for an employer to discriminate against a white applicant because of race as it would be if he discriminated against a Negro.

__Amendments:__ The House extended the coverage of this title in two respects: (1) sex is now within the prohibited types of discrimination; and (2) retraining and in-service training were added as areas in which there can be no discrimination. The rest of the amendments were largely limiting in nature. Atheists and Communists were excluded from coverage, and religious institutions of learning were allowed to use "religion" as an employment criterion. The Committee bill provided that no union or employer would be subject to coverage during the first year after enactment, only those with 100 or more workers during the second year, fifty workers the third year, and 25 or more during the fourth and succeeding years. The House modified this by adding another year and a 75-worker level to the graduated coverage, postponing coverage of employers of 25 or more till five years after enactment.

Title VII was further amended by several procedural provisions. In order to initiate a complaint, the Commission must now have reasonable cause to believe a violation has occurred. The Committee bill had empowered the Commission to bring a civil action before exhausting their informal techniques if circumstances warranted, but this provision was deleted by the House. The investigative powers of the Commission were clarified and modified to the extent that it may now inspect records of and examine only those persons being investigated or proceeded against. The Committee bill had authorized such action whenever it might add to the enforcement of the title. Regulations or orders by the Commission may now be prescribed only after a public hearing. Government agencies must still furnish all relevant information to the Commission, but the House limited this requirement to information that can be disclosed legally.

An entire section relating to employment practices of Federal agencies and contractors with the government, which was essentially a restatement of an existing executive order, was deleted from the bill. Certain clarifying amendments were also passed.

TITLE VIII - VOTING STATISTICS

The Secretary of Commerce is directed to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and have voted, in such geographic areas as recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights.

This Title was not amended by the House.

TITLE IX - REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

The order of a Federal court sending a civil rights case back to a State court shall be reviewable by appeal.

This Title was not amended by the House.

TITLE X - COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

This entire Title was inserted in the bill on the House floor, after having been deleted by the Judiciary Committee. It establishes a Community Relations Service in the Department of Commerce to provide informal assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems. The Service is limited to a Director and six employees.

TITLE XI - MISCELLANEOUS

The last title in the act contains necessary miscellaneous provisions. Appropriations are authorized to carry out the act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law.

Amendments: A new section was added by the House to insure that the provisions of the act are not construed as "occupying the field" of civil rights legislation. State laws in this area are to remain in force unless inconsistent with the act.

CONCLUSION

The civil rights bill pending before the Senate would not, as has been alleged, deprive people of their personal liberties. It would prevent discrimination because of race, religion, or national origin or sex. And it would not even prevent all forms of discrimination. It prohibits discrimination by government officials in education and voting; discrimination by large employers and unions in their hiring practices; discrimination by business establishments which operate in interstate commerce and are open to the general public; and discrimination by institutions such as universities, schools and hospitals which give service provided by Federal funds. The bill would certainly not prohibit a homeowner from deciding whom he wants to invite to his house, or a private club from restricting its membership on the basis of race.

Contrary to allegations, the bill does not deny anyone's constitutional rights. In fact, its major provisions are designed to secure rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution but which have been denied some citizens. The constitutionality of the major provisions of this legislation is supported by bar associations, eminent lawyers and law teachers throughout the Nation.

Prepared by the staff,
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

February 28, 1964

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 13, 1964

Dear Harold:

This will asknowledge your memorandum of April 7 concerning the effort of the informal committee of business leaders to improve the prospects for general compliance with the public accomodations section of the Civil Rights Bill when it is passed.

As the President told the group on April 1, this undertaking is a valuable contribution to the national interest. It is his earnest hope that these public spirited business leaders and those who are cooperating with them will continue to devote their energy and influence to this important objective.

I am also enclosing for your information a transcript of the President's remarks to a number of business leaders he met with on April 9 in connection with the Plans for Progress program of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. In his speech the President made the same point about the role that can be played by businessmen most emphatically and effectively.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE APRIL 9, 1964

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT TO "PLANS FOR PROGRESS" GROUP IN THE EAST ROOM

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have a railroad strike on at 5:45 and my time is going to be necessarily limited. We want to try to ask both the employers and employees to give us a little extra time and I am going to meet with them in the Cabinet Room, so I will necessarily be briefer than I would like to be.

First of all, I want to say to you that you are welcome here in your house as you have come here to work for your country. I want to especially and personally thank you gentlemen for your efforts in advancing the cause of justice and the cause of decency.

There are today 192 major American corporations employing more than 7 million persons who have joined in a national partnership voluntarily on their own volition because they believe it is right to make equality of opportunity not just a phrase, but a fact. I have personally signed each of these 192 plans on behalf of the committee, as its chairman. It was a proud signature that I signed because this movement of our industrial society has been achieved by cooperation and has been formed by reason.

The Senate of the United States today is engaged in a great debate. From that great deliberative body and that debate will come, I am confident, a bill of civil rights, of equal rights that is a reaffirmation of the native decency of our American society. This debate is evidence that this Government of free men, constitutionally sound, born of struggle and agony, can endure a difference of opinion and can stand still and erect and strong when the issue has been settled.

We are going to pass the civil rights bill. Nothing has happened to deter us from that course. The demands of justice and decency make that necessary. But the challenge we face goes beyond the passage of a single piece of legislation, for any law is insufficient unless it is supported, and all of us have had some experience in this field, by the moral commitment of the people of the country.

The burning issue, then, is simply, "What does America stand for?" I believe America stands for progress in human rights. I believe America stands for full and equal rights for all of its citizens, for the realization of freedom and justice for all of its people, for equality of treatment, and equality of opportunity for all of its citizens in every sphere of national life.

So it is to these goals that we are all committed. We must, therefore, realize that the passage of the big peak still above us. To reach that peak is going to require the cooperation, the good will, the moral courage, the determination, the good sense and the patriotism of every single American.

What I urge on you today is to look ahead to that day very soon when this bill that has already passed the House and is now under debate in the Senate -- look ahead until the day when it becomes law. Congress, as the final result of that national debate, will have an obligation to our Nation and our Constitution to accept the law that has been passed. The problems of our society will not automatically disappear with the passage of that bill, you can be sure. They will still have to be dealt with by all Americans.

The civil rights bill can only chart in law the directions that we must take as individuals. Now, how swiftly and how harmoniously, how effectively we take those directions depends in measure on the leadership of men and women like you.

I am proud of you. You have come to the top of a great company, of many great companies, because of your judgement and because of you character and because of your understanding of your fellowman and because of a great many sacrifices that you and your families have made. Today you meet here in the first house of this land with your chin up and your chest out, standing proudly and erect and happy to say, "I am an American businessman." Now, there have been tines in this country when men didn't go around wearing that badge, and if they did wear it they were not as proud of it as you are today.

But this society is such, our economy is such, and our leadership in the world is such that you are the envy of your counterparts wherever you may find them. You can give great assistance not only just in your little immediate company that, relatively speaking, makes up a small part of the millions of workers, some 70 million, that work in this country, but you can give it on your Boards, in your churches, in your lodges, in your communities, by increased understanding. The best way in the world for you to give it is to just forget that you are the president of the company or the vice president of the officers, and imagine that things are reversed and you are in the other fellow's position. Assume for a moment that you are Hobart Taylor 20 years ago in Houston, Texas, trying to get a job with one of these great companies, American Home Product, Sterling, or Anheuser Busch, or others that I have met here today, and do unto him as you would have him do unto you.

Bear in mind that golden rule -- "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," and examine your Personnel Department; examine your own conscience. See if you are doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. If you are, then we can say, "Well done thy faithful servant." But until you can say that, until you can do that, until there is increased understanding, until there is a desire to put this bill into effect and make it work, we still have our job to do.

Let's not take too much for granted, Mr. Businessman. Let's not assume for a moment that we can just sit in our rocking chairs and let the rest of the world go by.

I have talked to a great friend that I worked for as a young boy, who proudly owns the King Ranch of Texas. He was talking to me the other day about a ranch that he owned in Cuba. I think that both of us, as a result of that discussion, really forgot some of our gripes of the moment and took pride in this great constitutional system that is ours. Let's not just make the Constitution apply to property. Let's let it apply to people, and let's not forget that a great President that we all revere today, that lived in this house 100 years ago, took the chains away from the slaves of that time and freed the slaves of their chains.

Until education is blind to color, until employment is unaware of race, you can free the slaves of their chains, but you have not freed society of bigotry.. Emancipation may be a proclamation, but it is not a fact.

So I appeal to you to give us the leadership that will make it a fact because we businessmen are outnumbered in America. We Americans are outnumbered in the world 17 to 1. If we don't want a decision tonight that is based on man's religion or that is based on his race, or that is based on his color, or that is based necessarily on the numbers because might doesn't make right, because if it is based on any of those things, we Americans are outmoded.

So I suggest that in this Nation of Laws that you, as community leaders, make this legislation work as smoothly and as effectively as possible. Make your plans that you have promised to promulgate a reality; make them a living thing that you can really take pride in and pass on to your children, the heritage that Lincoln passed on to us, because your action is just as necessary as his was -- to the good and the future and leadership and pride of your country, for in the final end of it all, what is really supremely important to you and to me, to every citizen in the land, is that our differences be settled by constitutional and lawful processes in the courts. That is what we are trying to do instead of in the streets and in the alleys, and might making right.

Much of the Nation has already voluntarily enacted a civil rights bill. At least some desegregation of privately owned facilities of public accomodations are now open to everyone, regardless of race, in some 390 of the 566 communities in Southern States of over 10,000. 390 of the 566 have already to some degree desegregated in cities over 10,000.

I saw that great, beloved man who was denied the privilege of being with us now, John F. Kennedy, meet in this room with his brother, the great Attorney General of this country, and talk to restaurant men, hotel men, motel men, employers, bankers, lawyers, businessmen from every section of the land, and plead with them to please go home and try to get this voluntarily done. I am proud to say that almost two-thirds of this progress has been, since May of last year, been made. Two-thirds, or 390 of the 566, have desegregated since then. They have desegregated in 284 cities, some restaurants in 298 cities, some theaters in 280 cities, lunch counters in 340 cities. This has all been done voluntarily, and if we can do this much voluntarily, the rest can **and should be done by compliance** with the law.

I have talked too long, but this subject is one that is intensely interesting to me. I could not leave this rostrum without an attempt to arouse within you the desire to heal this Nation, to unify our people, to seek remedy for what we believe to be wrong in those places where remedies and not rancor are to be found and, most of all, to make it sternly clear what this Nation really believes in and what this Nation really stands for.

I came to Washington in 1931. I saw the Bonus Army driven down to the Anacostia Flats. I saw the businessmen hauled up before the Congressional committees, and I saw the Wall Street bankers with midgets on their knees. I saw all the great reform legislation born, but I am here to tell you today that we have had our ups and downs and our lows and our highs, but there has never been a period in our national life when businessmen could take greater pride in their achievements than today.

Relatively speaking, we have so many less economical problems than our adversaries that we ought not even worry about them. Our foreign relations are so much better than the problems that our adversaries have that we ought to really take pride, but we can't just let well enough be good enough. We have to do these jobs that are undone, and whether you pick up a paper and see what is happening in Cleveland or Austin or Boston, until we learn that we can win together and protect the constitutional rights of all Americans, then we will have work to do.

Russia has more people than we do. She has many more resources in many more categories than we have. She has 600 million arable acres of land, compared to our 187 million. She has 225 million population compared to our 190 million population. But the one thing she does not have is the imagination, the ingenuity, and the initiative that comes with the free enterprise system, where a capitalist is willing to invest his dollar in the hope that he will get a small return back on it and where the manager is willing to get up at daylight and work until midnight and develop stomach ulcers in order to get a better mouse trap at a cheaper price; where the employee will almost willingly get in a trot because he has pride in the product that his sweat produces.

Those three elements of our national society -- the capitalist, the manager, and the worker put together -- can out-produce and out-develop and out-survive any slave state where that incentive is not there and where that profit motive is gone.

So I don't speak to you as Democrats or Republicans. I hope I am President of all of the people of this country, because I am the only President that you have, at least for another eight or nine months. But I speak to you as Americans who want to leave this land a better place than you found it, who want your children to have the same opportunity that you have had and to go just as far as you have gone, and maybe even a little farther, and who recognize that if we survive in this world that is part slave and part free, it is going to be not because of our superiority of resources, but our superiority of system of government.

Now, let's make the Declaration of Independence, let's make that Constitution that we embrace when it comes to protecting our property rights, let's make it a living, breathing thing for all human beings. We demonstrated that for the first time in our national life you could elect a Catholic a President of the United States, and that was a proud day, because our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence had indicated and implied that you could always do that and that we had religious freedom, but until we actually did it, not fait accompli was there.

We also demonstrated you could elect a Southerner Vice President. I found myself after this terrible tragedy of last November with the problem of transition, the continuity of this Government, with the eyes of the world looking on us, and with 190 million people in doubt, and the businessmen and the captains of industry and the leaders of labor came to this house by the dozens and by the hundreds and said, "We are enlisted for the duration. Ask me not what church I belong to or what party I vote for. Just count me in the pot as doing what is good for my country."

The spirit of unity and closing ranks never made me more proud of my heritage. The Business Advisory Council has been here a number of times, labor and management has been here a number of times. I am going from here to meet with the railroad titans of this Nation, the Executive Board, and to the Railroad Workers, and I am going to plead with them to please work for another 20 days to try to settle this strike so that we will not drive our gross national product down, so that we will not create great unemployment, so that we will not injure this Nation, so that in the words of Isaiah, "We can come and reason together," and reason these things out.

So I say to you this is not just a pro forma thing for me. I feel what I am saying, and what I am doing, and I am grateful to each of you as individuals and to your company and to your Board of Directors for setting this kind of an example. I hope that in the months ahead, sometime we

MORE

can meet again here to look at our record of achievement, to look at the record we have made in our individual companies, in our individual towns, in our individual communities, so that we can take pride in our achievements.

Please accept the gratitude of a grateful President who is doing his dead-level best to keep us pulling together, keeping our ranks closed, keeping us loving our brother and our fellowman, instead of hating him, keeping us united before the world instead of divided, because in unity there is strength, and in division there is disorder and defeat.

We are living in a challenging period, a dangerous period, but we have so much to preserve and so much to protect. You are the guardians of a good deal of it. So go back and do this job as you have done the job of progress in your own company, and know that your Nation will continue to be proud of you.

Thank you very much.

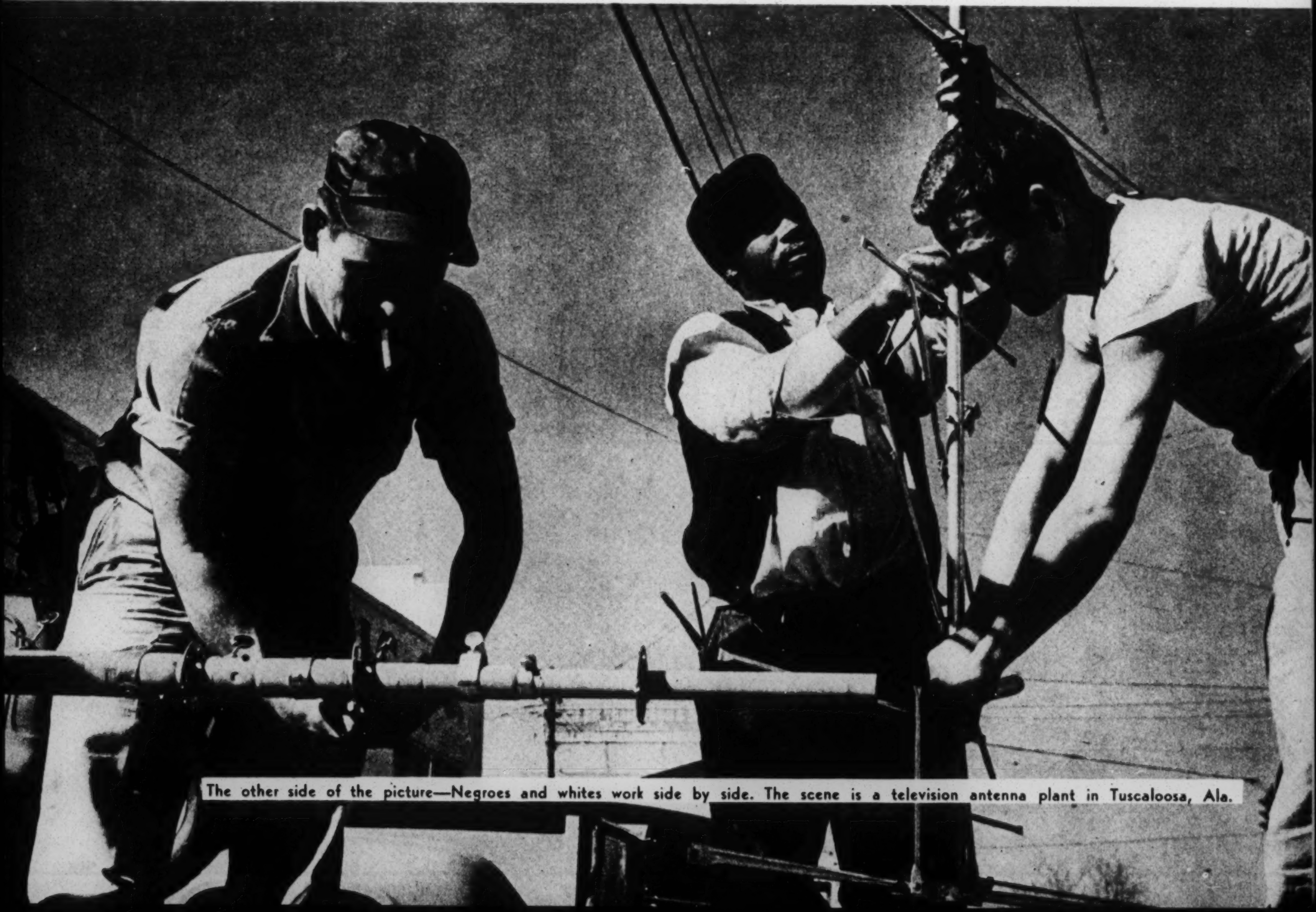
END

The New York Times Magazine
April [illegible], 1960 SECTION 6

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH

A liberal Southerner sees the racial turmoil as part of revolutionary, forward-moving changes — changes that must be better explained to foreign critics.

by HAROLD C. FLEMING



The other side of the picture—Negroes and whites work side by side. The scene is a television antenna plant in Tuscaloosa, Ala.

ATLANTA.

THE turbulence accompanying Negro student demonstrations has thrust the South, once again, into the glare of publicity. Not since the tension in Little Rock subsided has the United States faced as great a danger of international scandal over the region's racial problems.

The stolid young faces of the Negro demonstrators, the grimaces of white rowdies, and the mouthings of white-supremacist politicians are made to order for Communist propagandists. Not that they need strain at the task; the normal functioning of the democratic press will do most of the work.

Coincidentally, President Eisenhower has just created a committee of leading Americans to survey our overseas information programs and policies. It may be hoped that they will concern themselves to some degree with the effectiveness of American efforts to counter exploitation of the periodic eruptions in the South. A fair number of Southerners have had some opportunity of their own to make such a judgment. For the years since the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 have brought a steady flow of overseas visitors to the South. A turban in Atlanta, a fez in Montgomery or a sari in New Orleans—to say nothing of a British or German accent—is no longer the rarity it once was.

WHAT do these foreign visitors volunteer about our racial problems? Very little, indeed. But, more often than not, behind a courteous and noncommittal demeanor lies a well-developed set of preconceptions. Visitors from the emergent young nations of Asia and Africa are especially likely to harbor strongly negative views. To most of them, Southern racial incidents are atrocities of an undemocratic and unchanging society. Here, to their mind, is the archenemy colonialism in American dress and on the ascendancy.

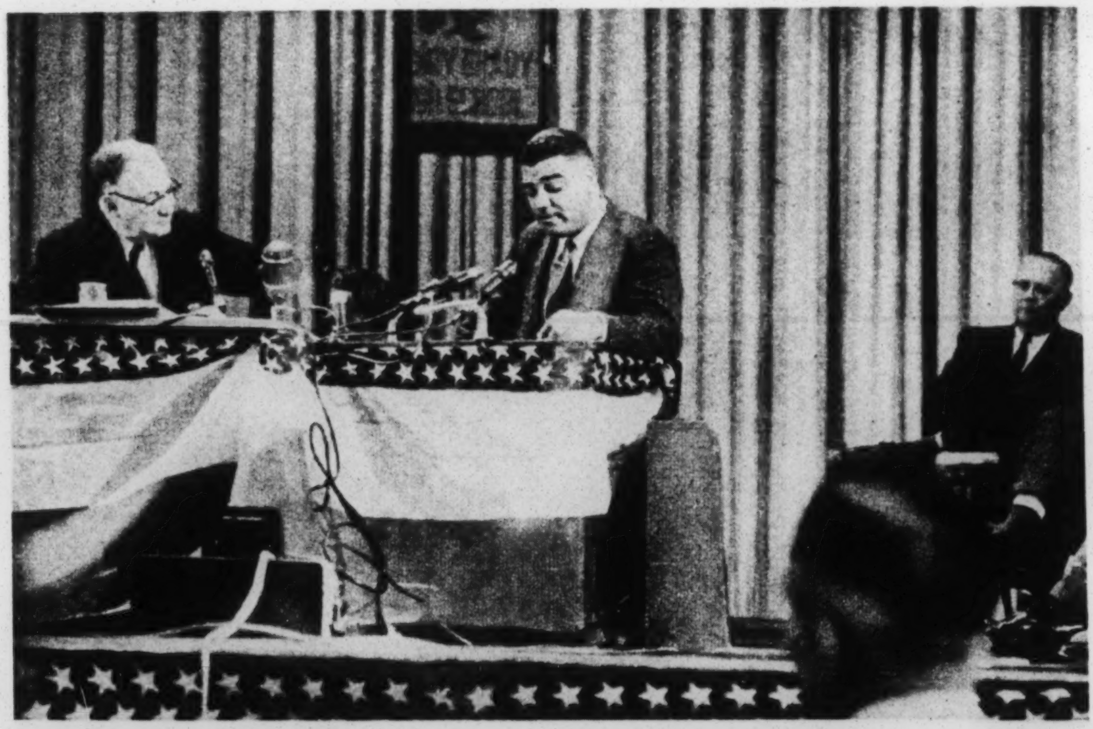
As one young Nigerian expressed it, "How do your people expect to win our friendship when they exalt the very evils we have been fighting against?"

For the Negro or liberal white Southerner—the only ones likely to be asked such a question—a persuasive answer comes hard. It takes more time and interpretation than is afforded by an hour's conversation, or even a two-day stopover, to remold a sharply defined image of a whole region. The process has to start earlier, and continue later.

Admittedly the only satisfactory way to answer criticisms of our racial practices is to eliminate discrimination and segregation. Yet even the most optimistic prophets calculate the time this will require in years rather than in days or months. Let us, by all means, redouble our efforts. Meanwhile, more concern for the image we project to the rest of the world is imperative.

The violence, injustices and political excesses that have fouled the wake of the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings cannot be denied or suppressed. To try to do this will only earn us the distrust and contempt of those whose goodwill we seek. But we can honestly present a more positive picture of the South; if we are accurate, we will do so.

THE disturbances of the past few years are symptomatic not of regression, but of forward movement, bitterly contested but inexorable. The South's troubles are not caused by a resurgence of an old order; they are the results of an old order's last desperate rally against new forces it can neither understand nor control. It is a disheartening fact that as the pressures for change mount in the Deep South, more severe reactions may be expected. But these, too, will represent the **backlash of a mortally strick-**



ON THE EDUCATION FRONT—In Georgia a state commission is inviting both Negroes and whites to give their views on school integration. Above, a Negro leader in Atlanta is heard by the commission.

en system of inequality, not a rebirth of oppression.

A middle-aged Southerner can remember a time when race relations stagnated peacefully, at least on the surface. There was occasional violence, to be sure, but it was mainly the ritual brutality of lynching, so common that it caused little public outcry. Segregation in its multitudinous forms was virtually unchallenged. Even the grossest inequalities—in schools and teachers' salaries, in trains and buses, in sanitation and medical care—were accepted by all but a few as part of the natural order.

As for the Negro's right to cast a meaningful ballot, to attend a high school or university, to swim in a municipal pool, in many areas there was no question of inequality—such opportunities for Negroes simply didn't exist. There were occasional gains within the rigidly separate framework, but these were so slight and scattered as to be almost imperceptible.

Many Southerners, scarcely aware of the cruel injustice of those years, look back on them as "the good old days" of race relations. Yet even they, hurled suddenly backward in time, would be shocked at the price in human suffering and denial that was paid for interracial peace.

During the last twenty years, a high price of another kind has been exacted of Southerners, white and Negro. Homes schools and churches have been bombed by small bands of hate-filled marauders. Mobs have rioted in the streets of Clinton and Tuscaloosa and Little Rock. Negro children have walked the gantlet of jeering adults and suffered abuses from bullying classmates. A few Negroes have died at the hands of the rabble who interpreted the inflammatory words of their betters as license to kill.

THIS is far from a complete tally; nor has it yet ceased to mount. But at least it is a price paid for something worth having—the elimination of injustice systematically practiced against a large segment of Americans. As a result, in Little Rock and elsewhere, countless children still unborn will get a better and more democratic education; some children already are. A mob drove Autherine Lucy out of the University of Alabama, but the same general effort peacefully opened the doors of more than 200 colleges and universities to Negroes.

Americans a hundred years hence may well look back on the race relations changes of our day as a major social revolution. While many may wonder what all the fuss was about, the more thoughtful will marvel that it was accomplished as rapidly and peacefully as it was. In any case, without minimizing the harsh costs of these changes, we can appreciate the value of what is being won by and for Americans.

It should not be assumed that the new aspirations and rising status of the Negro are the sole cause of the traditional South's malaise. The region is also shaken by the chills and fever of profound economic change, of huge population shifts, of big-city growth and rural decay.

Within a few short years the South has experienced an industrial revolution that was spread over generations in the rest of the country. In the decade following World War II, the South added 4,000 new manufacturing plants. A third of this new industrial growth was accounted for by only thirty - seven metropolitan areas; the lesser cities showed similar gains. By 1955 the average per capita income of Southerners had climbed to 257 per cent of its 1929 level, as compared with 141 per cent for the rest of the nation.

Population changes have been equally spectacular. During the Forties, the number of Southerners living in cities swelled by 39 per cent, as against only 15.4 per cent elsewhere in the country. At least four million native Southerners, more than half of them Negroes, have moved out of the region entirely. A smaller but sizable group of Northerners and Westerners have moved in with the new industry.

As these trends continue, the South is being abruptly transformed from a rural agricultural society to an urban, industrial one. But factories can be built and people shifted about far more speedily than attitudes and customs can be changed. Old roots have been torn up and new ones not yet put down. Outworn patterns of decision-making and political power have still to be reshaped to drastically changing circumstances. The central cities are choked with rural newcomers, under-educated, unskilled, and uninitiated in urban ways.

It is no wonder that widespread feelings of insecurity and anxiety lie close to the surface. Even the stabler elements of the society are uneasy in the face of rapid changes whose magnitude and significance they can only dimly perceive.

Racial antagonism is a ready outlet for the fears and frustrations bred by economic and social upheaval. The old isolation has broken down, leaving the South unprotected against the influx of people and ideas alien to its once impervious way of life. Seeking to hold on to the familiar, to a sense of continuing identity, many a white Southerner has rallied to the call for solidarity on the segregation issue. But to even the most recalcitrant it daily becomes clearer that this cause, too, will be lost. The racial patterns of the South cannot remain fixed and immutable while all else is in flux.

THESE are the realities of the Southern revolution—and he who tries to find the meaning of racial discord apart from them is on a fool's errand.

The dark-skinned peoples of Asia and Africa are peculiarly well-equipped to understand the conflict of old and new that disturbs the peace of the South. For, though different in detail, in essence it is not unlike the revolutionary ferment they know in their own countries. The upthrust of a people long denied, the fearful and sometimes cruel resistance of the privileged group, the clash of new technology and ancient custom—in one form or another, these are the common realities of our time, in southeast Asia and southeast United States alike.

One need only consider the persistence of caste and religious intolerance in India, tribalism in Nigeria, internecine strife in Indonesia, ethnic and language barriers in Malaya, revolt in Algeria, unrest in the

Belgian Congo — and everywhere the stumbling blocks of ignorance and superstition, poverty and disease, inexperience and apathy. The path of progress, there no less than here, is clogged with this detritus of the past.

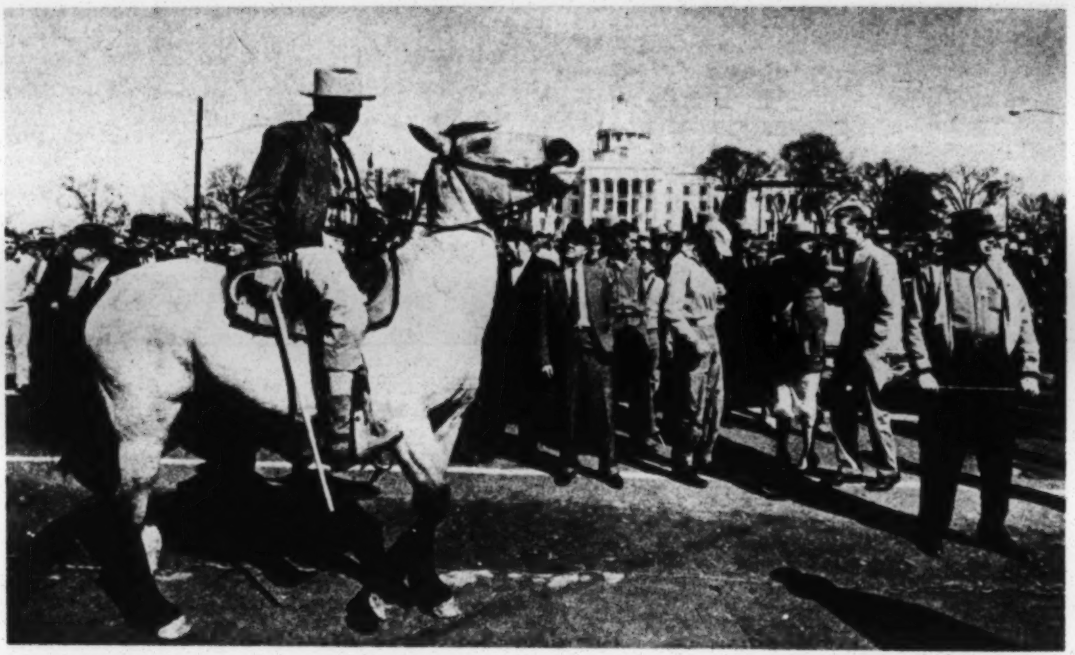
The failure to see the South's difficulties in these terms, a failure shared with foreign observers by many Americans, betrays a lack of historical perspective.

The South is perpetually being rediscovered in times of crisis by reporters and pundits and moralists. But in the obscure intervals between these moments, the flow of history continues. The outbreaks in Little Rock, Clinton or Tuscaloosa must be viewed against a backdrop, as part of a drama of sweeping transition rather than as self-contained incidents.

In Atlanta not long ago, a sensitive and well-informed visitor from India addressed himself to this problem.

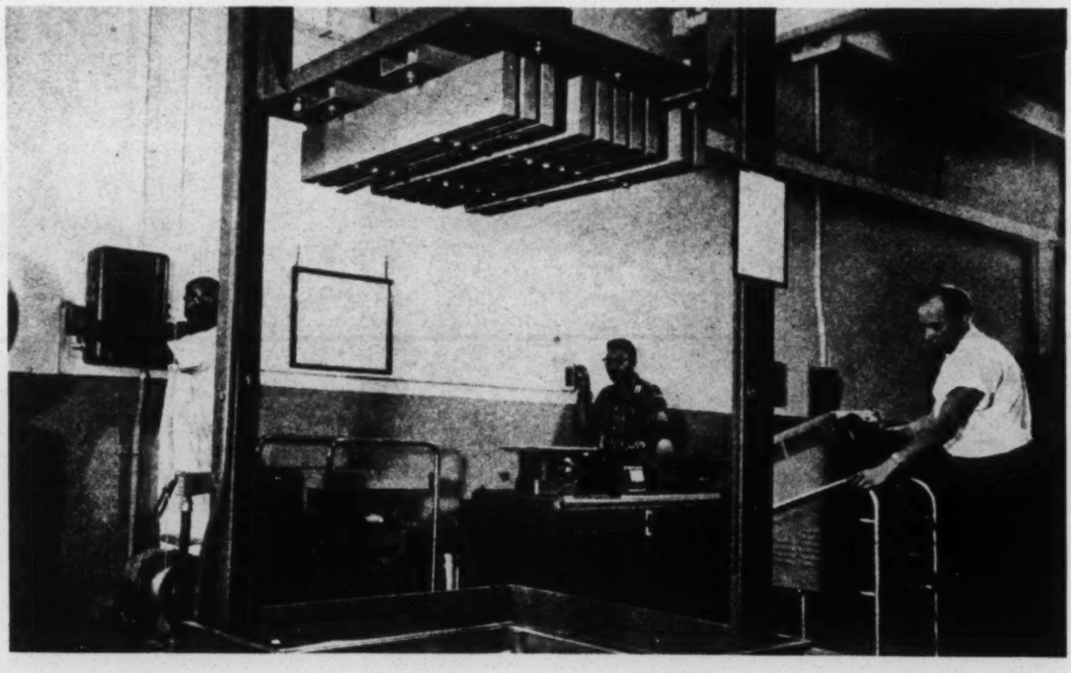
"In my country," he said "we try to conceal the difficulties we face in eradicating caste. I regret this. But we are not the self-appointed leader of the free world, like the United States. My people measure your anti-Negro acts against the high democratic standards you yourselves profess. At the height of the Little Rock disorder, the American information bulletins I read made almost no mention of it; instead, they talked of the exceptional American Negroes who have won fame or acceptance in spite of discrimination. So we were left to the simplification and sensationalism of the press."

PERHAPS the obstacles to creating abroad a more mature understanding of the South are insuperable. But it might be worth trying bold analysis, rather than silence or embarrassed mutterings, when our domestic revolution spills over into violence. After all, most of the uncommitted peoples of the world also know what it is to live through a revolution.



SEPARATION—Police, one on horseback, hold back a crowd near a Negro meeting in Montgomery, Ala.

INTEGRATION—A missile part is subjected to a shock test by workers in a plant in Winston-Salem, N. C.



HAROLD C. FLEMING is executive director of the Southern Regional Council, an organization in Atlanta that has been working to improve race relations in the South since 1919.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Accountant's Certificate

We have examined the financial statement of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for the period January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion the accompanying statements taken from the full audit present fairly the financial position of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., at December 31, 1962, and the results of its operation for the period then ended.

Daniel E. Harrison
Daniel E. Harrison
Registered Public Accountant

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

BALANCE SHEET
December 31, 1962

ASSETS

Funds toward future obligations, 1963-64:			
Cash in Bank, Citizens Trust Company - Checking		$ 57,779.30	
Cash in Bank, Citizens Trust Company - Savings		42,024.00	
Cash in Bank, First National Bank - Checking		18,701.10	
Investment in Trust Fund, Trust Company of Georgia	$ 63,232.00		
Income reinvested	2,669.90	65,901.90	
Investment in Federal Intermediate Credit Bank 3.10% Debentures due 3/4/63		40,000.00	$224,406.30
Inventory, Pamphlets		$ 1,500.00	
Office Equipment		13,766.49	
Accounts Receivable - Sale of Stock		1,924.30	17,190.79
Total Assets			$241,597.09

LIABILITIES

Due to Special Projects, 1963-64:		
Voter Education Project	$ 18,013.85	
Registration and Voting Survey	1,552.91	
Trust for Burned Churches	5,000.00	
Southern Leadership Project	40,398.31	
Special Fund for Educational Projects	4,687.42	
New Orleans Project	813.59	
Research in Student Adjustment	3,228.02	
Consultant Service Program	526.34	$ 74,220.44
Special Grants-in-Aid to State Councils on Human Relations - 1963	$ 38,493.67	
Advance Appropriations, General Operations - 1963-64	28,472.72	
Reserve Fund	65,901.90	
Obligations Outstanding	5,429.91	138,298.20
Total Liabilities		$212,518.64
Excess of Assets over Liabilities		29,078.45
Total		$241,597.09

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES - GENERAL OPERATIONS
January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962

INCOME

Contributions:		
Foundations	$ 149,924.30	
Labor & Other Organizations	1,300.00	
Churches	4,025.00	
Individuals	1,728.63	$ 156,977.93
Interest Income	2,024.00	
Dividends on Trust Fund	2,669.90	
NEW SOUTH Subscriptions	5,079.02	
Sale of Literature	841.72	
Overhead from project grants	11,269.18	21,883.82
Total Income		$ 178,861.75

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 101,328.56	
Social Security Taxes	2,796.58	
Travel	10,506.84	
Telephone and Telegraph	4,977.01	
Consultant Fees	3,632.24	
Executive Committee & Annual Meetings	6,690.93	
Books and Subscriptions	2,756.72	
Office Supplies	3,535.52	
NEW SOUTH Postage	1,606.09	
NEW SOUTH Printing	5,453.21	
NEW SOUTH Authors' Fees	255.00	
Postage	1,879.24	
Printing	11,009.96	
Rent	7,200.00	
Accounting	635.00	
Georgia Sales Tax	73.59	
Miscellaneous	1,372.74	
Reinvestment in Trust Fund	2,669.90	
Group Hospitalization Insurance	991.73	
Group Term Life Insurance	662.95	
Liability Insurance	314.99	
Retirement Insurance	2,614.35	
Foreign Visitors' Expense	886.64	
Moving Expense	406.68	
Total Expenses		174,256.47
Excess of Income over Expenses		$ 4,605.28

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS
January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

RECEIPTS

Field Foundation, Inc.	$ 75,000.00	
Taconic Foundation, Inc.	60,000.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	62,000.00	
Organizations and Churches	2,524.46	
United Church Board for Homeland Ministries	1,000.00	
Individuals	125.00	
Total Receipts		$200,649.46

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 21,939.08	
Social Security Taxes	466.47	
Travel	6,748.36	
Telephone and Telegraph	1,744.25	
Consultant Fees	2,083.98	
Grants for Voter Registration Program	133,437.60	
Rent	1,610.00	
Overhead	7,269.18	
Moving Expenses	1,385.05	
Office Equipment	2,962.52	
Office Supplies	443.30	
General Insurance	152.49	
Hospitalization Insurance	163.50	
Miscellaneous Expense	84.83	
Printing	523.92	
Postage	120.62	
Revolving Bail Fund	600.00	
Office Renovation	213.21	
Total Disbursements		181,948.36
Balance, December 31, 1962		$ 18,701.10

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS
January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1962		$36,990.61
Rockefeller Brothers Fund		40,000.00
Total Receipts		$76,990.61

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 8,568.84	
Travel and Communication	3,020.86	
Office Expense	1,159.45	
Printing and Distribution	3,564.85	
Consultants' Fees	4,785.00	
Consultants' Travel	2,948.10	
Overhead	4,000.00	
Southern Project	2,500.00	
Fee for Tapes on Alabama, etc. Ed Randall	5,800.00	
Total Disbursements		36,347.10
Balance, December 31, 1961		$40,643.51

SPECIAL FUND FOR EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1962		$ 8,057.08

DISBURSEMENTS

Work in Mississippi	$ 239.66	
New Orleans Community Relations Council	360.00	
Florida State University	600.00	
Atlanta University	170.00	
Alabama Council on Human Relations	2,000.00	
Total Disbursements		3,369.66
Balance, December 31, 1961		$ 4,687.42

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS
January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

RECEIPTS

Woman's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Convention of North Carolina	$ 25.00	
Woman's Society of Christian Service Southeastern Jurisdiction, Alabama	250.00	
Mrs. F. R. Muhleman, Tennessee	50.00	
Miscellaneous Income	417.94	$ 742.94
Southern Regional Council - To Cover Deficits for:		
Year 1961	$ 6,185.40	
Year 1962	3,341.88	9,527.28
Total Receipts		$10,270.22

DISBURSEMENTS

Travel	$ 3,982.91	
Materials	101.91	
Total Disbursements		$ 4,084.82
Balance, January 1, 1962 (1961 Deficit)		6,185.40
Total		$10,270.22

REGISTRATION AND VOTING SURVEY

Balance, January 1, 1962 and December 31, 1962	$ 1,552.91

EXHIBIT E

TRUST FOR BURNED CHURCHES

RECEIPTS

United Church Board for Homeland Ministries	$ 5,000.00
Balance, December 31, 1962	$ 5,000.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS
January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962

NEW ORLEANS PROJECT

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1962		$ 2,169.07

DISBURSEMENTS

Printing, Promotion, Mailing, etc.	$ 575.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	780.48	
Total Disbursements		1,355.48
Balance, December 31, 1962		$ 813.59

RESEARCH IN STUDENT ADJUSTMENT

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1962		$ 3,733.24
General Education Board		10,625.00
Total Receipts		$14,358.24

DISBURSEMENTS

Consultants' Fees	$ 7,250.00	
Travel and Communication	2,645.03	
Revolving Fund for Research Materials	966.91	
Total Disbursements		10,861.94
Balance, December 31, 1962		$ 3,496.30

SPECIAL GRANT FOR RESEARCH

RECEIPTS

The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.	$ 1,000.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Consultant Fee	$ 1,000.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS
January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962

SOUTHERN HISTORY PROJECT

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1962	$ 2,800.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Research Grant	$ 2,800.00

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1962	$ 1,691.52

DISBURSEMENTS

Consultants' Fees	$ 880.00	
Travel and Communication	285.18	
Total Disbursements		1,165.18
Balance, December 31, 1962		$ 526.34

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

SCHEDULE OF CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED - GENERAL OPERATIONS
January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962

CONTRIBUTIONS

Foundations:		
Taconic Foundation, Inc.	$ 35,000.00	
The Rockefeller Foundation	50,000.00	
New World Foundation	25,000.00	
Aaron E. Norman Fund	5,000.00	
The Field Foundation	25,000.00	
New York Foundation	3,750.00	
Ottinger Foundation, Inc.	1,000.00	
Hopkins Charitable Fund	1,000.00	
Marion R. Ascoli Fund	1,000.00	
Adele R. Levy Fund	1,000.00	
San Francisco Foundation	250.00	
Total		$ 148,000.00
Churches:		
The Protestant Episcopal Church in U.S.A.	$ 1,000.00	
Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church	1,200.00	
Division of National Missions of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church	1,000.00	
Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	250.00	
Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.	250.00	
Board of Education of the Methodist Church	300.00	
Woman's Society of Christian Service, North Carolina Conference	25.00	
Total		$ 4,025.00
Labor and Other Organizations:		
Textile Workers Union of America	$ 200.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	500.00	
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO	500.00	
Mechanics & Farmers Bank	100.00	
Total		$ 1,300.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
AID TO INDEPENDENT STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS
January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1962	$ 38,984.83
Field Foundation, 1963	25,000.00
Taconic Foundation, 1962	25,000.00
Total Receipts	$ 88,984.83

DISBURSEMENTS

Alabama Council on Human Relations		$ 6,600.00	
Arkansas Council on Human Relations		5,400.00	
Florida Council on Human Relations		3,372.97	
Georgia Council on Human Relations		6,300.00	
Houston (Texas) Council on Human Relations		2,300.00	
North Carolina Council on Human Relations		4,900.00	
South Carolina Council on Human Relations		6,300.00	
Tennessee Council on Human Relations		6,100.00	
Virginia Council on Human Relations		7,500.00	
Discretionary Fund	$ 1,218.19		
Advance toward 1963 Grants-in-Aid	500.00	1,718.19	
Total Disbursements			$ 50,491.16
Balance, December 31, 1962			$ 38,493.67

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
December, 1962

OFFICERS*

PRESIDENT

James McBride Dabbs

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Rufus E. Clement
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Albert W. Dent
Marion A. Wright

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

John H. Wheeler, Chairman

Paul R. Christopher
John A. Griffin
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
John P. Nelson, Jr.
Raymond Wheeler
H. Franklin Williams
Stephen J. Wright
Thomas W. Young

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas

*Addresses of the officers are given in the attached list of the members of the Council. All organizations and positions are shown for identification purposes only.

Class of 1963

Crawford Brock W
14 Professional Court
Rome, Georgia

W. E. Solomon C
Executive Secretary
Palmetto State Teachers Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Mrs. E. M. Sparling White
Route 5
Hot Springs, Arkansas

Charles Steele C
Executive Secretary
Louisville Urban League
209 West Market Street
Louisville, Kentucky

James E. Stewart C
548 N. E. Fourth Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

James Stokely
405 Clifton Heights White
Newport, Tennessee

Miss Florence Sytz W
1347 Moss Street
New Orleans 19, Louisiana

Lee B. Thomas, Jr. C
Executive Vice-President
Vermont American Corporation
500 East Main Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

The Rev. Thomas Thrasher White
Chapel of the Cross
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mrs. J. F. Tillman White
Palmetto Farm, RFD 1
Lewisburg, Tennessee

deceased
~~H. Council Trenholm~~
~~President~~
~~Alabama State College~~
~~Montgomery, Alabama~~

John H. Wheeler Negro
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Raymond Wheeler White
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Bell I. Wiley White
Department of History
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Miss Josephine Wilkins White
387 South Milledge Avenue
Athens, Georgia

H. Franklin Williams White
Vice President
The University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Paul Williams White
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Marion A. Wright White
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Stephen J. Wright Negro
President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Thomas W. Young Negro
Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Class of 1964

Fred D. Alexander Negro
2140 Senior Drive
Charlotte 8, North Carolina

The Rev. Hubert Beckwith White
Congregational Christian Church
of Fiarfax County
P. O. Box 186
Annandale, Virginia

B. R. Brazeal Negro
Academic Dean
Morehouse College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

The Rev. T. C. Brooke W
St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 4211
Roanoke, Virginia

The Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini W
Bishop, The Catholic Church
123 North West Street
Jackson, Mississippi

I. H. Burney
Secretary
Afro-American Life Insurance Company Negro
P. O. Box 660
Jacksonville, Florida

Irving E. Carlyle W
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Hodding Carter
Editor and Publisher white
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

The Rev. C. S. Cartwright white
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce Streets
Little Rock, Arkansas

Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building white
Knoxville, Tennessee

Rufus E. Clement
President Negro
Atlanta University
Atlanta 14, Georgia

James A. Colston N
President
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas White

Jerome Crossman W
President
Ryan Consolidated Petroleum Corporation
3400 Republic National Bank Building
Dallas, Texas

James McBride Dabbs white
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Herbert M. Davidson
Editor and Publisher white
Daytona Beach News Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Albert W. Dent
President Negro
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Frank P. Graham
(United Nations, New York) white
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Douglas Jackson W
Perkins School of Technology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Mrs. Charles White N
2209 Southmore Boulevard
Houston 4, Texas

Class of 1965

A. D. Beittel W
President
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer W
Box 314, Route 1
Scott, Arkansas

Mrs. Moise Cahn W
40 Versailles Boulevard
New Orleans, Louisiana

The Rev. Caxton Doggett W
Pastor, First Methodist Church
~~P. O. Box 825~~ 504 South Lake Street
~~Winter Park, Florida~~ Lakeland, Florida

Luther H. Foster Negro
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

C. G. Gomillion Negro
Chairman
Division of the Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Paul E. Green ~~Negro~~
University of North Carolina White
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

John A. Griffin White
Director
Division of University Relations
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Joseph F. Haas White
1116 First National Bank Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton Negro
582 University Place, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines W
Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese
of Texas
520 San Jacinto Street
Houston 2, Texas

The Rev. Duncan Hunter W
~~District Superintendent~~ 8705 Camille Dr. S.E.
~~The Methodist Church~~
~~1009 Westmoreland Avenue~~
Huntsville, Alabama

Guy B. Johnson W
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

E. T. Kehrer W
Director
Southeastern Region, ILGWU
1065 Gordon Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Austin Kimball W
3131 S. W. First Avenue
Gainesville, Florida

Z. A. Looby N
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Rabbi Charles Mantinband White
~~808 Mamie Street~~ Temple Emanuel
~~Hattiesburg, Mississippi~~ P.O.Box 1502
Longview, Tex.

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
(The Peace Corps, Washington, DC)
6401 Virginia Beach Boulevard Negro
Norfolk, Virginia

The Rev. M. D. McCollom White
P. O. Box 423
Walterboro, South Carolina

John P. Nelson, Jr.
702 Gravier Building White
533 Gravier Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Lucius H. Pitts
President Negro
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

David H. Scull W
President
Turnpike Press
Annandale, Virginia

Andrew M. Secrest W
Editor
The Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina

The Rev. Kelly M. Smith N
First Baptist Church
318 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

McNeill Smith W
700 Jefferson Street Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Class of 1966

Roosevelt D. Crockett n
President
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson ~~W~~
Christ Episcopal Church Negro
3841 Hibiscus Street
Miami 33, Florida

Edward E. Haddock W
1133 West Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Robert J. Harris Pavillion IX West Lawn
~~Department of Political Science~~
~~Vanderbilt University~~ U. of Va.
~~Nashville, Tennessee~~ Charlottesville, Va.

Mrs. Martin Harvey n
415 N. Farish Street
Jackson 2, Mississippi

John G. Lewis N
P. O. Box 2110
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Benjamin E. Mays Negro
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Francis Pickens Miller W
(2810 "P" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.)
Charlottesville, Virginia

L. D. Milton Negro deceased 6/63
President
Citizens Trust Company
212 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Riley B. Montgomery W
President
College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

J. Rupert Picott n
Virginia Teachers Association
316 Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. Samuel Proctor n
Associate Director
(The Peace Corps, Washington, D.C.
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
3207 Groveland Lane White
Houston 19, Texas

J. M. Richards W
President
Columbia Theological Seminary
Decatur, Georgia

Dr. Harry V. Richardson
President
Interdenominational Negro
Theological Center
671 Beckwith Street, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild White
1589 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
2215 Bonnycastle Avenue White
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Walter Sharp
Route 2, Beech Creek Road White
Brentwood, Tennessee

~~Charles A. Shaw~~
~~President~~
~~Watchtower Life Insurance~~
~~Company~~
~~2206 Dowling Street~~
~~Houston, Texas~~

Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services White
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander W
O. Sigur
P. O. Box 532, U.S.L. Station
Lafayette, Louisiana

J. Ray Shute White
317 E. Windsor Street
Monroe, North Carolina

Moreland G. Smith white
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery 6, Alabama

William H. Townsend, O.D.
507 W. 31st Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Nat Welch
322 Hare Avenue white
Auburn, Alabama

Life Fellows

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames white
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Leonard Haas white
601 Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gordon B. Hancock N
P. O. Box 6056
Richmond 22, Virginia

Bishop M. LaFayette Harris
The Methodist Church N
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Edward A. McDowell W
Southern Baptist Theological
Seminary
Wake Forest, North Carolina

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
June 25, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South from April 1963 through June 24, 1963, prepared by the Research Department of the Southern Regional Council. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.)

ALABAMA:

Attalla --	April 24 -- William Moore, a Baltimore postman hiking to Jackson on a one-man civil rights crusade, found murdered near here. His bullet-pierced body, still carrying anti-segregation signs, was discovered along U. S. Highway 11.
Alabama-Georgia Border --	May 3-10--Freedom marchers arrested as they entered Alabama to continue ill-fated march of William Moore. Found guilty of breach-of-peace charges in Fort Payne, June 3, fined $200 each and court costs. Their attorneys filed immediate notice of appeal.
Anniston --	May 12--Negro homes and a church fired into by a carload of whites. Former Ku Klux Klan member convicted for shooting into church (May 30), sentenced to 180 days in jail. City commission formed bi-racial committee of 4 Negroes, 5 whites, May 18.
Birmingham --	April 3 - June 21--Weeks of mass Negro demonstrations in which thousands were arrested ended May 10, when a truce was reached between prominent white businessmen and Negro leaders. Truce almost came apart May 11-12, when a riot broke out following 2 bombings of Negro property. Federal troops were alerted, remained near city until May 31. Initial steps taken in June to implement desegregation agreement included dropping of racial barriers in the fitting rooms of major downtown department stores and promotion of some Negro employees. Though unrelated to the agreement, three of City's four public golf courses slated to re-open June 29.
Gadsden --	June 18-21--More than 450 Negroes, many of them children, arrested June 18 for defying an injunction against sit-in demonstrations. Forty-two more arrested June 21. Several downtown churches accepted Negroes for services without incident June 16.
Mobile --	June 1 --Sheraton Hotel announced it will desegregate.
Montgomery --	May 27--Montgomery Advertiser-Journal announced that papers will cease to print Negro editions, incorporate Negro news with white news, effective immediately.

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ARKANSAS:

Fayetteville -- June 17--Local restaurant association began a 60-day desegregation test.

Hot Springs -- April 4--Negroes attempted to integrate local bath house, 4 arrested.

Little Rock -- June 3--Arkansas Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional 4 state laws that NAACP contended had been adopted to suppress its activities. Theatres desegregated the following week.

Pine Bluff -- April-June--1,300 Negroes participated in a march protesting all segregation (April 1). Thirty-nine arrested April 25 in demonstration to integrate local theatre. Four Negroes served at Woolworth's and Walgreen lunch counters May 5. Biracial committee formed in early June.

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FLORIDA:

Brandenton -- Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.

Cocoa -- Late May - early June--Peaceful picketing of restaurants and hotels. Mayor has been meeting with owners.

Daytona Beach -- June 1-9--At least 7 street demonstrations, also picketing and sit-ins, involving in one instance over 100 persons, at least 12 arrests. Targets are theatres, hotels, recreation facilities and restaurants (beaches and some lunch counters are desegregated). Mayor has formed a biracial committee.

Gainesville -- June 2--Attempt of Negroes to buy movie tickets led to gathering of 1000 persons, some violence, 1 shooting, and mayor formed biracial committee during the 4-hour disturbance. Picketing of theatres and stores subsequently peaceful, continued.

FLORIDA (Continued)

Melbourne--	No demonstrations. Mayor has named bi-racial committee.
Miami --	May 25 - June 1 -- Peaceful picketing of chain stores for employment. All municipal facilities are desegregated. No demonstrations.
Palmetto --	Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.
Orlando --	June 8 -- City government forming a committee to meet demands and avert demonstrations, none to date.
Sarasota --	June 1 -- Picketing stores and theatres, peaceful, continuous to date.
St. Petersburg --	Theatre picketing threatened. No demonstrations. Has bi-racial committee.
Tallahassee --	May 23 - June 8 -- Large scale (75 pickets 1st day) demonstrations began, primarily aimed at theatres, but also chain stores (for employment). By May 28, 29, 30 protest marchers numbering 300 and 400, 500 arrests in 3 days, tear gas used. During the first week of June Court upheld the right to picket, limited number of pickets. Picketing subsequently continuous and with police guard.
Tampa --	Has had a bi-racial committee for some time, most facilities are desegregated, employment demands being met. No demonstrations.
Winter Haven --	June 1-7 -- Swim-ins, hostile white crowds, beaches closed.

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GEORGIA:

Albany --	May 7 - June 24 --Picketing and boycotting began May 7, with Negro employment the goal and lasted for three consecutive days, then sporadically through May 25, with over 100 arrests. On June 14, after Negro leaders had legally contested the sale and lost, the city sold one pool and tennis court to James Gray for $72,000, kept others closed. Early in day of June 19, 47 Negro ministers issued manifesto asking peaceful negotiation of differences. Late in day of June 19, 20, and 21, gathering to march and demonstrate, at least 140 Negroes were arrested, there was some violence. Negro stores were closed.

GEORGIA (continued)

Atlanta -- April 12 - June 24--After first sit-in attempt April 12, Atlanta had demonstrations - sit-ins, a prayer march (estimated 200 participants), kneel-ins, picketing - on at least 32 days from April 27 to the present, with at least 103 arrests. Demonstrations were usually in small groups, by June 7 drawing some crowds of hostile whites and occasioning one stabbing. Targets were restaurants and cafeterias. Highlights: 2 Negro Metropolitan Opera singers denied restaurant service May 5; *Journal and Constitution* dropped racial designations from obituaries, want-ads and amusements; and a night club integrated second week of May; students agreed to suspend demonstrations for bond issue vote May 15; Chamber of Commerce made public statement urging desegregation of accommodations May 29; city pools opened integrated June 10; 14 leading motels and hotels announced integrated policy June 20; leading restaurants expected to follow suit week of June 24. Some churches which previously turned away Negroes have admitted them to services. Mayor has met with Negro and white leaders without an official committe Atlanta has a private, staffed Council on Human Relations.

Augusta -- April 5 -- A group of young people picketed municipal recreation facilities.

Brunswick -- June 20 -- Howard Johnson motel desegregation.

Columbus -- Demonstrations threatened, none to date.

Macon -- April 2 and 3 -- Two rows initiated by whites resulted in one stabbing, two arrests in integrated park. Mayor declined to close park, his mailbox bombed April 6. April 22, 5 Negro girls sat-in at segregated (some are integrated) lunch counter and were arrested. Has a Negro committee which has negotiated with whites with some success in past.

Marietta -- By mid-May reported to have a bi-racial committee. No demonstrations .

Rome -- April 2 -- Sixty-two high school students stood trial (51 of age received sentences) for lunch counter sit-ins of previous week, the first such activity in the northwest area of Georgia. June 12, 13, 14 - 15 students sat-in again.

GEORGIA (Continued)

Savannah -- June 3 - June 24-- Current wave of demonstrations -- marches, picketing, sit-ins, began June 3, continued daily through June 14, when the city announced some restaurants, theatres, and hotels had agreed to desegregate. (On June 4, 3 movies had desegregated for a few hours, then re-segregated after a protest demonstration by whites.) June 13 -- Negro home shot into. When owners reneged demonstrations resumed June 18, 19, 20. Over 1000 arrests in 2½ weeks. Four restaurants have been granted injunctions against demonstrators on their property. Mayor has been meeting with a recognized bi-racial committee formed during the month. June 20 -- Howard Johnson's desegregated.

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KENTUCKY:

Louisville -- April 9---May 16 -- The 11-member Louisville Human Relations Committee submitted to the Board of Alderman on April 9, an ordinance outlawing racial discrimination in public business places. The ordinance provided for fines up to $100 for violations. After three convictions, the City could get an injunction against the violator which could lead to jail sentence for contempt of court. The ordinance was passed on May 16, to go into effect in mid-September.

The new ordinance will include all remaining restaurants, barber shops, pool halls, and any other segregated public facilities. Public schools, parks, swimming pools, hotels, theatres and 268 of 410 restaurants have been desegregated in the past eight years, the restaurants two years ago after mass demonstrations and a Negro shopping boycott.

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LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge -- May 28 - June 4 -- City created a bi-racial committee, the first such group to be appointed in Louisiana (May 28). Committee met for first time May 31, following a march by 21 Negroes around the state capitol (May 29), and a sit-in (May 30). Negroes agreed to a 30-day truce June 4.

New Orleans -- April 3 -- Louisiana State University -- medical school cafeteria closed following a walkout by Negro employees after a Negro pre-med student was refused service.

April 26 -- State Attorney General Jack F. P. Gremillion declared there is no law in Louisiana which prohibits Negroes from occupying hotels or motels. But no hotels or motels accept Negro guests at the present time, with the exception of the airport hotel at New Orleans airport.

Shreveport -- June 1 -- Negro demonstration held.

Winnsboro -- May 30 -- Beaten by whites, a Negro teacher resigned his post.

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MISSISSIPPI:

Clarksdale -- May 4--June 22-- State NAACP President Aaron Henry's drugstore was damaged by an explosion which ripped a hole in the roof; no one injured (May 4). A similar firebomb was tossed into Henry's home April 12 during a visit there by Negro Congressman Charles L. Diggs (D., Mich.). Negroes threatened to broaden their boycott of downtown merchants May 26, unless bi-racial talks were held. Henry announced the launching of a series of spot picketing and demonstrations in the city (June 22).

Greenville -- May 25 --City Council voted unanimously to consider the possibility of forming a bi-racial commission.

Jackson -- May 27 - June 24 -- After talks between 13 Negro leaders and Mayor Allen C. Thompson broke off, a series of demonstrations began May 28, resulting in more than 600 arrests by June 6, when a state judge issued an injunction barring further demonstrations. Same day two Negro men integrated the municipal golf course, teeing off without incident. Local NAACP leader Medgar W. Evers murdered June 12. Following his funeral services June 15, Negroes clashed with police in downtown area; Justice Department Attorney John Doar helped bring demonstration under control. Next day four young Negro women were admitted to a white Protestant church without incident. Mayor Thompson announced June 18 that city will hire 6 Negro policemen, Negro school-crossing guards, and seven Negro sanitation workers. A 42-year old fertilizer salesman, Bryan de la Beckwith of Greenwood, was charged with the murder

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

Jackson -- of Medgar Evers June 23. Jackson District Attorney William L. Waller said June 24 that he will seek the death penalty for Beckwith.

Lexington -- May 8 -- A Negro who attempted to register to vote reported that white men threw "Molotov cocktails" into his home about 3 a. m.; no one was injured.

McComb -- May 15 -- Injunction against CORE forbidding it to back sit-in demonstrations at local bus station struck down by Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Winona -- June 9--Two Negro women and a 15-year old girl beaten by police at the local jail after trying to use the white facilities at town's bus station. The women, who were released a few days later, have been active in voter registration work in Mississippi.

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NORTH CAROLINA:

Asheville -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 formed this spring. Five lunch counters and 3 drive-in restaurants desegregated in late June.

Charlotte -- April 19-May 30--Proprietors of segregated hotels, restaurants, and theatres warned of mass picketing unless they agreed to desegregate (April 19). Chamber of Commerce urged immediate desegregation of all public facilities May 23, and eight major hotels and motels dropped all racial barriers four days later. A permanent bi-racial committee was formed by the mayor in May.

Chapel Hill -- May 24-25--Chamber of Commerce issued statement opposing discrimination May 24. Two hundred and fifty Negroes demonstrated next day.

Concord -- June 7--Bi-racial committee appointed. Seven drug stores and 9 restaurants desegregated.

Durham -- May 18-June 5--1,400 were arrested during demonstrations May 18-20. Temporary truce agreed upon May 21, with the appointment of a bi-racial committee by the mayor. City Council desegregated swimming pools May 30. Twelve motels and hotels, 55 restaurants desegregated June 4. Following day mayor's bi-racial committee announced that 31 retail businesses and several industrial concerns would institute or continue practice of hiring and promoting without regard to race. Public

N. C. (Continued)

accommodations ordinance currently being considered. Charges against some 1,400 students arrested were dropped.

Enfield -- May 30--Local theatre picketed.

Edenton -- April 5--Three Negroes arrested for picketing a theatre in March were acquitted.

Fayetteville -- May 14-June 19--Police dispersed mobs of Negroes and whites with tear gas May 14. Demonstrations lasting over a week began May 19, with some 1,500 persons participating in daily marches. Mayor's coordinating committee recommended immediate desegregation of restaurants and theatres May 27. Demonstrations resumed June 11, continued several days. Nine-man bi-racial committee appointed by mayor following week. 12 Motels and hotels desegregated June 19.

Goldsboro -- Four parades of demonstrators staged during week of May 30.

Greensboro -- May 10-June 23--Mass demonstrations began May 10, resulted in the arrest of some 440 persons by May 15. 420 arrested May 19 for sitting-in at a Howard Johnson parking lot. Demonstrations continued through May 24, with approximately 1,500 arrested. Mayor appointed a 16-member committee on Human Relations May 22 and two days later city's governing body unofficially endorsed an 11-point resolution urging integration of businesses. Truce arranged May 25, but demonstrations resumed June 2. Official end of truce came June 6, was marked by another demonstration in which 278 were arrested. S&W cafeteria desegregated during week ending June 22. Earlier four indoor theatres had tentatively agreed to desegregate.

Hickory -- June 6--Mayor formed a bi-racial Community Relations Council.

High Point -- May 28-30--Mass demonstrations began May 28, mayor's bi-racial (11-member) committee appointed two days later.

Lenior -- May 24--Mayor appointed five-member bi-racial committee.

Lexington -- June 3-6--Mayor Sink appointed bi-racial committee of 10 members. June 3, 15 or more Negroes requested and received service at drug store lunch counter June 5; but they were turned away at theatre and bowling alley. Demonstration by approximately 50 Negro students met by anti-desegregation group of 500 whites; one person killed and seven arrested June 6. The First Methodist Church recently admitted Negro worshippers.

Lumberton -- June 6--Mayor Hedgpeth appointed tri-racial committee of Indian, Negro and white members.

Monroe -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 members formed sometime in May.

Mount Airy -- May 30--3 Negroes served in a drug store.

Oxford -- June 16--Truce declared after previous demonstrations.

Raleigh -- April 4-June 5--Demonstrations began April 4, continued for over a month. By May 10 some 250 had been arrested. Following day 1,000 demonstrated; May 14, 750 marched, were mocked and cursed by about 200 whites. 347 were arrested, with 15 charged with assault and one for carrying a concealed weapon. A 15-member bi-racial committee was appointed by the Mayor May 14, and the Raleigh Merchants Bureau adopted a resolution same day urging its 400 members to serve all persons. Demonstrations continued through June 3. Some 76 food and amusement concerns desegregated June 5.

Roxboro -- June 23--Mayor appointed a 20-member bi-racial committee.

Statesville -- June 9--Some restaurants and cafeterias voluntarily desegregated.

Thomasville -- May 10-June 1--Spontaneous sit-in by a group of teen-age Negroes at a restaurant May 10 followed by planned demonstrations beginning May 24. Two day later Negroes called off demonstrations until June 1, but 300 demonstrated May 30. City-owned pools opened on an integrated basis June 1; no incidents.

Wadesboro -- June 5--Windows of 2 business establishments, including one restaurant which had recently desegregated, were shot out in a pre-dawn shooting spree; no injuries.

Wilmington -- June 7--Some 75 high school students staged a protest demonstration at cafeterias and theatres; a bi-racial commiteee is studying the problem.

Winston-Salem -- May 21-June 5--About 25 students picketed theatre May 21, and mayor appointed an 18-member bi-racial committee. Demonstrations continued through May 27. Fourteen of 15 major restaurants, many smaller restaurants, and all hotels and motels desegregated June 5.

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City --	May 31-June 4--Following sit-ins May 31 and June 1, Bishop's, a local restaurant, agreed to desegregate, was joined June 3 by city's largest downtown cafeteria. Three city hotels desegregated June 2, were joined by one other and 20 suburban motels June 3. City council approved appointment of a 15-member Community Relations Commission June 4. Two days later the board of managers of the Central YMCA recommended that Negroes be allowed to rent rooms at the downtown YMCA.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston --	During the week of June 17-22, Kress, Woolworth and W.T. Grant department stores desegregated their facilities, two weeks after marches, sit-ins, stand-ins, and picketing, No official bi-racial committee has been formed as yet. Local groups have announced that pressure for additional desegregation will continue.
Columbia --	June 7--City Council began meeting with Negro leaders
Greenville --	On May 27 city officials met with Negro leaders, and on May 28, in less than 15 minutes, City Council repealed segregation laws but passed a "trespass" city ordinance making it unlawful not to leave a business after being asked to do so by the owner. The new law does not mention race. On June 3, 11 lunch counters were voluntary desegregated, two weeks after the Supreme Court made a Greenville case the key to a series of sit-in rulings by overturning the trespass convictions of ten Negroe arrested at a lunch counter in 1960. Small groups of Negroes ate in the 11 places without incident. Greenville is the second South Carolina city to desegregate lunch counters, Columbia having opened some lunch counters on a non-racial basis last August. The Greenville stores affected were: S.H. Kress, W.T. Grant, H.L.Green, Walgreen Drugs, Eckerds Drugs, and Belk-Simpson; in shopping centers, the K-Mart discount store and a Woolworth and Walgreen store. Desegregation was effected by a committee of variety and drug stores, and restaurant operators.
Rock Hill --	June 1--16 Negroes demonstrated in front of drive-in restaurant.
Spartenburg --	June 1--Unofficial meetings were held to consider desegregation. On June 5 most downtown lunch counters and restaurants desegregated and Negroes ate in several places without incident.
Sumter --	A suit to integrate the Carnegie Public Library (class action) was filed June 5 in U.S. District Court by three Negro plaintiffs.

TENNESSEE:

Chattanooga -- June 7--Following a series of demonstrations by Negroes at 4 local restaurants and 1 theatre, mayor appointed a bi-racial committee, and Negro leaders agreed to a truce.

Clarksville -- May 28-June 7--300 Negroes sought service in a drive-in restaurant, were turned away (May 28). All public parks and pools desegregated June 7.

Knoxville -- May 9-28--Demonstrations began May 9, resulted in arrest of about 100 by May 11. Three hospitals agreed to desegregate May 19, and mayor appointed a bi-racial commission same day. Two thousand citizens signed a petition May 22, to desegregate all public facilities; petition sponsored by Chamber of Commerce. Four leading hotels and 2 motels voted to desegregate May 28.

Maryville -- June 24--A mountain training camp sponsored by CORE was found burned to the ground; no injuries reported. Camp had been raided by sheriff's deputies previous week; 28 whites and Negroes arrested.

Memphis -- May 1-June 10--Normad corporation announced May 1, that it will build an integrated motel. All first-class hotels and motels desegregated May 20, followed by desegregation of all public recreational facilitie May 30, except swimming pools (as a result of Supreme Court decision May 27). Voter registration drive began June 10. Has permanent bi-racial committee.

Nashville -- May 8-June 5--Following demonstrations May 8 and 9, a clash between Negro students and white hecklers May 10, another demonstration May 13 in which two persons were hospitalized, a permanent bi-racial Metropolitan Human Relations Council was appointed by the mayor May 16 "to recommend actions by the business community." City parks and wading pools opened to all on June 5. Earlier (May 13), seven motels and hotels, eight restaurants desegregated.

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TEXAS:

Dallas -- June 2--South's first integrated hospital opened here, will have completely integrated facilities including an open staff of Negro and white physicians. Following day insurance executive George L. Allen became the first Negro namedto an important City Hall appointive body, the City Planning Commission.

TEXAS (Continued)

Denton -- April 6-Fifty Negro and white students from North Texas State University, picketed in the downtown area, carrying banners calling for the integration of local theatres.

Houston -- June 10--All city pools and municipal facilities desegregated.

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VIRGINIA:

Alexandria -- May-June--City Council banned discrimination in all municipal public facilities May 27, and instituted a merit hiring and promotion program for all city employees regardless of race. Movie theatres and some bowling alleys quietly desegregated June 14.

Arlington -- April-June--County Board established in Arlington County Human Relations Council in April. Arlington City Council eliminated all mention of race on job questionnaires June 3.

Charlottesville--May 25-30--Sit-ins began at La Paree restaurant May 25, but the main target became Buddy's restaurant near the University of Virginia, with groups of about 50 Negroes and whites demonstrating through May 30, when a local Negro leader was beaten up by two white men and hospitalized. The "stand-ins" were temporarily called off as a result of this incident. City's first Negro policeman was appointed in the midst of the demonstrations in which 5 persons were arrested. Efforts are being made to form a bi-racial committee, but have been unsuccessful this far.

Danville -- May 31-June 22--Fifty-sixty Negro youths started demonstrations to force hiring of a Negro policeman. Demonstrations continued through June 10, when 50 Negroes were arrested and a rally broken up by police using firehoses;about 45 persons were injured. City passed ordinance June 14 limiting number allowed to participate in demonstrations to 6; the following day 35 more Negroes were arrested. Ten leaders in the demonstrations, including 3 whites, were indicted by a special grand jury June 21 on a criminal charge of inciting to riot. Police seized three other leaders who had taken sanctuary in a local church June 22. Thus far, about 150 persons have been arrested. June 19, 29 demonstrators broke three-day truce by marching downtown; all were arrested. Mayor Stinson announced 10 Negroes had been assigned to white schools. Motel operators met to discuss desegregation.

VIRGINIA (Continued)

Farmville -- May 18--Small sit-ins staged, with no violence and no arrests.

Hampton -- April-May--A petition of 1000 signatures was sent to mayor April 1 charging "racial discrimination" and "police intimidation" after Hampton Institute students,10 of whom were arrested, attempted sit-ins. An 11-member bi-racial Council on Community Relations was formed May 18.

Lawrenceville -- May 29-30--Students quietly picketed downtown lunch counters.

Lynchburg -- May-June--Patterson's drug store announced May 22, following prolonged sit-in demonstrations,that it would serve anyone. Following week 10 restaurants voluntarily desegregated. In early June, 2 movie theatres and 2 bowling alleys also voluntarily desegregated.

Martinsville -- June 7--Martinsville - Henry County Christian Civic League called on local business leaders to voluntarily desegregate public facilities and employment, and requested City Council appoint official bi-racial committee.

Norfolk-Portsmouth-- Late May--Major movie theatres agreed May 25 to lower all racial bars after private meetings between white businessmen and Negro leaders. Norfolk City Council asked mayor to form a bi-racial committee May 28.

Petersburg -- April 25--Three Virginia State College students fined $25.00 and given 30-day suspended sentences for picketing.

Richmond -- May 28-June 18--Parker Field, local athletic stadium quietly admitted 9 Negroes to previously all-white section. All downtown movie theatres announced June 15, that they will desegregate by July 10. Three days later 35 of city's better restaurants agreed to serve all customers without regard to race. Another 25 restaurants had previously desegregated.

STATE ACTION

FLORIDA:

During the 1960 demonstrations there - Governor Fowler appointed the Statewide Fowler Commission on Race Relations. The Commission was not continued by Governor Bryant.

KENTUCKY:

Commission on Human Rights established under a General Assembly Act of March, 1960. Eleven members are appointed by the governors. Governor Combs stated June 4 he would "ask the General Assembly to pass a general civil rights act."

NORTH CAROLINA:

June 18--Governor Sanford moved on several fronts to head off North Carolina's growing racial crisis. In a statewide radio and television address (June 18) the Governor spoke sympathetically of Negro "requests and aspirations." He also asked for a halt to Negro demonstrations "to help avoid strife, ill will, danger to life and property, and damage to our state."

He announced he had called Negro leaders to the Capital for a meeting on June 25, "to place before the public in an orderly manner their requests and aspirations." He appointed retired Major General Capus M. Waynick, former commander of the N. C. National Guard and experienced in negotiating racial conflicts, to represent his office in continuing negotiations with Negro leaders. Two immediate targets are sought by the Governor's negotiators: statewide application of the "Durham Plan"; daily progress reports to local Negro leaders by city officials.

Also under intense negotiation: employing more Negroes in state jobs. In January of this year the Governor began naming of 24 prominent Negro and white citizens to the statewide North Carolina Good Neighbor Council.

VIRGINIA:

May 29--Governor Harrison rejected a proposal for a statewide bi-racial commission.

SUMMARY

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

ALABAMA:

Birmingham
Gadsden
Mobile

ARKANSAS:

Fayetteville
Little Rock
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:

Miami

GEORGIA:

Atlanta
Brunswick
Savannah

MISSISSIPPI:

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:

Asheville
Charlotte
Concord
Durham
Fayetteville
Greensboro
Lexington
Mount Airy
Raleigh
Statesville
Thomasville
Wadesboro
Winston Salem

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston
Greenville
Spartenburg

TENNESSEE:

Clarksville
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

TEXAS:

Austin
Houston

VIRGINIA:

Alexandria
Arlington
Falls Church
Lynchburg
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond

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ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES SINCE APRIL 3,1963

10,420

(The Southern Regional Council estimated the number of arrests during the February 1, 1960 through September 1, 1961 period of demonstrations in southern and border states at 3,600.)

NUMBER OF FATALITIES RELATED TO DEMONSTRATIONS SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

3

CITIES WHERE SOME DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

ALABAMA:

Birmingham
Gadsden

ARKANSAS:

Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:

Cocoa
Daytona-Beach
Gainesville
Lakeland
Miami
Sarasota
Tallahassee
Winter Haven

GEORGIA:

Albany
Atlanta
Augusta
Macon
Rome
Savannah

LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI:

Biloxi
Clarksdale
Greenwood
Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:

Charlotte
Chapel Hill
Durham
Enfield
Fayetteville
Goldsboro
Greensboro
High Point
Lexington
Oxford
Raleigh
Thomasville
Wilmington
Winston-Salem

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston
Rock Hill

TENNESSEE:

Chattanooga
Clarksville
Knoxville
Nashville

TEXAS:

Denton

VIRGINIA:

Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Hampton
Lawrenceville
Lynchburg
Petersburg

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ADDENDA

FLORIDA:

Lakeland -- June 6 -- movie theatre picketing.

Miami -- June -- leading hotels desegregated, (comparable to Miami Beach where they have been desegregated for some time).

KENTUCKY:

Covington)
Henderson)
Hopkinsville)---Local commissions on civil rights
Lexington)---sponsored in these cities by the
Louisville)---statewide commission.
Paducah)

MISSISSIPPI:

Biloxi -- June 23 -- attempted wade-in.

Greenwood -- June 24 -- six Negro girls attempted sit-in (the city's first) at a drugstore.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Sanford -- June -- bi-racial committee formed.

TENNESSEE:

Athens --) both cities have official bi-racial commissions
Oak Ridge --) and have had no demonstrations.

TEXAS:

Austin -- June 10 -- 38 restaurants (estimated 70% of total) desegregated.

VIRGINIA:

Arlington -- June 17 -- 4 movie theatres desegregated.

Danville -- June 13 -- moderate business leaders from Chamber of Commerce and Retail Merchants Association outvoted Mayor Stinson and formed new bi-racial committee to replace collapsed white City Council Committee. On the same date Negroes picketed a local mill for the first time, and pickets subsequently applied for jobs.

Falls Church --June 17 -- a movie theatre desegregated.

Front Royal)
Harrisonburg)---- Mid-April--Howard Johnson's in these cities
Waynesboro) desegregated.

Newport News -- June -- a bi-racial committee in operation.

Roanoke -- June -- a race relations sub-committee of the Citizens Committee for Greater Roanoke in operation. There have been no demonstrations.

Woodstock -- June -- has a bi-racial commission of 8.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
July 26, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, II

This synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South covers the period of June 24-July 24, 1963. It also includes events since April 1, 1963, not carried in the first synopsis, dated June 25, 1963. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.

ALABAMA:

Bessemer -- Has repealed city ordinances requiring segregation.

Birmingham -- Has been quiet and without demonstrations or arrests pending terms of May agreement being put into operation. June 27 -- 3 municipal golf courses desegregated without incident. At least 9 churches integrated

July 11 - City tentatively agreed the use of City Auditorium on August 5 by the American Guild of Variety Artist's "Salute to Freedom '63," integrated show before a non-segregated audience (2 firsts for the hall).

July 13 - Mayor Boutwell announced formation of a 211-member bi-racial community affairs committee, created by city council resolution, to have 10 subcommittees, about 20% Negro membership. Some segregation signs down in stores' fitting rooms and water fountains, a Negro reportedly hired as a retail clerk, approximately 10 department & chain store lunch counters to desegregate this month, according to truce timetable.

July 23 - City repealed its segregation ordinances.

Gadsden -- Since June 23 when approximately 600 attended a Martin Luther King rally demonstration, marches were heavily attended and continuous through July 1. During this time, at least 52 demonstrators arrested (June 27) and one protestor (June 29) who sat on white side of Trailways Bus Depot waiting room. A Justice Department aide sparked mediations.

July 1 - Negroes announced suspension of demonstrations indefinitely as transit company buses ended de facto seating segregation.

GADSDEN (Cont'd)

July 6 - KKK rally.

July 10 - County Solicitor announced his office had been hampered in work on death of freedom walker William Moore (there have been no developments) as "all of our investigation agencies have been tied up" with racial demonstrations. Persons arrested during previous mass demonstrations released on bond pending trial.

Huntsville -- Week of May 20 - first Negro policeman named to city force.

Montgomery -- Has repealed city segregation ordinances.

Talladega -- Demonstrations aimed largely at lunch counters desegregation, which began April 9, resulted in more than 50 arrests before a temporary injunction halted them briefly April 28.

July 5 - Permanent injunction barring racial demonstrations issued.

Selma -- June 17 - A Negro voter registration worker arrested during drive.

June 26 - Justice Department's motion for injunction to bar the trial denied. City has repealed segregation ordinances.

ARKANSAS:

Gillett -- Week of June 24 - Rural Negro church bombed with dynamite.

Hot Springs -- Week of July 15 - Majority of theatres and restaurants desegregate.

Little Rock -- June 25 - Twenty Negroes picket Coca-Cola Bottling Company protesting discriminatory wages.

June 27 - Five Negroes sought and denied admission to municipal swimming pool.

Pine Bluff -- Late June - mid-July - Movie theatres, including drive-ins, desegregate, and all city park facilities, except pools.

FLORIDA:

Bradenton -- June 25 - Attempted sit-in at cafeteria, four Negro youths arrested, cafeteria closed.

June 26 - Approximately 80 Negroes demonstrated before Manatee County Courthouse protesting the arrest.

Clearwater -- Has a municipal bi-racial committee.

Cocoa -- During May - bi-racial Citizens Advisory Committee formed.
July 9 - Announced most motels, hotels, and restaurants will desegregate by August 18.

FLORIDA (Cont'd)

Cocoa Beach -- Hotels, motels, restaurants and night clubs integrated for "sometime."

Fort Myers -- June 25 - established bi-racial committee of 5 City Councilmen, 5 "Negro taxpayers." "Excellent progress" reported in desegregations of lunch counters, a bowling alley, drive-in movies.

Gainesville -- June 12 - 11 restaurants began desegregating.

Miami -- June 11 - Metro Commission passed ordinance creating bi-racial Community Relations Board of 15.

Ocala -- July 18 - Leader of lunch counter pickets arrested.

July 20 - 29 youths arrested while demonstrating to protest jailing of leader.

July 21 - 6 more arrested picketing jail.

Orlando -- Week of July 15 - 56 motels, hotels, restaurants desegregate, mayor crediting efforts of bi-racial advisory committee.

Pinellas County -- (St. Petersburg-Clearwater area) - June 27 - County Commission voted creation of a 10-man bi-racial committee.

St. Augustine--June 25 - July 4 - Continuous and peaceful picketing of variety stores, Chamber of Commerce Information Center.

June 30 - Negroes swam at white beach, heckling but no arrests or incidents.
July 2 - In early a. m. NAACP leader's house shot into, one white youth arrested, 3 Negro youths arrested for shooting at auto from which they alleged shots were fired into home.
July 5 - City Commission refuses to name a bi-racial committee, contends city library is desegregated along with a miniature golf course on city property; Negroes claim they are not.
July 18 - 13 arrested during sit-ins at 4 drugstores.

St. Petersburg-Week of June 24 - saw peaceful theatre picketing continued as Negroes and whites together attempted orderly admission to movies. Mayor Herman Goldner announced efforts to get City Council to give bi-racial committee more authority and flexibility.
June 27 - Both Chamber of Commerce and City Council passed resolutions favoring desegregation of public facilities and hiring practices.
July 5 - members being named to City Council -approved bi-racial committee. Several department stores reported to be hiring Negro retail clerks and negotiations with theatre operators in progress.

FLORIDA (Cont'd)

Stuart -- Bi-racial committee formed in early May under the auspices of city commission.

Tallahassee -- Mid-June - bi-racial committee began meeting with mayor.

June 24 - Municipal tennis court integrated.
June 27 - Nine Negro students attempted to use white swimming pool, pool closed.

June 28 - Three white students arrested attempting to use Negro swimming pool.

Vero Beach -- July 5 - Mayor Jack Sturgis appointed 18-man bi-racial committee with sub-committees on housing, recreation, employment, education.

Winter Park -- June 28 - Five white children, ages 6 to 10, integrated a formerly all Negro pool without incident.

GEORGIA:

Albany -- July 6 - KKK rally of approximately 300.

July 7 - Groups of Negroes and whites attempted to swim at former city pool. Now privately owned and operated for whites only.

Resulted in 12 arrests.

July 8 - Thirteen arrested in protest gathering at city hall.

July 10 -- 6 arrests.

July 12 - One white arrested for shooting at Negroes.

July 13 - 10 arrested for picketing home of head of board of education.

In early July a Justice Department negotiator attempted to bring city commission and Negro and white business leadership together in a bi-racial committee. No official results, but 40-odd businessmen have met unofficially with Negro leaders in recent weeks.

July 23 - City commission refuses to appoint a biracial committee. Periodic, isolated outbursts of disorder and/or vandalism.

Americus -- July 12 - 14 -- 35 persons total arrested picketing segregated movie theatre.

July 19 - At least 11 arrested after attempts to enter theatre.

Atlanta -- June 25 - Approximately 45 restaurants began desegregating, and

Since June 27 - Pickets protesting integration have appeared sporadically at about 6 locations.

June 27 - University of Florida band cancelled reservation for 140 persons at a hotel which had declined to integrate during the previous week (when approximately 14 did) - band currently has no Negro members.

Since June 27 - Negroes have picketed off and on a liquor store protesting discriminatory employment; owner has agreed to hire an additional Negro employee.

June 30 - Attempts by Negroes to worship at morning and evening services of First Baptist Church failed.

July 1 - Approximately 250 Negroes marched through downtown protesting discriminatory hiring of restaurant chain.

July 7 - NAACP, SCLC, Operation Breadbasket, Committee for Cooperative Action, and Committee on Appeal for Human Rights met and reactivated (1961) Student-Adult Liaison Committee. Goal - 5,000 new jobs for Negroes.

July 7 - Attempt to enter First Baptist Church failed again.

Atlanta (cont'd)

July 13 - Pro and anti-integration pickets appeared simultaneously without incident.

July 14 - Attempt to enter First Baptist Church failed again, but that date Negroes arrived early, seated themselves for evening services, had their seating area roped off by ushers when they did not leave.

July 16 - Pro and anti-integration pickets appeared simultaneously without incident.

July 16 - Mississippi Gov. Barnett spoke under auspices of White Citizens' Council with pro - and con - pickets, no incidents.

July 19 - 12 pickets arrested at one restaurant, site of more or less continuous anti-segregation picketing and some hurly-burly.

July 22 - Picketing at telephone company favoring hiring of more Negroes.

Augusta -- June 29 - May Park desegregated as Negro and white children played baseball together without incident.

July 14 - Chronicle-Herald editorially advocated desegregation of tax-supported facilities, equal civic, county employment.

Brunswick -- Has an advisory bi-racial committee set up by city government, dates from Winter, 1963, is currently active.

Carrollton -- June 27 - An episcopal minister publically addressed members of his congregation to support his opposition to White Citizens' Council.

Colubmus -- June 25 - Negro ministers announced plans whereby movie theatres have agreed to desegregate in Fall, 1963.

Since July 5, when 7 Negroes used the library reading room but were denied library cards, protests with substantial numbers of demonstrators have centered around the library, with at least 10 arrests, the library being closed at times, indefinitely on July 18.

Three separate groups of Negro leadership have expressed opposition to protest demonstration.

Columbus (cont'd)

July 17 - While pickets marched before Muscogee County School Board, Board announced library and school desegregation on a "timetable," probably 1964.

July 17-19 - Successive attempts of Negroes to use Lakebotton and Weracoba Parks, rocks hurled by Negro and white youths at one another, 5 arrests, parks closed.

July 17 - Two (one Negro and one white) of the city's 3 pools closed.

Cordele -- July 16 - Announced hiring of city's first Negro policeman.

Macon -- July 1, Ten establishments, including Mercer University and Wesleyan College, a grocery, bookstore, and shopping center, signed contracts with the federal government to operate the businesses where their post office stations are situated on a non-discriminatory basis.

Savannah -- June 19-July 16 (When demonstrations, which had been halted briefly, erupted into violence) negotiations between Negro leaders and white businessmen have been intermittent and a bi-racial committee had been meeting with the approval of the City Commission and the Chamber of Commerce.

July 16 - After nearly a month of stalemate and disturbances, closed negotiations commenced, mediators being named by a group of 100 business elite.

No agreement has been reached on desegregation of public accommodations asked by Negroes, their cause confused somewhat by lack of centralized leadership to date. Activities through July 12 included nightly demonstration marches numbering hundreds, daytime picketing and smaller demonstrations, mass meetings, weather permitting. Police surveillance has been thorough.

Toll in wounded at least 6, arrests astimated at 240, with some violence.

June 25 - Arrest of youth leader triggered intensive and resumed talks, several days of calm, then July 4 renewed demonstrations demanding his release. A school desegregation plan to commence with the 12th grade in Fall of 1963 announced July 1 disatisfying to many.

Savannah (Cont'd)

July 5 - First appearance of approximately 30 white, anti-integration pickets.

July 9 - Popular Negro leader arrested, currently in jail on reduced bond of $15,500.

July 10 - Thirty arrested for lying down in streets protesting arrest. Concurrently - July 10 and 14, wade-ins at Savannah Beach, with at least 8 arrests.

July 10-11 - Midnight demonstrations comprising approximately 1000 persons, exchanges of rocks and tear gas, vandalism. By dawn of July 11, approximately 100 state troopers arrived.

July 12 - Demonstrations, further violence.

July 13 - Pro-segregation white motorcade of approximately 65 persons -- 31 ministers, including Catholic, Episcopal, and Methodist bishops, call for "just resolution," offer their services.

July 14 - Negroes denied admittance to several white churches.

Subsequently, all factions of Negro leadership have called for end to violence and mass demonstrations, urged voter registration, peaceful picketing, economic pressure.

July 16 - Negro fireman shot by white youths, 6 arrested.

July 18 - Negro youths picket Chase-Manhattan Bank (buyer of Savannah Municipal Bonds) in New York.

July 20 - Ku Klux Klan outdoor meeting. Rallies, picketing, negotiation continue. Atmosphere quiet, tense, expectant.

KENTUCKY:

Frankfort -- June 26 - Kentucky Governor Burt Combs issued an executive order banning racial discrimination in all businesses licensed by the state.
July 8 - Governor subsequently narrowed order to pertain to public places of food, shelter, recreation or amusement. Since the order was issued, 5 Kentucky cities have had additional desegregation: Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, Danville, Frankfort, and Paducah.

Hopkinsville-- July 2 - City council gave preliminary approval to an ordinance establishing a bi-racial human relations council; final approval slated for next council meeting July 16. Mayor said he expected to appoint a 15-member commission following July 16 council meeting.

Lexington -- July 12 - Three additional members, all white, assigned to Lexington's Human Relations Committee.

Louisville -- Louisville Human Relations Commission recommended that Mayor issue an executive order banning racial and oth discrimination in the employment policies of those firms having city contracts. Mayor agreed to study bias-ban proposal.

LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge -- July 2 - City's bi-racial committee held its sixth weekly meeting.

July 23 - About 50 Negroes scuffled with 6 policemen during an attempt to use a public swimming pool. Five Negroes were arrested. It was the first outbreak of racial violence in Louisiana this summer.

Buras -- July 6-16 - Window panes broken in rectory of Our Lady of Good Harbor Church. It was the second time the rectory has been fired on since nearby Our Lady of Good Harbor school was integrated last September. Twenty-six panes were shattered by birdshot on November 13. Police were unable to connect anyone with the earlier shooting, are investigating the latest blast.

New Orleans -- June 26 - A three-panel federal court took under advisement a suit seeking to desegregate New Orleans recreational facilities.
July 1 - A three-judge federal panel struck down a 1956 state law requiring separate seating and segregation of other facilities for whites and Negroes. The ruling in effect desegregated the city's municipal auditorium. Court declared: "Cities may as well face up to the facts of life: New Orleans, here and now, must adjust to the reality of having to operate desegregated public facilities." City plans to appeal the decision.
July 3 - A request for a bi-racial committee on Human Relations was made by the local NAACP branch, in a letter to Mayor Victor Schiro, who was not immediately available for comment.

Shreveport -- July 19 - Negroes staged sit-ins at the lunch counters of 2 downtown stores. Police quickly broke up demonstrations, arrested 10. A "pick-up order" was also issued for Charles Evers, brother of slain NAACP leader Medgar Evers, who spoke at a Negro rally in Shreveport July 17. The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a lower court order to integrate the Shreveport airport and bus station May 22.

MISSISSIPPI:

Canton -- June 26 - Ben P. Lewis, a 43 year old white service station attendant, arrested, charged with firing a shotgun at 5 Negroes near a hall where a voter registration rally was being held.

June 29 - Twelve Negroes were registered to vote within a week here, where no Negro has ever registered before.

MISSISSIPPI (Cont')

Clarksdale -- June (last week) Thirty-six protest marchers arrested.

July 20 - A young white segregationist who confessed to firebombing the home of local civil rights leader Aaron Henry was acquitted of arson charges by an all-white jury, which took 15 minutes to render a verdict. Prosecution immediately dropped an identical charge against his companion in the bombing. The 2 men admitted throwing 2 "Molotov cocktails" into Henry's home April 13. Negro Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D., Mich.) was Henry's house guest at the time.

Columbus -- July 2 - City Council passed an ordinance prohibiting parading without a permit, carrying of placards or banners and certain other activities.

Greenville -- June 19-July 5 - City council announced that a six-man bi-racial committee will be formed to advise it on racial problems. Three members of city council will serve with "an equal number of representatives chosen from the Negro community."

July 6 - The city's first week of mass racial demonstrations ended today, and was highlighted by 25 arrests, 3 sit-ins, one play-in, and 2 protest marches. City council adopted two new "parade" ordinances. Most of activity generated by Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; 3 of its field secretaries were arrested in the demonstrations. Police Chief W. C. Burnley commended by both Negroes and whites for his handling of demonstrators and maintenance of law and order at all times.

Greenwood -- June 24-July 7 - First drugstore lunch counter sit-in ever attempted here failed when white persons filled every available seat before Negroes arrived; sit-in attempted by 6 Negro girls. City passed 2 ordinances against demonstrations same day.

June 29 - Ten arrested for demonstrating in local park, 2 more arrested July 1

July 1 - Two more were arrested for sitting-in at a lunch counter.

July 2 - Fourteen civil rights demonstrators being held at the LeFlore County Farm staged a sit-down at the barracks, refusing to do work assigned them, authorities reported. The 14 were among the more than 50 arrested previous week on charges connected with voting demonstrations.

Greenwood(Cont'd)

July 7 - Some 300 to 400 Negroes joined with 3 white folk singers to sing of their dissatisfaction with segregation.

Gulfport -- June 28 - Mayor R. B. Meadows, Jr., announced the appointment of a 13-member bi-racial community relations committee, with 8 white and 5 Negro members. Previous day an explosion scattered debris about the waiting room of Dr. Felix H. Dunn, president of local NAACP chapter. Police and FBI investigating.

Itta Bena -- June 19 - Fifty-seven Negroes arrested June 19 on charges of disturbing the peace; 12 were children under 15 and were subsequently freed.

June 28 - Justice Department sued for release of the remaining 45. Suit was third filed by Justice which involved LeFlore County. First, filed in August, 1962, challenged constitutionality of state voting laws, is awaiting trial. Second filed March 30, charged county and other defendants with intimidating Negro voter registration efforts in Greenwood.

Jackson -- June 30 - First 2 Negro policemen since Reconstruction days sworn in by Mayor Allen C. Thompson. Mayor has also promised to hire 8 Negro school crossing guards by September 1. Four Negro men escaped serious injury, when an explosion collapsed a two-family frame house. Charles Evers, brother of Medgar Evers, said he thought a bomb caused damage, but a local detective attributed blast to a gas leak. Same day 3 white churches refused to admit 5 Negroes who tried to attend Sunday services.

July 1-8 - A public golf course on which 2 Negroes had played without incident June 6, was re-segregated.

Hinds County grand jury, with one Negro among its 18 members, considered case of Byron Beckwith, accused of murdering Medgar Evers.

Negro clerical workers quietly placed in federal clerical and administrative positions in U. S. government offices here following an inspection in June.

Internal Revenue Service hired a Negro agent, Social Security a stenographer, and Veterans Administration one new clerical worker.

Jackson (Cont'd) (June 1-8)

City officials pleased by a federal court ruling upholding Jackson statutes under which nearly 1000 persons were arrested for participating in racial demonstrations. City attorney called decision significant victory.

July 9 - Negroes concentrating on a voter registration campaign found the registration books suddenly closed. Circuit clerk, who is also voter registrar, claimed his small office was over-burdened preparing for August 6 Democratic primary in which there will be 138 names on the ballot.

July 12 - The prosecution requested a mental test for Beckwith (accused murderer of Evers), but defense said it would oppose such a test.

Mississippi Supreme Court reversed itself and upheld the conviction of civil rights leader Aaron Henry on a morals charge. Court had overturned the conviction in June on grounds that police had illegally searched Henry's car. In July 12 decision, court said defense had failed to enter objections during trial. Five Negro policemen to be added to force on August 8.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Ahoskie -- June 28 - Water safety chairman, H. L. Beaman denied that a proposed Red Cross water safety course to be taught in July was cancelled because three Negroes signed up for course.

Albemarle and Stanley County-June 24 - A bi-racial committee was formed under sponsorship of Albemarle and Stanley County Chamber of Commerce, "to consider any future race problems."

Asheville -- June 13 - Total desegregation of all public and commercial facilities urged by City Council; also ordinance adopted repealing Article 23 of City Code, which makes it unlawful to sell property to Negroes in a predominantly white neighborhood.

Cabarrus County -- June 12 - Three political leaders issued statement which said in part, "We recommend that all citizens of Cabarrus County recognize that, legally, every individual is the equal of every other individual, and we recommend to all our citizens that they practice no discrimination based on race."

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Charlotte -- June 29 - Four point hospital desegregation plan submitted by Negro Medical Society got cool reception from City Hall. Charlotte has had an active 29-member Mayor's bi-racial committee since early 1961, and as of July 8, reported that desegregation now includes practically all public facilities: library, parks, schools, police force, bus drivers, Chamber of Commerce, hotels, motels, restaurants, and theatres.

Chapel Hill -- June 26 - Demonstrations began with from 100 to 250 Negro and white demonstrators marching each day asking end of desegregation in business establishments. There was no disorder and no arrests for marches.

White picket was arrested for striking son of store manager - [illegible]

June 29 - Demonstration included singing of freedom songs in front of desegregated stores.

July 4 - Boycotts of 13 establishments began with marchers increased to 400 (more than 100 whites included).

July 7 - A white man was arrested for driving his car through a line of 200 white and Negro pickets.

Cleveland -- June 12 - A playground attack by 6 Negro youths on a white boy and girl touched off racial disorders, mainly by gangs of white persons, who pelted Negroes with rocks, bottles and other objects. The clashes continued for 3 nights and 50 white persons were arrested on charges of carrying concealed weapons or for intoxication. Disturbances subsided after the 6 Negroes were arrested.

Covington -- June 14 - A Negro minister urged city council to set up bi-racial commission to "take steps necessary for equal job opportunities" for Negroes and to study problems of integrating motels, restaurants, theatres, and other public facilities.

Durham -- In April some stores hired 15 Negroes in non-traditional jobs. The Rialto Theatre was desegregated.

In June, the Durham Junior Chamber of Commerce dropped its "white only" membership clause. All hotels and motels, most restaurants and many retail establishments have integrated.

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Fayetteville --June 10 - Six Negro students quietly integrated only municipally owned swimming pool. Mayor Wilbur Clark issued statement, "If we don't make progress here [in desegregating entertainment and food services], we will greatly harm our prospects for attracting new industries and businesses and, secondly, we will have renewed demonstrations...which aggravate possibilities of ill will, economic loss, and public danger."

June 15 - Some restaurants, hotels, and lodging desegregated; demonstrations began few days later.

June 17 - State troopers called in to help local police. Broke up disturbance with tear gas; 17 arrested.

June 22-24 - Negroes arrested attempting to integrate Hotel Rose. Rain on June 23 slowed down demonstrations.

Gastonia -- June 10 - A prayer pilgrimage to city hall by 5 Negro ministers resulted in a meeting of 18-member bi-racial committee which announced its accomplishments: "colored" signs removed on city property; anti-discrimination in city hiring; desegregation of golf courses, lunch counters, library.

June 12 - Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association urged desegregation of all public facilities. Bi-racial committee announced theatre negotiations progressing, 8 restaurants desegregated, at least one motel desegregated, Negro nurses at city hospital.

June 14 - Committees began meeting with hospital, hotel-motel, and restaurant officials. Purpose of committee was changed "to promote integration of public facilities harmoniously." Ministers reassured; said no demonstrations planned.

Goldsboro -- June 8 - Between June 8 and 11, more than 100 demonstrators were arrested on trespassing charges for attempting to desegregate theatres and restaurants; all released without bond. Some demonstrators torn shirts were said to be result of rough handling by police and one demonstrator knocked down and bruised.
Demonstrations continued through June 28.

June 21 - Thirty-three were tried, given suspended sentences on 30-day good behavior; no fines levied. Cases appealed.

July 7 - A 16-member bi-racial committee, appointed previous week, took steps to begin gradual integration of public places; details of plans were not made public.

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Grantville County -- June 29 - Bi-racial committee organized after recent rock and bottle throwing incident between Negroes and whites. Majority of drug counters and other downtown eating places desegregated, but 19-member committee (majority of members Negro) meeting daily with businessmen to discuss list of grievances.

Greensboro -- July 4 - Employment-practice questionnaires were distributed to merchants by bi-racial committee. Greensboro Housing Authority formally removed color bar from its 1,036 low-rent housing units, previously 400 units all-white and 636 units all Negro.

Greenville -- July 5 - About 200 mayors from all sections of state vowed unanimously to support Governor Sanford in efforts "to remove the indignities long suffered by Negroes."

Henderson -- June 10-29 - Mayor Horace Faulkner moved June 10 to integrate parks, but city council over-rulled him at night meeting later, and June 11 closed city's 3 parks rather than integrate them.

June 28 - Orderly Negro marches and picketing for equal employment opportunities began; no arrests. No mass demonstrations are planned. Mayor's bi-racial committee being appointed but so far only two whites willing to serve.

Hickory -- June 27 - Five area restaurants have adopted non-discrimination policy according to Hickory Community Relations Council at its second meeting since being appointed by Board of Alderman on June 6.

High Point -- June 12 - Most hotels, motels, and eating establishments integrated. Action endorsed by City Council and group of business leaders.

June 18 - Three Negroes filed a petition in U. S. Middle District Court asking for an injunction against City of High Point and Key Theatres, Inc., to permit them and all Negroes to attend local theatres.

Lexington -- Mayor C. V. Sink released letter from Davidson County NAACP urging desegregation of all public facilities, upgrading of Negroes on city jobs, equal job opportunities, and better communication. A total of 18 white persons arrested on charges of engaging in a riot.

June 28 - Three Negroes charged with death of white mechanic during June 6 riot bound over for trial without bail; 28 (18 white, 10 Negro) convicted last week of engaging in riot. Most cases appealed. Court meted out fines of $25 to $250 and jail terms of three to 16 months; jail terms suspended in most cases on payment on fines.

Monroe -- June 26 - Union County Sheriff Griffin said he found no evidence that white integration leader's car was shot at June 25 near Monroe. Monroe Apter of New York reported shot fired at him and 2 Monroe Negroes by 3 white men following in car.

Mount Airy-- July 5 - Negro leaders presented town commissioners with requests to end discrimination May 16.

June 24 - a 13-member bi-racial committee was formed of civic and business leaders to desegregate public facilities and open job opportunities. Before committee formed, 6 drug stores voluntarily dropped racial bars.

July 5 - Meetings of committee with restaurant, hotel-motel operators, held this week, also industrialists.

New Bern -- July 19 - Anti-segregation demonstration at drive-in restaurant, second in two days, resulted in arrests of 58 Negroes on trespass charges.

North Wilkesboro -June 29 - Mayor James M. Anderson announced formation of bi-racial committee to solve city's racial problems.

Oxford -- June 22 - Special bi-racial committee attempting to settle strife which began June 19 and resulted June 22, in rock and bottle throwing battle squelched by 70 state troopers. Some 300 Negroes and whites involved. During disturbance rifle shots fired into police car and one patrolman cut with knife. Demonstrations directed against theatre.

Raleigh -- June 7 - July 7 --Around 180 Negroes stood in front of business establishments several hours after 200 Negroes staged protest march downtown.

June 13 - Five hotels and motels, nine restaurants and all drive-in theatres desegregated. Demonstrations and "testing committees" continued.

June 20 - Downtown movie theatres integrated.

June 22 - Six Negro students with suitcases sat-in at entrance to Sir Walter Hotel after being refused rooms; arrested, charged with trespassing, and released The 6 joined by carloads of Negro youths with suitcases, returned. Four attempted to enter coffee shop and were arrested. Several white college students joined the 175 Negroes in marching (singing) around hotel for several hours; group then marched away towards Shaw University. Seventy-six businesses desegregated but names not available.

June 26 - Some 200 Negroes met at Old Capital at Gov. Sanford's invitation to state their views on civil rights; group defied Governor's plea for end to demonstrations. After meeting, 100 Negroes gathered outside to sing.

Raleigh (cont'd)

June 29 - City Council repealed last remaining segregation ordinance previous week requiring desegregated cemeteries.

July 7 - Militant state Negro anti-segregation leaders spurned personal plea of Governor Sanford at Raleigh meeting and vowed continued demonstrations all over state. Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association have opened their membership to Negroes.

Roxboro -- July 7 - Chairman of bi-racial committee announced that about 90% of town's motels and restaurants have integrated.

Sanford -- June 25 - First meeting of newly formed 11-member bi-racial commitee. One member, a restaurant operator, said he had called meeting of about 25 restaurant operators about five weeks ago to consider dropping racial bars.

Salisbury -- June 13 - July 2 -- After rumors of impending racial demonstrations, directors of Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association announced immediate appointment of bi-racial committee "to work for better community relations." Committee will supplement 1961 Community Service Committee.

July 2 - City Council voted to eliminate "race, color, or national origin" as factors in hiring city employees

Shelby -- June 12 - Mayor Harry S. Woodson and Mayor-elect Dr. Hubert Plaster named a Mayor's Advisory Committee on Human Relations, after June 4 vote for such a group by City Council.

Statesville--June 15 - More restaurants and some hotels desegregated: Merchants" Association voted to accept application from Negroes(as sales clerks).

Thomasville--June 3-July 17 Week of June 3 swimming pools integrated July 17 - Crowds of about 150 Negroes and 150 whites squared off in a parking lot beside City Hall and began hurling rocks at each other. Local and state police dispersed mobs. Negroes later demonstrated at city's only movie theatre, where 60-65 (mostly teenagers) Negroes were arrested. Charged with blocking entrance and violating fire ordinance.

Whiteville-- July 4 - First Negro policeman hired; to patrol Negro section.

Wilmington-- June 15 - Some restaurants and hotels desegregated. During May, all signs indicating segregation were removed from court house.

Williamston--July 1-Orderly demonstrations began and continued

daily, with up to 500 marching on July 4.
July 2 - Seven Negroes served at drugstore lunch counter.
July 3 - 150 Negroes denied admission to municipal swimming pool leased to private operator, and pool closed July 4; lawsuit planned. About 500 Negroes demonstrated for five successive days and sought service at downtown restaurant; 36 arrested, but juveniles released and 18 jailed. Large crowds of whites assembled July 3 and violence narrowly averted. Mayor suggested bi-racial committee and urged end to demonstrations; request refused.

Wilson -- July 3 - Recently appointed Mayor's bi-racial Good Neighbor Council presented 3 requests to Wilson County Commissioners: 1) non-discrimination in hiring, 2) unified tax listing, and 3) removal of racial signs from county facilities.

Winston-Salem -- June 28-July 7 - During June, Forsyth County Medical Society announced it would admit Negro doctors to "scientific" membership .

June - 28 - Direct action protests resumed when three Negroes picketed cafeteria.

June 29 -Five leading restaurants announced desegregation on July 1.

July 2 - 22 orderlies and domestic workers at hospital petitioned for improved employment benefits and end to policy of addressing them by first names.

July 4 - Mayor's bi-racial committee polled area employers re elimination of discrimination in employment. Hotel-motel and restaurant committees agreed to work together to accomplish additional desegregation theatre committee announced progress but declined to name desegregated theatres.

July 6 - About 20 demonstrators (2 white) picketed for third day downtown cafeteria.

July 7 - Forsyth County Bar Association voted to admit Negro attorneys to membership.

A total of 46 restaurants have desegregated.

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City -- June 23 - An amusement park where 51 persons were arrested in a racial demonstration opened today to both Negroes and whites. The owner said he had received numerous telephoned threats

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Anderson -- June 12 - City council repealed local ordinance prohibiting serving whites and Negroes at the same lunch counter, also agreed to hire Negro policemen and to the establishment of a bi-racial committee.

Charleston --July 3 - July 23 - An estimated 150 Negro demonstrators arrested on charges of obstructing traffic July 3 in the first mass arrest of anti-segregation demonstrators here in 1963.

Similar demonstrations had been occurring for more than a week, but this was first time Negroes had been marching at a slow step. Fire trucks were used July 16 to break up a crowd of 500 Negro demonstrators. Trucks called out after 4 policemen were injured by flying bricks in first racial violence during a month of protests; crowd scattered at sight of trucks and no fire hoses were used. S. C. Governor Donald Russell ordered state troopers into Charleston July 17, and alerted certain national guard units.

During a march by 175 Negroes through downtown area July 20, 3 Negro ministers and Wilhelmina Gantt, mother of Harvey Gantt, first Negro admitted to Clemson, were arrested. Meanwhile, white and Negro leaders reported that two bi-racial conferences held July 19, had proven helpful, though no settlement was reached. Sixty-two downtown merchants agreed July 23 to integrate their stores, but the move did not placate demonstration leaders who said the series of demonstrations which began 6 weeks ago would continue. "We don't know who these 62 merchants are," commented one leader, "they will have to let us know specifically who will integrate and who will not integrate."

In another development, it was announced June 27 that Catholic hospitals in Charleston and Columbia will accept Negro patients in the fall; all services will be available to them, hospital officials said. But Negro doctors will not be permitted to practice in these hospitals.

Columbia -- June 24-July 10 - The district office of the Internal Revenue Service here hired its fourth employee June 24. Governor Russell met with 5 white and 3 Negro members of the S. C. Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission June 28. It was a closed door meeting, but 2 members indicated that a wide range of topics involving integration in S. C. was discussed.

July 7 - A white man began 30 days of hard labor for slapping a Negro girl who refused to move to the back of a bus.

Columbia (Cont'd)

July 10 - Federal Judge J. Robert Martin of Greenville S. C., ordered desegregation of all state parks.

Desegregation to take place 60 days hence. There is a possibility, however, that the parks will be closed; present state law forbids the operation of any park that is not segregated.

Florence -- June 30 - A 20-man bi-racial committee has been formed here to establish lines of communication between white and Negro leaders. Its formation was endorsed by 82 community leaders.

Greenville-- July 3 - The Greater Greenville Chamber of Commerce's board of directors urged the formation of a bi-racial committee, saying such a move should be taken in the best interests of local race relations.

Orangeburg-- June 28 - The president of the S. C. Municipal Association called upon Negroes to refrain from demonstrating and urged them to try to solve racial problems in each community in "good faith."

Richland County -- July 2 - Two Negroes were among 4 deputies hired by the Richland County sheriff's office. The 2 deputies are the first Negroes to be hired in Richland County.

Rock Hill June 12 - The Rock Hill Chamber of Commerce recommended immediate integration of all city businesses serving the general public; resolution passed unanimously by chamber's 15-member board of directors.

Sumter July 3 - The Carnegie Public Library here is now open to Negroes.

TENNESSEE:

Bolivar -- July 7 - A group of Hardeman County citizens met with Negroes from the County Improvement Assn. to discuss job opportunities and use of public facilities. Judge Max Frost told the group the jobs they were seeking are state and federal and that local citizens have no control over them.

Chattanooga--July 7-The Board of Directors of the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce unanimously issued an appeal to "the owners of the firms doing business with the general public to provide ...equal treatment of all people."
July 9 -Officials announced that most of the city's leading restaurants, about 70%, had been or would be desegregated. This move was the result of negotiations that have been underway for weeks.

Knoxville -- July 3 - Approximately 50 Knoxville restaurants and cafeterias have agreed to desegregate their facilities voluntarily. The desegregation move was worked out by an executive group of the Committee for peaceful and orderly desegregation.

TEXAS

Amarillo -- June 23 - Approximately 40 Negroes worshipped in five white churches.

June 26 - After about 30 Negroes demonstrated before two downtown movie theaters, manager suggested they seek admission in smaller groups. They did, and were admitted.

Austin -- During June - Chamber of Commerce issued resolution recommending businesses integrate public rooms. Sixty-two (85%) of city's restaurants desegregated.

July 1 - Austin Ice Place desegregated - site of much picketing.

Baytown-- June 13 - Mayor Lee Liggett appointed 12-man (7 whites, 5 Negroes) biracial committee.

Beaumont -- During June - white Human Relations Council met with Negro counterpart with aim of ending racial discrimination in jobs. Many trade and craft unions integrated, some with Negro officials.

June 28 - city pool desegregated.

July 16 - white pastor named to Negro Congregational Church. Nearby Bastrop State Park integrated all facilities except pool during month, becoming first Texas State Park to desegregate .

Commerce -- During June - attempts by Negroes to use city pool failed.

Corpus Christi -- During June - restaurant association recommended integration, most members followed. Further integration of hotels, motels, bowling alleys urged by Negro leaders.

Corsicana -- Week June 26 - municipal lake and lake park integrated. City has biracial committee.

Dallas -- June 24 - one downtown movie desegregated, all others followed suit during the week. Community Relations Committee is biracial (7 Negro members), urged desegregation of city park facilities, including pools, which took place in late June.

July 17 - one white congregation voted to admit Negro worshippers.

Denton -- June 28 - City Commission passed formal resolution declaring all public facilities integrated, including library and hospital (there are no pools).

Fort Worth -- June 22 - 3-man (1 Negro) race relations committee announced all downtown hotels, restaurants, movies, athletic contests desegregated.

July 2 - unsuccessful attempts by Negroes to use 2 bowling alleys.

Houston -- Early July - biracial committee established, restaurants, hotels, theatres largely desegregated.

Lubbock -- June 12 - 72 cafe owners reported they had integrated their businesses.

Marshall -- Reportedly has one of state's oldest biracial commissions, no integration.

San Angelo --Hotels and restaurants on a schedule to desegregate within the year.

San Antonio -- June 26 - Negro pickets at City Hall pressing desegration ordinance. A July 4 deadline for voluntary desegregation of accommodations asked by 19-man biracial committee. By July 12 - 92% of motel rooms, 95% of hotel and restaurant space in compliance. All theatres, lunch counters, bowling alleys integrated. Fashionable stores began hiring Negro retail clerks.

Sherman -- Biracial ministerial alliance has helped open communications on employment opportunities.

Texarkana -- June 12 - More than 200 anti-integration demonstrators gathered near campus of Texarkana Junior College, burned crosses, and were dispersed by police, when first two Negro students were admitted.

Texas City-- July 3 - City Commission appointed biracial committee.

Tyler -- Week July 1 - biracial committee appointed to discuss integration of parks and pools.

Waco -- Week June 17 - After Chamber of Commerce-appointed businessmen's committee met with Negro leaders, at least 4 leading restaurants desegregated. County (McLennan) has hired its first Negro deputy sheriff. At least two churches have publicly announced they are open to all.

VIRGINIA

Alexandria -- Two swimming pools were desegregated in May by City Council edict, and four movie theatres quietly desegregated at end of May, before court ruling on public accommodations June 27.

Arlington -- June 17 - Four movie theatres desegregated.

Charlottesville -- July 2-7 - stores have dropped color bar in employment; 8 restaurants and at least one theatre have desegregated.

Clifton Forge -- July 3 - City's only movie theatre integrated quietly at midnight showing.

Covington -- July 17 - formation of biracial committee postponed by City Council.

Danville -- July 3-20 - On July 3, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth substituted for the Rev. M. L. King, Jr., and denounced temporary injunction against unruly demonstrations. He urged Negroes to test it with peaceful demonstrations.

July 5 - picketing began of stores, city hall, home of president of Dan River Mills and of Mayor and continued through 20th. 101 were arrested during height of demonstrations, July 10 - 13. Boycott of products of Dan River Mills announced.

July 11 - Mass demonstrations began with renewed fervor after address by Rev. M. L. King, Jr., and 106 Negroes registered to vote during two-day period. Positions on both sides of controversy hardened. City Council endorsed Mayor Stinson's refusal to appoint biracial committee and passed new parade ordinance to curb demonstrations.

July 14 - Negro paratrooper, in full uniform and carrying American flag, arrested for picketing Mayor Stinson's home; listed as AWOL at Ft. Bragg.

July 17 - In related action, the New York offices of Dan River Mills was picketed.

Meanwhile, families of jailed demonstrators began receiving food and clothing from as far away as California and New York. More than 200 had been arrested in past six weeks; 100 were still in jail. 11 who took part in demonstrations were declared ineligible for unemployment compensation; some others lost their jobs.

July 20-26 - more demonstrators were arrested following shooting incident involving patrol car night of July 19.

Legal Developments -- June 27 - July 19 - On June 27 Negro attorney Len W. Holt (of Norfolk) spent night in jail after arrest for inciting riot in recent demonstrations. His bond was set at $5,000. Mr. Holt was among 13 Negro leaders indicted by grand jury for participation in the riots; 11 are in jail. Bonds now total $146,450 for those arrested during demonstrations of past month. This figure does not include any bonds posted for cases in juvenile court.

On June 26 Harold J. Flannery, a Justice Department attorney, had conferred at length with Mayor Stinson seeking commitments on city employment of Negroes. Later, Stinson charged Flannery with "veiled threats and vague promises."

July 2 - The Justice Department supported more than 100 Negro citizens in seeking to transfer their trials from a Danville city court to the U. S. District Court in Charlottesville. Both attempted removal of the cases from local court and the decision to file a "friend of the court" brief strongly supporting this move were described by a government attorney as "without recent precedent." Negro leaders have charged that during recent racial tension Danville Judge Archibald M. Aiken has usually appeared in public with a large revolver at his belt, and has taken a personal hand in attempting to disperse crowds of Negroes. Negroes also have complained that Judge Aiken has lined his courtroom with as many as 40 uniformed policemen during trials of demonstrators, and that he has ordered Negro attorneys (both male and female) searched for weapons upon entering his court. Judge Thomas J.

Michie of the U. S. District Court for Western District of Virginia received the petition and was expected to announce his decision this week. Meanwhile, on same day, Judge Michie granted the city's request for a temporary restraining order against any acts of violence or violation of city laws over the July 4 weekend, when Rev. M. L. King Jr. is scheduled to address a rally. Michie said injunction did not bar rally to hear King speak; permit for a parade was withdrawn.

July 5 - City Judge Aiken extended his anti-demonstration injunction from July 6 to July 29.

July 10 - U. S. Judge Michie advised he would return cases to city court and would lift temporary order restraining demonstrations.

July 19 - City officials conferred with Gov. Harrison and state legal authorities.

July 23 - U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals notified City no ruling to be made before September 23 on injunction barring racial demonstrations. Municipal Court trials began for 12 persons.

Falls Church -- June 17 - a movie theatre desegregated.

Front Royal -- Howard Johnson's desegregated, mid-April.

Harrisonburg --Howard Johnson's desegregated, mid-April.

Leesburg -- June 25-July 1 - Orderly picketing of theatres began and continued several nights.

June 29 - Pitts Tally-ho Theatre opened its doors to Negroes and Casey's Diner (under construction in shopping center) announced it would serve all persons. Picketing continued at swimming pool.

July 1 - Bowling center desegregated recently.

Lynchburg -- July 17 - Negro group asked U. S. Justice Department to investigate charges of brutality by Lynchburg police in the arrest of 5 Negro girls July 13, and charged police with brutality in arrest of Negro woman on June 6. It was declared that metal "claws" were used during arrests and caused swollen areas on girls' arms.

Martinsville -- July 17 - City Council tabled proposal by Martinsville-Henry County Civil League for a biracial committee.

Newport News -- Biracial committee in operation since June.

Norfolk -- June 26-July 2 - Negro leaders indicated possibility of demonstrations in wake of Norfolk County Council's rejection of 4-point petition for broad racial integration. City Council designated 25-member biracial committee, originally charged with studying re-development and planning, as its biracial problems body.

July 2 - Ocean View Amusement Park desegregated. Citizens Advisory Committee invited Negro Leaders to present grievances. Subcommittees were appointed to deal with special problems.

Petersburg -- July 17 - City Council sanctioned formation of biracial commission; it has no official connection with city government.

Radford -- June 25-27 - member biracial committee named.

Richmond -- June 25-July 10 - On June 25 a Negro was wounded by a shot from a passing car; he said it was occupied by two white boys.

July 6 - Six of 28 fire companies to be integrated, and all-Negro unit dispersed.

July 7 - The Rev. Robert W. Hare (white) preached his first sermon as pastor of a Negro Presbyterian church.

July 10 - City Council approved formation of biracial committee and received proposed ordinance which could lower racial barriers at city's six park houses. Mayor Eleanor Sheppard promised to appoint committee "as quickly as possible." A Citizens Advisory Committee will discuss desegregation with motel and hotel operators.

Roanoke -- July 4 - City is considering hiring Negro firemen. Mayor M.A.Stroller said it appeared unlikely repairs could be made to Washington Park (Negro neighborhood)swimming pool in time for it to be used this summer.

Roanoke - continued

July 7-14 - firms voluntarily dropped discrimination in hiring policies.

July 17 - Mayor Stroller said he would move July 22 to have Roanoke's last ordinance requiring segregation stricken from books. The law required separate seating on buses.

Suffolk -- June 28 - The Rev. M. L. King spoke to cheering crowd of 5,000; no demonstrations occurred. Following day statewide pilgrimage to Danville announced for July 3 to protest arrests of demonstrators.

Virginia Beach -- June 29 - Majority of hotels, restaurants, motels, and movie theatres have quietly dropped racial barriers.

Waynesboro -- Howard Johnson's desegregated in mid-April.

Winchester -- June 25 - Negro leaders conducting public relations campaign for Negro job opportunities.

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED: JUNE 24 - JULY 24

ALABAMA:
- Birmingham
- Gadsden
- Huntsville

ARKANSAS:
- Hot Springs
- Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:
- Cocoa
- Fort Myers
- Gainesville
- Orlando
- St. Augustine
- Tallahassee
- Winter Park

GEORGIA:
- Atlanta
- Augusta
- Cordele
- Macon

LOUISIANA:
- New Orleans

KENTUCKY:
- Bowling Green
- Danville
- Frankfort
- Hopkinsville
- Paducah

MISSISSIPPI:
- Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:
- Charlotte
- Durham
- Gastonia
- Greensboro
- Hickory
- Mount Airy
- Raleigh
- Roxboro
- Salisbury
- Winston-Salem

OKLAHOMA:
- Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:
- Anderson
- Charleston

TENNESSEE:
- Chattanooga
- Knoxville

TEXAS:
- Amarillo
- Austin
- Beaumont
- Corpus Christi
- Corsicana
- Dallas
- Denton
- Fort Worth
- San Antonio
- Waco

VIRGINIA:
- Charlottesville
- Clifton Forge
- Leesburg
- Norfolk
- Richmond
- Roanoke
- Virginia Beach

SUMMARY

CITIES WHERE THERE HAS BEEN PROTEST ACTIVITY: JUNE 24 - JULY 24

ALABAMA:
- Talladega

ARKANSAS:
- Little Rock

FLORIDA:
- Bradenton
- Ocala
- St. Augustine
- St. Petersburg
- Tallahassee

GEORGIA:
- Albany
- Americus
- Atlanta
- Columbus
- Savannah

LOUISIANA:
- Baton Rouge
- Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI:
- Clarksdale
- Greenville
- Greenwood

NORTH CAROLINA:
- Chapel Hill
- Fayetteville
- Goldsboro
- Henderson
- New Bern
- Oxford
- Raleigh
- Thomasville
- Williamston
- Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA:
- Charleston

TEXAS:
- Amarillo
- Austin
- Commerce
- Fort Worth
- San Antonio

VIRGINIA:
- Danville
- Leesburg
- Lynchburg

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11SOUTHERN STATES SINCE JUNE 24:

1,323

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
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THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENT, III*

This synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South covers the period of July 24-August 28, 1963. It also includes events since April 1, 1963, not carried in the first or second synopses, dated June 26, 1963, and July 26, 1963, respectively. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 26 - Defense Secretary McNamara issued off-limits directive: "Every military commander has the responsibility to oppose discriminatory practices affecting his men and their dependents and to foster equal opportunity for them, not only in areas under his immediate control, but also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours." Local commanders must secure permission from the civilian service secretaries before invoking off-limits restrictions on racial grounds.

August 8 - The Defense Department made public a memorandum dated June 17 stating that all morticians holding armed forces contracts have been advised their contracts will not be valid in the event of racial discrimination.

August 28 - Police estimate 210,000 persons from a majority of the 50 states gathered in the Capitol to march briefly and hear leaders' speeches in affirmation of rights for Negroes.

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* This is principally compiled from newspaper sources.

ALABAMA

Birmingham - July 24 - (The day following city's repeal of its segregation ordinances) Two Negro youths arrested for attempting to enter a movie theatre and refusing to leave when requested. July 30 - 6 downtown variety and department store lunch counters integrated. July 31 - 4 white men arrested protest-picketing desegregated lunch counters;and 7 stores in 3 suburban shopping centers integrated eating facilities.

August 6 - The American Guild of Variety Artists Shows for Freedom - an integrated cast and program - held benefit performance for integrated audience at Miles College (use of city auditorium denied).

August 15 - Homemade tear gas bomb explodes in recently integrated department store.

August 20 - Disorder in the streets between an estimated 2000 Negroes and police follows the bombing of a Negro Attorney's home.

Gadsden - Atmosphere of tense quiet reinforced by presence of 100 state troopers in town until July 19 when downtown marches resumed with 15 arrests, Negroes charging state troopers with harsh treatment of demonstrators during subsequent week. August 3 - Approximately 700 marchers staged city's largest anti-segregation demonstration to date, over 300 arrests and use of electric cattle prods reported. August 4 - Over 100 Negroes sang in protest outside city jail. August 5 - 14 arrested seeking lunch counter service.

August 22 - 4 Prominent actors (white) fly in for church rally. City buses reportedly desegregated since late July.

Huntsville - August 8 - Representatives of 40 industrial firms with government contracts form Association and issue statement in compliance with the Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

Linden - June 29 - Baptist pastor resigns his church rather than "tear it up" over his support of granting membership to Negroes, should they apply.

Macon County - August 17 - Hires its first Negro deputy sheriff.

Mobile - July 26 - Negro leaders charge in telegram to Justice Department that a Negro army sergeant was arrested and beaten for seeking lunch counter service the day before.

ALABAMA (Cont'd)

Mobile (cont'd) - August 15 - Negroes file a petition with City Commission asking desegregation of public facilities and passage of anti-discrimination public accommodation ordinance.

July 26 - State Supreme Court refused to review Alabama Court of Appeals conviction of 11 clergymen arrested during May, 1961, Freedom Rides. The 11 have alternative of submitting to sentence ($100 fine, 10 days in jail) or appeal before federal judiciary.

Montgomery - August 3 - Police Department announces plan to employ 3 Negro policewomen as school crossing guards.

Selma - August 2 - Voter registration worker arrested on "false identity" charge ($500 bond set) 6 days before scheduled to testify at Justice Department hearings on voter intimidation.

Tuskegee County - August 13 - Hires Negro deputy sheriff.

ARKANSAS

Fort Smith - Defense Department* telegraphed by local civil rights organization that city recreational facilities and public accommodations unavailable to Negro servicemen at nearby Fort Chaffee.

Hot Springs - Following 12 weeks of negotiations, as of July 17 most theatres, restaurants, and lunch counters desegregated. By August 3, additional facilities, including thermal bath houses, following suit.

Little Rock - July - Included in a White Citizens Council boycott of desegregated facilities has been the Arkansas Travellers (have a star Negro outfielder) baseball park. (Gov. Faubus attended opening.) August 6 - Parade of about 25 around a motel protesting wages, working conditions of Negro employees.

Marion - July 17 - Negro youth suspected of rape shot by whites; sheriff's office later reported no rape; as of July 27 FBI investigating death.

* Pertinent to Defense Department directive, see page 1.

ARKANSAS (Cont'd)

Pine Bluff - July 24 - small-scale demonstrations resumed by youths after 3-month truce. A cafeteria desegregated. July 28 - August 7 - at least 5 separate demonstrations at segregated drive-in hamburger stand resulted in 62 arrests.

August 1 - 25 arrested in protest at main library over refusal to issue cards (Negroes had used Negro branch, been permitted to borrow from main library only non-fiction unavailable at Negro branch). August 5 - library announces "open to all" policy.

August 4 - Approximately 25 anti-segregation demonstrators marched at Arkansas AM&N College during Governor Faubus' appearance.

FLORIDA

Clearwater - Although all the city's public facilities have desegregated, on at least three occasions in July (14 and 21) swimming parties of Negroes have been advised to leave the public beach when whites threatened disorders .

As of August 1 - at least 4 restaurants desegregated.

Fort Lauderdale -

August 3 - Announcement made of desegregation by 47 members of the Restaurant Association; also, theatres and drive-ins. Police Department actively recruiting Negro officer trainees. Has 22-man biracial committee appointed in late May.

Jacksonville - July 22 - Picketing for Negro employment begun at Southern Bell.

July 24 - Negro leaders considering mass demonstrations after a year of little action via Chamber of Commerce's Committee on racial relations.

August 3 - 12 department and clothing stores hire Negroes.

Miami - Week of July 8 - Roosevelt Savings and Loan Association (board of directors - 7 whites, 5 Negroes) opens, reportedly first state-chartered integrated institution of its kind in South.

July 28 - Police Department integrated as "Negro precinct" abolished.

Miami (cont'd) - August 1-3 - Picketing at drive-in theatre protesting fence between Negro and white entrances. Manager announces all entrances open to all.

August 10 - Picketing of ice cream stand results in its closing, pickets sued.

Miami Beach - July 21-26 - Orderly groups numbering 20-30 picketed National Governor's Conference with signs urging integration.

Ocala - July 20-21 - Total of 46 arrested demonstrating in protest over jailing of leader who had launched restaurant picketing June 29. During previous week a biracial committee automatically disbanded when mayor resigned. While 5 chain store lunch counters desegregated, further picketing recommenced July 23. On July 25 jailed leader charges police brutality; police request mental competency examination (found competent July 26). As picketing continued, on the night of July 27 a Negro leader's home was fired into with a shotgun. July 30 - 21 pickets arrested, adult leadership joins demonstrators for first time July 31, pledge to continue. Arrests total 111 after 2½ weeks.

Orlando - July 23 - City Commission (acting on recommendation of city's interracial committee) votes to desegregate all city owned facilities except pools.

Panama City - July 20 - Total of 35 arrested picketing motels and restaurants.

August 1 - Negro leadership notifies Defense Department* that local public accommodations are denied Negro service personnel from Tyndall Air Force Base and Navy Mine Defense Laboratory.

Pinellas County -

July 23 - Biracial Committee elected four standing subcommitties to deal with executive matters, education, employment, and public accommodations.

St. Augustine -

Demonstrations for integration of accommodations and facilities continuous and peaceful from late June until week of July 15 when police began arresting juveniles and refusing to release them in custody of parents if latter refused to prevent them from demonstrating; threatened sending them to deliquents' home.
July 23 - Crowd of 300 gathered at jail to protest action.

St. Augustine - (cont'd)

July 25 - Jail demonstration repeated, 5 arrested trying to force release of prisoners.

St. Petersburg -

July 30 - Theatre picketing suspended pending a attempt at negotiated desegregation. A cafe which serves Negroes through a side window but denies access to main entrance picketed.

Tampa - July 20 - Members of Merchants Association announce training course designed to prepare 30 Negro applicants for sales positions September 1. August 5-6 - peaceful picketing at cafeteria, 3 arrests.

GEORGIA

State Action - August 1 - First Negro admitted to National Guard since 1905.

Albany - July 23 - Bullets fired into headquarters of student civil rights group.

During July - An Episcopal church announced it is "a house of prayer for all people" and that Negroes have attended.

Week of July 26 - Negro railroad flagman shot in back by a white Marine. Federal Appeals Court ruled city police cannot enforce segregation in publicly owned or regulated facilities.

August 6 - Federal grand jury indicts 9 persons previously active in local protest nvolvement on charges of conspiring against a white grocer who as a juror had voted against a Negro plaintiff in a federal suit: 3 for obstructing justice; 6 for perjury.

Americus - July 26 - Protest - marchers singing attempts to enter - aimed at only downtown movie theatre (segregated) and some lunch counters have been continuous since mid-June, arrests steady. After an August 9 mass meeting Negroes marched downtown, there was some disorder, use of hoses. As of August 17, an estimated 120 had been arrested in a month, no solutions arrived at.

Athens - July 30 - Demonstrations protesting segregated movies commenced here and one theatre admitted Negroes, continued through August 2 when 2 restaurants, 2 hotels desegregated, 5 arrests.

Athens - (cont'd)

August 6 - 138 arrested in protest march on city hall. New city ordinance prohibits more than 5 Negroes in one block at one time. August 9 - 2 advisory committees (white-15, Negro-10) appointed by and meeting with mayor. August 25 - A Baptist and a Methodist church each admitted Negroes to worship. August 26 - Picketing recommenced with 6 arrests.

Atlanta - July 26 - Several weeks concentrated picketing one segregated restaurant climaxed with arrest of 13 who sat down in street, were fined and started serving sentences July 29, released August 2. August 2 - Fulton County Grand Jury, following charge of Fulton Superior Court judge, returned indictments on 75 arrested in violation of Georgia's anti-trespass law. Estimated sit-in arrests April 27 to date: 116. Anti-integration pickets appearing regularly at 3 or 4 restaurants. Some restaurants reportedly resegregated.

August 5 - Approximately 250 Negroes peacefully marched to city hall largely in protest over poor city maintenance facilities in Negro neighborhoods.

August 28 - White pastor arrested during attempts to integrate church in June receives maximum misdemeanor sentence.

Employment protests: picketing has been continuous at Southern Bell. Picketing of Coca Cola Company threatened, has not materialized. Picketing of 4 liquor stores halted altogether August 27 as owners agree to employ Negroes.

Baxley - July 28 - Mississippi Governor Barnett discussed civil rights at a beauty pageant.

Calhoun - August 10 - Hires first Negro policeman.

Columbus - July 18 - Negro leadership agrees to suspend demonstrations (previously at pools, parks, libraries, schools) pending negotiations. July 22 - City Commission created biracial advisory committee (6 Negroes, 14 whites). August 14 - City hires first Negro policeman in 5 years, announces future employment of 3 more. August 21 - Full library desegregation announced for September 1.

Decatur - July 28 - Christian Church minister preached "The time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church...must be open to all of God's children without restriction."

August 3 - Attempts to integrate lunch counters (successful) and movie (unsuccessful) and to swim at 2 DeKalb County pools. August 6 - Negro leaders met with County Commissioners to discuss grievances.

Fitzgerald - July 27 and 29 - Negroes attempted to use public library on 2 occasions, 21 arrests on the latter date.

Savannah - August 1 - Accord reached over October 1 desegregation of some motels, hotels, bowling alleys, and theatres and suspension of demonstrations for 60 days. Only one arrest made - August 7 - of demonstrators who reportedly eluded arrest during June-July protests. Also August 7-- 50 Negroes convicted on varying charges arising out of previous protests.

Terrell County -

August 19 - Demonstrators arrested in Americus (Sumter County) reportedly being held at Terrell County Work Camp, one of the state prison facilities officially closed following clean-up in May.

Valdosta - July 28 - 18 Negroes arrested protesting segregated movie theatre. July 29 - 2 carloads of white youths who tried to force a car of Negroes off the road sentenced in court. July 31 - Mayor plans to form biracial committee.

KENTUCKY -

Hazard - July 25 - Reports all its recreational facilities (pool closed since 1959) desegregated.

Henderson - July 26 - 5 of 13 pickets seeking restaurant desegregation arrested.

Lexington - July 24-August 2 - Several small scale demonstrations and a city hall march, all without incident, culminated on the latter date with the arrest of 9 sitting in a department store aisle protesting discriminatory employment. August 3 - Judge dismissed charges.

LOUISIANA -

Baton Rouge -

July 25, 26 - Picketing City Park and pool without incident until August 3 when some disorder in attempts to enter pool, 5 arrests.

Baton Rouge - (cont'd)

August 1 - 3 Negro policemen commence duties.

August 6 - Lunch counters at 13 downtown retail stores and in 2 suburban shopping plazas desegregated.

Belle Chasse -

August 10 - Plaquemines Parish Council president Leander Perez urges children of Navy personnel at nearby Collendar Field be barred from parish schools and adult personnel from parish public accommodations, in response to Defense Department directive (page 1).

Buras - August 27 - Catholic school which had attempted to integrate in fall, 1962, shattered by midnight explosion, its third.

Clinton - August 2 - White voter registration worker arrested at courthouse while assisting Negroes in registering.

New Iberia - August 3 - White man charged with kidnapping and intimidating 2 Negro employees of Sanitation Department (which had recently hired 3 Negroes for the first time).

New Orleans -

August 1 - Federal court orders desegregation of city's 106 recreational facilities and on August 8 upheld desegregation of the luxury restaurant and cocktail lounge at the airport (only coffee shop and snack bar previously integrated).

August 1- Firemen doused a burning cross on statue of former Supreme Court Chief Justice Edward Douglas White.

August 8 - Angry groups of whites and Negroes scuffling in parks dispersed twice by police.

July 21 - At nearby Lake Pontchartrain Beach 8 persons unsuccessfully sought access to private amusement park.

Plaquemine -

Mid-July - Start of fairly continuous chain store picketing. July 26 - White man arrested for tearing down "white" and "colored" signs at Iberville Parish courthouse restrooms and water fountains. July 29-August 3 - Week-long voter registration clinic.

August 11 - 25 arrested seeking desegregated seating aboard a Mississippi River ferryboat. August 19 - Police permitted one downtown march, turned tear gas on the second wave, and arrested 16. Downtown marches continued August 20-22, with over 200 arrests. City obtained anti-picketing injunction.

August 25 - 2 white churches admit Negroes, 2 turn them away.

Shreveport - July 20 - Following several days of lunch counter sit-ins, 12 arrests, police patrolled downtown, arrested 4. July 22 - Local Negro minister arrested (he had not participated in sit-ins). On August 6 Negroes presented city council with list of grievances, and second formal request for biracial committee.

Rayville - July 31-August 1 - During the night a total of 45 crosses burned throughout Richland Parish.

MISSISSIPPI -

Clarksdale -

July 30 - Largest protest demonstration to date results in arrest of 52, including Negro leader whose wife was dismissed in the past month from her teaching job with the Coahoma Board of Education. July 31 - 15 more marchers arrested. (In both cases, small groups were parading separately.)

August 8 - An interdenominational group of ministers from other parts of the country tried without success to call upon the city government, effect a resolution of differences.

Greenville -

July 17 - 4 sat-in at drugstore counter, without success or incident. July 20 - After obtaining parade permit, a group of 16 held orderly downtown march calling for boycott of stores on their placards. August 3 - 21 persons paraded again.

Greenwood - August 6 - A total of 50 Negroes staged a "vote-in": appearing at city hall in groups of 5, they filed affidavits protesting their omission from poll lists, and cast ballots.

Jackson - July 17 - In first anti-segregation in over a month, 12 Negro youths arrested attempting to integrate 2 city parks. July 19 - Over 150 attempted night march downtown, were stopped by police, who made no arrests. July 24 - 10 arrested parading before city hall. July 27 - 14 demonstrators arrested at 3 different sites.

August 9 - 5 additional Negro policemen hired (1 hired earlier). On same day 11 teenagers protesting before department stores arrested.

McComb - July 27 - Group of Negroes asked to leave white railroad station waiting room, refused lunch counter service in city's first racial demonstration since 1961.

Ruleville - August 6 - 3 Negroes arrested for "unlawfully attempting to procure registration."

NORTH CAROLINA

Ahoskie -- July 22-28 - Negro and white preachers jointly conduct week-long, nightly series of integrated services and meetings.

Asheboro -- August 2-5 - Two movies integrated on consecutive nights, following which loitering white (4) and Negro (4) youths involved in dispute, shotgun fired, all arrested. Police chief termed it "hoodlum trouble, not racial trouble."

Chapel Hill --July 14-August 9 -- Continuation of daily marches of 100 or more demonstrators resulting in first mass arrests (34 on July 19) in the city. Committee for Open Business is organizing marches and picketing to urge passage of public accommodations ordinance by town council. (14 stores maintain segregation.)

Charlotte -- July 22 - Municipal clerical staff integrated with hiring of Negro billing clerk.

Dunn -- July 17 - Bi-racial Human Relations Committee named by mayor held first meeting.

July 18, - Pickets at supermarket and funeral home reported struck by cars.

July 25 - One arrest for picketing without permit.

August 5 - Cross burned before business of Negro member of Committee.

August 7-16 - Twenty arrests (including local leader) for sit-ins and picketing at cafe, bakery.

Durham -- In July a school for retail sales clerks established as part of Negro training program.

Elizabeth City -- Week of July 8 - First two Negro policemen employed.

July 19 - Mayor appoints 18-member bi-racial committee.

Enfield -- August 7 - Restaurant picketed, 11 arrests. (Earlier anti-segregation demonstrations at town's only movie resulted in its closing.)

Goldsboro -- Early August - Demonstrations which were halted in late June pending action from bi-racial committee resumed, leaders charging some establishments had resegregated

August 7- Thirty-two arrests out of 300 demonstrators included personnel from nearby Seymour Johnson Air Force Base.

August 9-12 - At least 209 arrested during city's greatest display of protest (over 400 persons per march).

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Greensboro -- July 25 - Announcement made of desegregation of 41 restaurants (25% of total seating capacity, 30 of 41 integrated prior to recent protests), 4 theatres, all bowling alleys.

July 30 - Human Relations Commission appointed 6 subcommittees on recreation, hotels and motels, employment, eating places, education, and progress and information.

Havelock -- July 25 - Approximately 95% of merchants agreed to desegregate, forestalling threatened demonstrations and following protest to Defense Department* (Havelock is near Cherry Point Marine Air Station).

Henderson -- July 17 - Vance County commissioners reject Negroes' petition for public accommodation ordinance and school and employment integration.

High Point -- July 27 - March protesting segregated movies cancelled when Mayor agrees to confer with theatre owners.

July 30 - Bi-racial Committee announces desegregation of all lunch counters (most motels, hotels and restaurants integrated early in July), public facilities including pools, and appointment of Negro to civic service commission to insure merit employment.

August 24 - During singing march of 50 persons, 15 arrested.

Hillsboro -- August 1 - Bi-racial committee (5 Negroes, 5 whites) held first meeting.

Lexington -- July 14-18 - After 200 staged protest march, swimming pool desegregated, then damaged by vandals unknown. Re-opened integrated when repaired.

August 1-10 - Daily picketing at movie theatre, 26 arrests.

August 20 - Three Negroes indicted on murder charges in connection with a death during June 6 riot. Police have several times dispersed crowds outside jail where the prisoners are held.

Monroe -- July 30 - Three integration leaders report their car was fired upon by four other cars.

Mount Airy -- August 3-4 - Thirty-Seven Negroes arrested in two sit-in protests at drugstore lunch counters, which are desegregated but will not serve groups of Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

New Bern -- Late July demonstrations at segregated drive-in during which 9 Negro Marines (from nearby Cherry Point) were arrested prompted wires to Defense Department*, investigation by Justice Department, and mayor's plan to name bi-racial committee.

Oxford -- Early August - Picketing of firms protesting discriminatory hiring. Bi-racial committee is active.

Raleigh -- July 12 - Cross burned (second this summer in North Carolina), before home of woman assisting in interracial project.

July 27 - State's Young Democratic Club shifts summer meeting from segregated to desegregated hotel.

Rockingham -- July 13 - Mayor appoints City Council-approved, bi-racial Good Neighbor Committee (4 whites, 3 Negroes).

Rocky Mount --Week of July 8 - Restaurant picketing peaceful and simultaneous with Negro leaders-businessmen negotiations. Some restaurants and municipal facilities, including pools, desegregated.

Statesville --August 5-6 - Attempts by Negroes to use city pool prompt its closing.

Thomasville-- July 18 - Shot fired into Negro church during rally.

August 19 - First meeting of bi-racial committee held. Desegregation of movie theatre is principal demand.

Williamston --July 30-August 1 - Twenty-eight arrested during picketing and marches which climaxed a month of demonstrations (approximately 200 persons per day), aimed at restaurants, pool (now closed), and library.

August 2 - Arrival of Governor's race relations troubleshooter produced truce and talks between bi-racial committee and city leaders.

August 6 - City employment practices integrated and race signs removed from municipal facilities. Commissioners claim they lack authority to desegregate library (private) and pool (leased to private operator).

Wilmington -- During July - Pool integrated.

Wilson -- July 13 - City Commission agrees to remove race signs from municipal facilities.

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Winston-Salem --July 13 - After arrest of 55 persons July 12, protesting at cafeterias,Negro leaders suspend demonstrations pending negotiated desegregation.

July 23 - August 4 - Picketing of cafeteria resumed and continued daily after one in the chain desegregated, with 50 arrests. On some evenings during this period there were singing marches through downtown to the jail.

August 6-7 - Nighttime prayer marches to city hall.

August 8 - Demonstrations suspended by Negroes to allow businesses to desegregate "without pressure."

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City--July 24 - Private amusement park resegregated after a month of integrated operation.

August 24 - Negro youths attempted to attend Services at 20 churches and were turned away at 3.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Statewide -- August 20 - Forestry Commission announces all state parks to be closed September 8 in avoidance of court ordered integration by September 10.

Anderson -- July 31 - City had its first racial incident in 18 months when white men attacked 2 Negroes who were among 50 being served at 8 formerly segregated lunch counters.

Charleston --July 29 - Following some lapses in demonstrations while businessmen negotiated with Negro leaders, protests, currently over unwillingness of some merchants who will integrate to identify themselves, entered eighth week. By August 3, 107 merchants publically agreed to extend equal courtesies to Negro and white customers and commence equal hiring practices; selective picketing of others which have not has continued.

August 7 - USO announces it will integrate August 15, substituting arts and crafts, discussion groups, etc., for hostesses.

Columbia -- August 27 -Dynamite explosion at Henri Monteith's home.

Florence -- August 2 - City's month-old bi-racial committee and city officials under attack from Citizen's Council.

Orangeburg-- August 2-3 - Picketing of chain grocers and sit-ins at restaurants took place without arrests.

Sumter -- July 19 - The city which has been without racial demonstrations in 2 years witnessed prayer groups at city hall and courthouse.

Sumter (Continued) - July 22-26 - Chain and variety stores picketed all week, climaxed July 26 and July 27 by nighttime marches of 100 to 200 persons.

August 6 - Fifty-two downtown paraders arrested in the afternoon, 300 marched without incident in the evening. Mayor has announced he will name a liaison committee to meet with Negro representatives.

Whitmire -- August 9 - Mayor reports town has been placed off limits to nearby military personnel (Swift Strike III maneuvers) after several Negro soldiers refused to leave a poolroom when asked to.

TENNESSEE

Statewide -- July 30 - State parks' director discloses all state parks have been integrated without announcement during the summer season.

Brownsville-- August 3 - Twelve demonstrators routed from courthouse by police using fire hoses, 1 arrest. (Haywood County has bi-racial committee.)

Chattanooga --August 5 - When denied admission to pool owned by city and leased to private operater, 8 Negroes picketed the facility without incident.

Humboldt -- July 21 - Bi-racial Committee announces the library is desegregated.

August 1 - Thirty-six arrested during march.

Jackson -- July 21 - After unsuccessful presentation to 150 business leaders of Negroes' petition for desegregation of public facilities, integration leaders have urged a boycott.

Knoxville -- August 4 - Three hospitals (Baptist, Presbyterian, and Catholic) announced their simultaneous desegregation during previous week.

Nashville -- July 30 - Federal district court ruled against segregation in private businesses in government-financed renewal areas (case involved a Nashville motel which voluntarily desegregated a month ago).

August 15 - Druggist Association votes to integrate all drugstore lunch counters.

Oak Ridge -- July 27-28 - Laundromat which has denied service to Negroes picketed.

Somerville -- July 20-26 - Week of protest saw marches, sit-ins, 110 Negro students leaving school, 43 arrests, crowds dispersed by smoke bombs, and ended with establishment of 10:00 p. m. curfew.

TEXAS

Austin -- July 29 - Integration leader spent 24-hour vigil in Governor's office seeking appointment, which was granted. Conference fell through when other leaders wished to attend. Picketing of Governor's mansion continued through August 7. Negroes are protesting his anti-civil rights bill testimony.

Dallas -- July 20 - Negro attempting to be served in segregated cafe, slashed with broken bottle when he refused to leave.

August 4 - City's racially-mixed South Oak Cliff area launches (white sponsorship of 5 churches) neighborhood program to promote community development and inter-racial cooperation.

La Porte -- August 5 - City Council votes to establish bi-racial committee to study desegregation of public facilities.

Galveston --August 16 - County Commissioners appointing county-wide (Galveston) bi-racial committee to deal with desegregation in all unincorporated areas.

VIRGINIA

Statewide --August 6 - Commanders at Camp Pickett (Nottoway Co.), Camp A. P. Hill (Caroline Co.), and Ft. Lee (Prince George Co.) have been directed by Defense Department to report by August 30 what steps they have taken to comply with late July order that they advise military personnel of their legal right to send children to integrated schools.

Danville -- July 25 - August 28 - With minor exceptions demonstrations have subsided as last of jailed civil rights leaders released, 100 remain jailed, and over 300 await court hearing on charges of violating temporary anti-demonstration injunction.

July 28 - Seventy-seven were arrested during midtown march and observing newsmen threatened with jail if they did not leave scene.

July 29 - Negro leader arrested at 4:00 a. m. and brought to court barefoot and wearing bathrobe. Injunction, to have expired on this date, extended on day-to-day basis.

July 31 - 275 appear on appeal from lower court convictions.

August 2 - Court made permanent previous temporary injunction. Negro leaders have turned to pushing voter registration (400 registered July 11-August 5).

August 5 - Trials of demonstrators moved to 6 state courts outside Danville.

August 6 - Nine arrested for lying down in street.

August 7 - Trial of demonstrators declared mistrial.

Danville (Continued)

August 8 - Federal court enjoined city from trying demonstrators pending September ruling on validity of city law. City continues arrests, 7 on this date.

August 9 - City officials begin receiving "freedom"phone calls.

August 10 - Three picketed without incident.

August 13 - A city Councilman offers resolution for a bi-racial committee.

August 15 - Out of several groups of pickets, 6 arrested for not walking far enough apart.

Farmville --July 25-August 1 - First protest action since June sit-ins began with downtown march of 60, followed by daily demonstrations for a week with 33 arrests.

August 3 - Demonstrators paraded despite denial of permit, 12 arrested.

August 5 and 7 - 25-35 secured permit and picketed without incident.

August 10 - Fifty paraded with permit for area slightly outside downtown. Subsequent protests have followed same pattern

Fredericksburg -- August 6 - City Council names 4 Negroes, 4 whites to new bi-racial commission on race relations.

Lynchburg --August 1 - FBI clears city police of brutality charged in July 13 arrest of 5 sit-in demonstrators, who were given suspended sentences.

Manassas -- August 14 - Over 20 restaurants and the only theatre in the area agree to desegregate following Chamber of Commerce Committee's negotiations with owners.

Norfolk -- July 23 - Citizens Advisory Committee (bi-racial) announces that over 75% of motels and hotels agree to integrate.

Petersburg --August 8 - Police department hires first Negro patrolman.

Portsmouth--July 31 - Mayor intercepted group of Negroes enroute to sit-in at restaurant, promised further desegregation (10 establishments agreed to integrate previous week), from talks with businessmen, and denied need for bi-racial committee.

Richmond-- August 3 - Additional 17 restaurants desegregated, since June 18 (when 35 agreed to integrate).

August 6-9 - Picketing around city hall protesting discrimination in municipal employment climaxed by delivery of grievances petition to City Council.

Richmond -- (Continued) August 17 - Seven arrested during sit-in at segregated restaurant.

Staunton -- August 9 - Negro petition on grievances in housing, education, and public facilities and accommodations presented to 6-member (3 Negro) bi-racial Community Relations Committee.

Suffolk -- July 18 - City asked by Negroes to form bi-racial commission.

August 1 - County (Nansemond) asked to form joint bi-racial commission with city.

Waynesboro--August 2 - City hires first Negro policeman.

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CITIES WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED JULY 24 - AUGUST 28*

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ALABAMA
Birmingham
Gadsden
Mobile

ARKANSAS
Little Rock
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA
Jacksonville*
Miami
Miami Beach
Ocala
St. Augustine
St. Petersburg
Tampa

GEORGIA
Americus
Athens
Atlanta
Decatur
Fitzgerald
Valdosta

KENTUCKY
Henderson
Lexington

LOUISIANA
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Plaquemine
Shreveport*

MISSISSIPPI
Clarksdale
Greenville
Greenwood
Jackson
McComb
Ruleville

NORTH CAROLINA
Chapel Hill
Dunn
Enfield
Goldsboro
High Point
Lexington
Mount Airy
New Bern

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)
Oxford
Statesville
Williamston
Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
Orangeburg
Sumter

TENNESSEE
Brownsville
Chattanooga
Humboldt
Oak Ridge
Somerville

TEXAS
Austin

VIRGINIA
Danville
Farmville
Portsmouth
Richmond

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*Cities starred had demonstrations or desegregation prior to July 24 not included in previous synopses. See text on preceeding pages for exact date.

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED JULY 24 - AUGUST 28

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Macon County

Montgomery
Tuskegee County

ARKANSAS

Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA

Clearwater
Fort Lauderdale
Miami
Orlando
Tampa

GEORGIA

Athens
Calhoun
Columbus
Savannah

KENTUCKY

Hazard

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
New Iberia

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro
Charlotte
Durham
Elizabeth City
Greensboro
Havelock
High Point
Rocky Mount
Williamston
Wilmington*
Wilson*

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Charleston

TENNESSEE

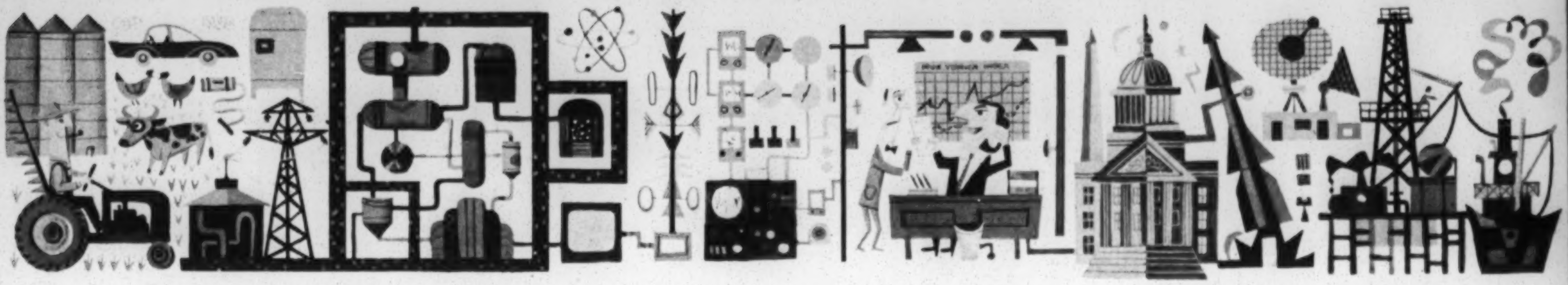
Humboldt*
Knoxville
Nashville

VIRGINIA

Manassas
Norfolk
Petersburg
Portsmouth
Richmond
Waynesburg

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES SINCE JULY 24

2,043



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The Businessman and the Negro

by Charles E. Silberman

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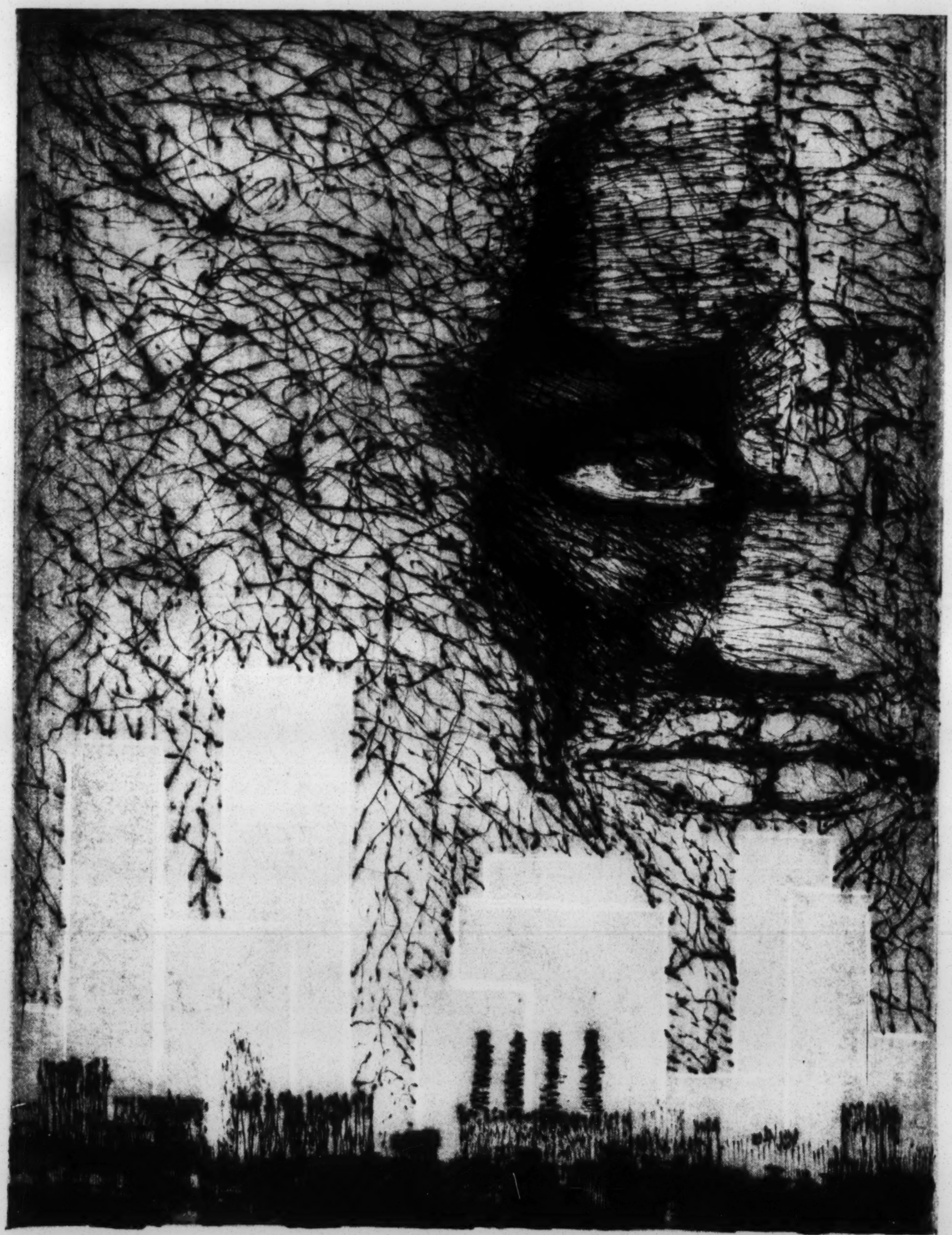


Hammer imp. 1963

The Businessman and the Negro

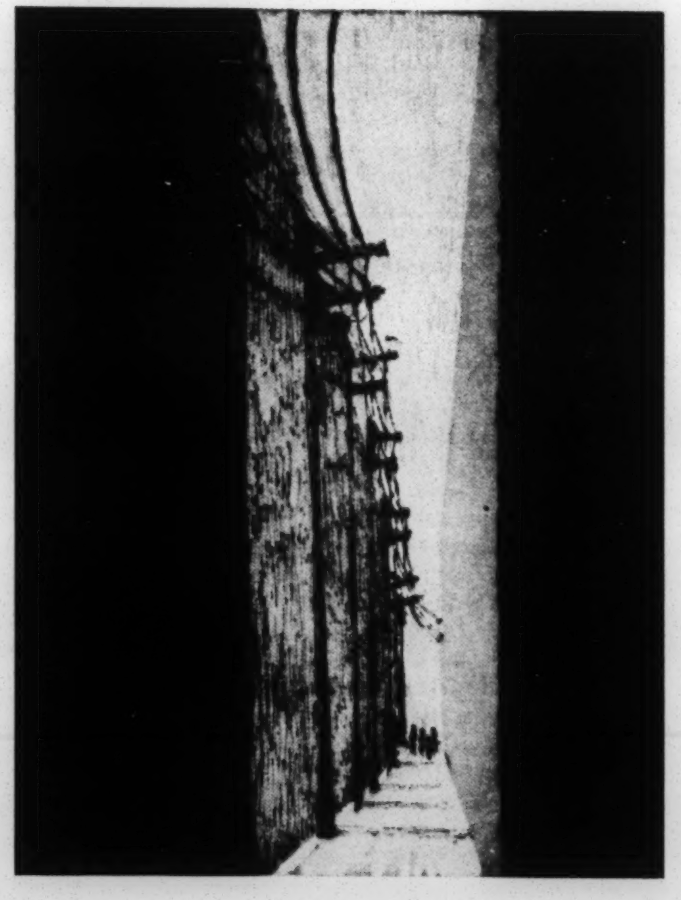
by Charles E. Silberman

The events of this past spring and summer, beginning with the demonstrations in Birmingham in April and May, represent a major watershed in the history of U.S. race relations. Birmingham, and its aftermath in a hundred cities around the country, demonstrated, so that no one could doubt it any longer, the depth of Negro discontent, the extent of Negro anger and hate, and the ease with which it can flare into violence. Politics, churches, schools, and all aspects of American life will be affected by this anger. Businessmen in particular will be involved more deeply and painfully in the racial struggle.

To be sure, businessmen have been in the fray for some time. They have been the targets of Negro demands for the desegregation of lunch counters, washrooms, and other facilities in Atlanta, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama; Greensboro, North Carolina, and countless other cities. And businessmen throughout the South—in Austin, Texas; Spartanburg, South Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee, among others—have taken the initiative in urging the desegregation of public facilities.

The great mass of Negroes, however, are more concerned with where they work than with where they eat: winning the right to eat at a desegregated lunch counter is small consolation to men who can't afford the cost of the meal. The great majority of Negro Americans are still mired in poverty. Until the Birmingham crisis, however, these lower-class Negroes were imprisoned by apathy and despair, and they left the protesting to small, highly disciplined cadres of educated, middle-class Negroes. But when the police dogs were unleashed in Alabama, every Negro in America felt their fangs in the marrow of his bones. The explosion of anger and hatred that resulted broke through the traditional apathy of the poor and created an almost universal desire to act.

The entrance of the poor into the Negro protest movement has profoundly altered its direction and temper. Jobs, not civil rights, will be the key issue; boycotts, sit-ins, and mass picketing, not "moderation," will be the principal weapons; the streets, and not the courts, will be the major forum. Indeed, Negroes of every income level are now eager to demonstrate. They are increasingly intolerant of "moderation," and the poor, in particular,



Prints by Sid Hammer

are contemptuous of the doctrine of nonviolence that has dominated the struggle so far. (Within a single week this summer, the Reverend Martin Luther King was pelted with eggs in Harlem, James Meredith was publicly rebuked for being a "moderate," and the Reverend Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, largest Negro church group, was booed off the platform at an N.A.A.C.P. rally and threatened with bodily harm for having called for a halt to anti-segregation demonstrations.) The Negro rank and file are now bringing pressure to bear on their leaders, instead of the other way around. Indeed, the Negro leaders' position recalls Mahatma Gandhi's famous remark, "There go my people. I must catch them, for I am their leader."

The verge of crisis

Underlying this shift in goals and tactics is the fact that two out of three Negro households earn less than $4,000 a year, and that one Negro male in nine is out of work. This poverty and insecurity are particularly galling to the Negro, who sees the white society that surrounds him grow increasingly affluent while he remains tied to his slum. Contrary to popular impression, Negroes' economic position has actually deteriorated over the last ten years, relative to that of whites. Negroes did make enormous advances during World War II and the boom years that followed, for the shortage of labor drew them into factory and white-collar jobs that had always been barred to them. As a result, Negro income increased 80 percent faster than white income, and the median income of Negro families jumped from only 37 percent of white income in 1939 to 57 percent in 1952. But this escalation came to a halt with the slowdown of the economy after the end of the Korean war. As a result, the median income of Negro families dropped from its high of 57 percent of white income in 1952 to 53 percent in 1962.

The future is even bleaker than the present; it is no exaggeration to say that Negroes are on the verge of a major economic crisis, for the gap is widening between Negro education and training, on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market, on the other. Automation, new management techniques, and changes in consumer spending patterns are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semiskilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical, and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training. These white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 percent of the total increase in employment that has occurred since 1947. The professionalization of the labor force accelerated during the mid-Fifties, and will pick up more momentum in the decade ahead. But Negroes are badly prepared for this change. Three Negro men in five now work in unskilled or semiskilled blue-collar jobs, compared to three out of ten white men, and more than half the Negro men over the age of twenty-five (vs. 21 percent of white men) have had less than a grammar-school education. Small wonder that in northern industrial centers one out of every three Negro workers has suffered unemployment in the last several years, or that in some Negro neighborhoods the unemployment rate may run as high as 40 percent.

But Negroes' lack of education and training and their concentration in unskilled occupations—conditions produced by past discrimination—do not entirely account for Negro poverty. On the contrary, the Negro unemployment rate is higher than the white rate in *every* major occupational group. Among craftsmen and foremen, for example, Negro unemployment runs to 9.7 percent, compared to 4.8 percent for whites; among clerical workers, 7.1 percent vs. 3.8 percent. While a great many Negroes can't find jobs because they lack the necessary skills, all too many Negroes who do have the education and training are unable to put their skills to work.

Many firms employ Negroes only in a few job classifications. In the South, employment of Negroes is limited by the tradition that Negroes not be permitted to work on an equal status with whites, and that they never be placed in a supervisory position over whites. In the North, exclusion of Negroes from the better jobs stems less from conscious corporate decisions to discriminate than from the conscious or unconscious biases of the personnel officers, the foremen, the executives, i.e., all those involved in hiring and promoting. At the heart of this kind of unconscious discrimination, management consultant John Perry has suggested, is the concept of "place"—i.e., the notion that certain jobs and certain situations are appropriate, others inappropriate, for Negroes. In almost every company, that is to say, whether through accident or choice, tradition has reserved some jobs almost exclusively for Negroes and some almost exclusively for whites ("Negroes wouldn't be happy there"; "Negroes wouldn't fit in there"; "I'm not prejudiced, but my customers might object").

Because discrimination is so endemic, Negro youngsters all too often see no point to finishing high school or going on to advanced training; they drop out at the first opportunity, and they shirk their studies while they are in school. "Education is a difficult enough process under any condition," Dr. Carl Hansen, Superintendent of Schools of Washington, D.C., has explained, "because educational effort is primarily an expression of hope on the part of the student . . . The Negro pupil is obliged to be more hopeful than the white student. He is asked to have faith and confidence which at the moment he is in school seems unreasonable and unjustifiable."

"The politics of repair"

Jobs are the fulcrum, therefore, on which Negro progress rests, and to which Negro protests will be directed. Businessmen will be in the thick of the fray. Corporations of every sort will be served with demands to hire more Negroes in non-menial positions and to train them for promotion. The pressure to open up job opportunities will encompass every level, from apprentice to foreman to the executive suite, though the emphasis will be on the broad middle range. The pressure will be at least as strong in the North as in the South; more than half the Negroes of the U.S. now live in the cities of the North and West, where they constitute a large and rapidly growing proportion of the population. The methods used will run the entire gamut from polite moral suasion to legal action to boycotts, mass picketing, and sit-ins.

Thus, the problem of race relations may become a major—at times *the* major—preoccupation of top management for a number of years to come. As J. W. Putsch, president of the National Restaurant Association, told his members in June, "American businessmen are now involved in something greater than a business problem."

Charles E. Silberman, a member of FORTUNE's *board of editors, wrote "The City and the Negro"* (FORTUNE, *March, 1962*). *The present article is based on a chapter in his book,* Crisis in Black and White, *soon to be published by Random House.*

They are, in fact, engaged in one of the most far-reaching and important changes in the nation's history: an attempt to liquidate, in one generation, the consequences of 250 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination and neglect. To do so, needless to say, will require difficult and heroic decisions on the part of civic and political as well as business leaders; it will require changes in the behavior of Americans in every walk of life.

But businessmen occupy a peculiarly strategic position, and they may, as a result, be called upon to bear more than their proportionate share of the burden of change. In the opinion of Ray Eppert, president of Burroughs, however, businessmen "recognize both the justice and the inevitability of this movement" and are prepared to accept responsibility for carrying it along. But whether or not they recognize the justice of the changes, a good many businessmen are willing to grant their inevitability. "I'm no integrationist,", says Sidney Smyer, the real-estate executive who headed the white negotiating team in Birmingham, "but I'm not a goddam fool, either."

If businessmen are to do more than just float with the tide, if they are to play a constructive role, they will have to look beyond the usual rules and canons of business management. Pressed by demands from angry Negro activists on the one side and resistant white workers, trade unionists, and executives on the other, managers will find themselves involved in an unending process of accommodation, mediation, adjustment, and persuasion. Executives, in short, will need to learn the art of politics in the highest sense of that term, for they will be engaged in what has been called "the politics of repair." Businessmen like to think of themselves as conservatives; they now have a rare opportunity to conserve American society by repairing what has to be repaired and changing what has to be changed. The slow pace of desegregation since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on public education has brought to the surface and magnified Negroes' basic distrust in the efficacy of law and in the integrity and good faith of white leadership. By acting on their own initiative to create jobs for Negroes, businessmen may be able to convert that distrust into some degree of confidence and so, in the phrase of Edmund Burke, "make the Revolution a parent of settlement and not a nursery of future revolutions."

"They mean something else"

So far, however, business has done little more than react to pressure from Negro groups. A few companies, to be sure, are making conscientious efforts on their own to break the color line—among them, R.C.A., I.B.M., American Telephone & Telegraph, and Thompson Ramo Wooldridge—and their experience is highly relevant. But in the aggregate, corporations' voluntary actions have fallen desperately short of what needs to be done to increase Negro employment. Indeed, the evidence suggests that despite management's preference for voluntary methods some form of compulsion is necessary to evoke a real change. The "Plans for Progress" program of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity provides a perfect case in point. Over 100 corporations have signed Plans for Progress, promising to "undertake a program of affirmative action" to recruit Negroes and train them for employment and promotion. The President's committee has the power to force compliance with the plans, but until very recently it emphasized the virtues of voluntary compliance.

The virtues are hard to find. While total employment of Negroes has increased since the program began, only a few contractors account for the bulk of the increase. Most firms have done very little to redeem their pledges. Last winter, for example, the highly respected Southern Regional Council studied the action taken by the Atlanta branches of some twenty-four Plans for Progress signers. Only seven of these firms could produce any meaningful evidence of compliance, and only three—Lockheed, Western Electric, Goodyear—had really gone out of their way to create job opportunities for Negroes. A FORTUNE survey in July of Plans for Progress signers in twelve cities around the country revealed the same pattern. In Detroit, FORTUNE's correspondent reported, "Businessmen regard President Kennedy's 'Plans for Progress' program as that big business integration program in the sky." They "applaud the lofty ideals and worthy goals of the program," but they haven't done very much to reach those goals. Nor have firms in other cities; the most common reaction FORTUNE received was that since the company had never really discriminated, the Plans for Progress agreement was a pure formality.

The fact that so few firms are carrying out their commitments under the Plans for Progress program does not necessarily imply that the signers are insincere; it does suggest a lack of realism on their part about what they have to do to carry out the program. "You can have all the talk in the White House or the front office you want," C. W. Robison, personnel director of Thompson Ramo Wooldridge in Cleveland, suggests, "but until you bring the message right down to the front line, you're just talking." (After T.R.W. had signed the Plan for Progress, Robison personally "hand-carried the message" to each one of the corporation's forty-two plants.) And in fact a good many of the cases of noncompliance reflect top management's failure to communicate its intent, or to take the sometimes drastic measures that are required to overcome inertia and prejudice along the line. Edgar Kaiser, for example, is a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity as well as a participant in the Plans for Progress program, and his good will is attested to by the most militant Negro leaders in Oakland, where Kaiser's home offices are located. Yet at the time of the Southern Regional Council study, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical's Atlanta office had made no attempt at all to open sales jobs to Negroes: "It would strike me as rather ridiculous to hire [a Negro] for an outside sales responsibility," the sales manager explained. "If we had a lot of Negro customers, we would have a Negro salesman." The personnel manager of Martin Marietta's Chicago branch told FORTUNE's correspondent that he'd never heard of Plans for Progress, and wondered why it should concern him, anyway. The manager of another company's branch in Atlanta was even more explicit. "I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise, rather than what Mr. Kennedy says," he told the Southern Regional Council. When reminded that the president of his company had signed a pledge to create job opportunities for Negroes, he had a ready answer. "They don't mean regional divisions like us. They mean something else."

"They just don't apply"

Most executives contacted by FORTUNE had heard of the Plans for Progress program, however, and most seemed willing enough to hire more Negroes. The problem, they said, was that qualified Negroes just didn't seem to come around. "We would hire Negroes," the manager of Du Pont's sales office in Atlanta explained, "but we have no opportunity to do so. On the one occasion that we needed clerical help, we advertised, and our ad stated that we had signed the equal-opportunity agreement. But we had no Negro applicants. They just don't apply."

Of course they don't; the door has been closed too long. Three hundred and fifty years of exclusion from American society have persuaded Negroes that there's no point in applying, that "the man" (the white man) has stacked things so that Negroes can't get ahead, and that there is, consequently, no use in trying. Hence Negroes will assume that a firm discriminates until they get positive reassurance to the contrary.

Merely adding a "We Are An Equal Employment Opportunity Employer" tag line to a company's want ads, for example, will not persuade Negroes that the way is open to them. "Industry has to do more than just sit and wait for Negroes to come to their doors," J. J. Bricker, personnel vice president of I. B. M., argues. It has to beat the bushes to find them, by recruiting at Negro colleges, high schools, and employment agencies; by advertising in Negro newspapers and over Negro radio stations; and by using the employment services of the National Urban League, which has representatives in sixty-five cities.

A number of companies are doing just this. Thus, I. B. M. now visits seventeen Negro colleges to recruit engineers, mathematicians, scientists, and sales and management trainees. McDonnell Aircraft of St. Louis has developed a slide presentation for predominantly Negro high schools, showing Negroes working alongside whites at every job level. (McDonnell employs Negroes in 127 job classifications.)

The best recruiting in the world, however, would still leave corporations short of qualified Negro applicants; Negroes have had neither the incentive nor the opportunity to acquire the qualifications that business firms are now demanding. It would be unrealistic to assume that Negroes *would* be qualified. "White folks seemed always to expect you to know those things which they'd done everything they could think of to prevent you from knowing," Ralph Ellison sardonically remarks in ***Invisible Man***, perhaps the best novel written by an American Negro.

A number of factors have conspired to keep Negroes from acquiring the education and skills they need for non-menial jobs:

▸ Negro high-school students in the South are generally offered vocational education only in traditional Negro occupations. In Houston, for example, the sole vocational high school, which is restricted to whites, offers three-year courses in air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automotive mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, printing, radio, television, and welding. None of these courses are given in the five Negro high schools. As school officials explain it, "It would be wasteful . . . to educate a student for admission to a craft or trade that is not open to him."

▸ Trade unions are equally culpable. In a number of occupations, workers can qualify for employment only by completing an apprenticeship-training program, which is usually controlled by the trade union involved. Negroes have generally been barred from access to apprenticeship programs run by the plumbers, sheet-metal workers, steam fitters, lathers and plasterers, and electricians, among others.

▸ At Hughes Tool in Houston, for example, Negro as well as white employees are now permitted to receive a tryout for promotion to skilled jobs that open up. But since Negroes, until now, have been restricted to menial jobs, like sweeping, very few qualify for better jobs. As FORTUNE's Houston correspondent put it, "The past practice of keeping Negroes from running the machines has proved effective in continuing to keep them from running the machines."

▸ Most important of all, years of slavery and the discrimination that followed destroyed Negroes' self-confidence, and thereby limited their aspirations and their willingness (and ability) to compete. They are understandably fearful about trying to "make it" in the white world, especially the impersonal world of business.

Are tests necessary?

To end this vicious circle that keeps Negroes untrained and unemployed will require patience and imagination, and, in many cases, a break with corporate tradition. How can it be done? I.B.M. now includes mathematics and science professors from Negro as well as white colleges in the summer programs it runs at several computer centers; the program explains to the professors the career opportunities that are available for their students and the requirements for those careers. Texas Instruments, the Dallas electronics manufacturer, has gone further. It helped establish guidance councils at two nearby Negro colleges where scientists, engineers, and executives from firms in the Dallas area* have been helping the colleges overhaul their obsolete curricula and beef up their inadequate placement services.

A few companies have tried modifying their employment and promotion procedures. When the Negro boycotts were under way in Philadelphia last year, for example, the president of one major corporation decided to take a look at his company's position in advance of any attack. He discovered that his Negro employees—200 out of 2,000—were all at the bottom rung, although the company had no overt biases. Upon further examination, it developed that Negroes stayed at the bottom because they never took the written exams which the company used to measure qualifications for promotion; they simply assumed that the tests were designed to give the company an excuse for not promoting them. Since the tests bore little relation to the job functions involved, the president ordered them replaced with job-performance tests and on-the-job training. As a result, seventy Negroes were upgraded. "I'm convinced that we'll have to do some innovating in order to hire more Negroes," says I.B.M.'s Bricker; re-examination of corporate testing procedures, in his view, is a good place to start. He feels that there are a great many positions where on-the-job training can be given Negroes who fail the usual qualifying tests.

If Negro employment is to be increased, moreover, firms will have to find substitutes or shortcuts for the experience they now demand as a prerequisite in certain jobs. A large merchandising chain, for example, recently asked the National Urban League for help in hiring Negroes for a number of jobs, including store managers. But there was an unintentional catch; the firm required ten years of merchandising experience with the chain as a condition for promotion to manager. Since it had never employed Negroes in merchandising jobs before, the requirement obviously made it impossible for them to qualify for at least another ten years. The Urban League suggested that the firm develop methods for testing managerial ability in a shorter time.

**Including Ling-Temco-Vought, General Dynamics, Collins Radio, Bell Helicopter, Ford, G.M., and Procter & Gamble.*

The doctrine of the debt

All this sounds like a demand for special treatment for Negroes, and that is precisely what it is. Negroes are not content with equal opportunity any more; they are demanding preference, or "positive discrimination" in their favor. Negroes liken their position to that of a runner who is kept at the starting line until his opponents in the race are halfway to the finish line; merely "freeing him" to run will not enable him to catch up. More and more Negroes, therefore, are espousing "the doctrine of the debt," which holds that the U.S. owes the Negro something for 250 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination. "If those who make the decisions in this country are really sincere about closing the gaps," Whitney Young, the brilliant young director of the National Urban League, argues, "they must go further than fine impartiality. We must have, in fact, special consideration if we are to compensate for the scars left by three hundred years of deprivation, which actually represented special consideration of another sort." Hence Young is demanding special priority in employment, suggesting as a precedent the ten-point preference given veterans on civil-service exams after World War II.

The Urban League is proposing that when a Negro and a white have equal qualifications for a job, the former should be given the preference. Militant Negro organizations are demanding considerably more; they are insisting, in effect, that business firms hire Negroes not because they are qualified but because they are Negroes. And they are developing a good deal of muscle to back up their demands for preferential hiring. The most widely used technique is the boycott, or "selective patronage campaign," as Negroes prefer to call it. "Don't buy where you can't work" campaigns were frequent during the 1930's, but they were sporadic and only occasionally effective. The contemporary use of the weapon began three years ago in Philadelphia. The campaign was organized and directed by a group of Negro ministers (some 400 ministers cooperated) with no formal organization. The ministers' technique is to approach one company at a time, usually a manufacturer or distributor of consumer products for which a number of competing brands are available—e.g., bakeries, dairies, oil companies, supermarket chains. If the company refuses to negotiate with the ministers, it is given an ultimatum to hire a specified number of Negroes in specified job classifications before a given date; if the demands are ignored, a boycott ensues. With 400 ministers using their pulpits to announce the boycott, a substantial portion of the Negro population takes part. A number of firms—e.g., Pepsi-Cola, Esso—have come to terms without a boycott. Others held out—but generally not for long; Gulf Oil capitulated in twelve days, Sun Oil in three months. All told, the ministers have won concessions from twenty-four firms so far. The technique has spread to Boston, New York, Atlanta, Detroit, and other cities, and is bound to be widely imitated. As the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Martin Luther King's chief lieutenant, puts it, "Not every Negro is able to go to jail, but every Negro can stop buying a particular brand of bread or milk or gasoline."

Cracking the "power structure"

Now the boycott is being supplemented by the use of mass picketing, which is better suited to industries that do not make any consumer product. This summer, for example, a coalition of civil-rights groups has been picketing construction sites in New York City in an effort to enforce their demand that Negroes make up at least 25 percent of the work force on all governmentally financed construction projects.

Negroes are demanding more than jobs, however. Their leaders are determined that what they refer to as "the power structure" recognize them and negotiate with them—that business and civic leaders, in short, come to the bargaining table not as patrons but as equals. Negroes have long been rankled by the white "power structure's" traditional prerogative of picking the Negro leaders with whom it wants to deal. They are insisting that whites recognize the leaders selected by the Negro community, whoever they may be or however distasteful the whites may find them.

When businessmen (or civic and political leaders), as is their wont, talk to the eight or ten most prosperous or most politically sophisticated Negroes in town, they aren't really talking to the Negroes at all, and they can be badly misled as to the temper and desires of the Negro community. In Oakland, for example, failure to recognize the grass-roots Negro leadership is nullifying, and may very well destroy, a program that a group of local industrialists has been developing to expand Negro employment. The businessmen wanted to ease racial tensions and avoid Negro demonstrations and boycotts by developing a program in advance of Negro demands. But when it came time to sit down and discuss alternatives, the businessmen did not call upon those Negroes who would be most likely to organize a boycott or call out the pickets. "We didn't want any of those emotional fellows from the N.A.A.C.P.," one executive explained. "We wanted sound men who would be willing to ignore the past and just concentrate on the future, so we asked Mr. X to get a group together. He's a sound man," the executive added. "In fact, he's the whitest Negro we have in town."

The result was as predictable as it is unfortunate. The grass-roots Negro leaders in Oakland, all of whom are Democrats, interpreted the move not as an attempt to help Negroes, but as a plot by a group of businessmen to attract Negroes to the Republican party. For if the program works—if it does create job opportunities—Mr. X, "the whitest Negro in town," would replace D. G. Gibson, the Negro Democratic boss, as the man to see when a Negro was in trouble. Instead of gaining the support of the Negro leadership, therefore, the businessmen have aroused bitter anger and violent opposition.

Negroes' insistence on recognition is more than just a play for power; it is a crucial part of the struggle to overcome the devastation that the past 350 years have wrought on the Negro's personality. The apathy, the aimlessness, the lack of interest in education that characterize the Negro lower classes stem from their sense of dependency and powerlessness—their conviction that "Mr. Charlie" controls everything, and that he's stacked the cards so that Negroes can never win. Negroes must gain a sense of potency if they are to move into the mainstream of American life.

And power has to be taken; the nature of power is such that it can never be received as a gift. Hence when businessmen say they're willing to grant some of the Negro demands, "but not if we're pushed too hard," they're missing the point. Negroes want to achieve their aims by their own efforts, not as a result of white beneficence. Thus, the very militancy and stridency that whites find so upsetting is essential if the Negro is to shuck off his traditional dependency and become truly free and equal, if he is to learn to respect himself, and to be respected by whites.

The years ahead may be harsh and painful but a necessary prelude to the peace that will follow, it is to be hoped. But it would be fatuous to pretend that any set of policies adopted by business and government can bring racial peace within the next few years. For one thing, Negroes' impatience, bitterness, and anger are likely to increase the closer they come to full equality. This is not a quirk of Negro character but a characteristic of all disadvantaged groups: the closer they are to their goals, the harder it is to understand or justify the disparities that remain. Indeed, it is a commonplace of history that revolutions (and the Negro protest movement resembles a revolution in many ways) stem from hope, not despair; from progress, not stalemate. And the nearer to triumph the revolutionaries get, the tougher they usually become. Corporations will find, therefore, that there is no magic formula, no safe and sure way of buying immunity from racial conflict. Indeed, firms that have taken the initiative in employing Negroes may still find themselves the object of attack, perhaps the victim of internecine warfare between competing Negro groups.

Redressing the injuries done to Negroes in the past, moreover, will involve some heavy costs in the present. Granting Negro demands for more jobs, for example, may mean fewer jobs for whites, or at the very least, an end to the monopoly that white employees have thus far enjoyed in many job classifications. Executives can expect to be attacked from both sides, therefore; they will need all the political art they can muster to persuade white employees that "reverse discrimination" is socially necessary and for the greater good. And businessmen may find, to their surprise, that they actually *want* an F.E.P.C. law forbidding all businesses to discriminate in employment or in customer service; such a law would protect them against employees, trade unions, and hostile elements in their communities.

The cost will be high

Efficiency may be lowered by the costs of hiring unqualified Negroes and training them on the job. Even more damage to efficiency may be done by the blow to the morale (and consequently to the productivity) of white employees when firms begin to discriminate in favor of Negroes.

To be sure, no corporation is completely consistent in its adherence to the principle of merit; all kinds of subjective and irrational judgments enter into the selection and promotion of employees. But deliberately departing from the merit principle is something else again, and there is no point in pretending that corporations won't pay a heavy price for doing so. The cost of not discriminating in favor of Negroes, however, will be considerably greater, both to business and to the community at large. "Make no mistake about it, we're going to have to subsidize Negro employment for some time," one industrialist told FORTUNE. "But it will be a lot cheaper to do that than to pay it out in welfare"—or in the cost to the community of racial violence.

It will be far easier to do these things, of course, if the present business expansion continues and the economy returns to full employment. During the labor shortages of World War II, and again during the Korean war, business learned that it can put "unqualified" men and women to work by teaching them on the job, reorganizing the work where necessary to require less skill.

During World War II, for example, U.S. optical manufacturers assured naval procurement officers that it was impossible to manufacture more than a few thousand prism binoculars a year; there was a shortage of lens grinders, and it took a number of years to train one. By breaking the lens-grinding operation into several steps, however, the Navy was able to get the training time down to a few weeks—and to get output up to a half-million binoculars a year. More recently, industry has had to meet its need for engineers through on-the-job training and upgrading. Between 1954 and 1957, for example, industry increased its employment of engineers by 100,000, or 27 percent. In the same period only 70,000 engineers were graduated by all American colleges, and not all of them went to work for industry. Clearly, corporations supplied the difference through upgrading, promotions, and transfers from other work.

Some U.S. corporations that operate in the underdeveloped nations have had to be even more ingenious in upgrading unqualified workers; employing native workers may be the price of staying in the country for any length of time. Aramco, for example, used to import virtually its entire labor force from the U.S.; it seemed "obvious" that illiterate Saudi peasants could never cope with the complex technology of oil drilling and transportation. Faced with the long-range danger of expropriation, however, Aramco discovered that the Saudis could be taught after all. The company now uses Saudi drilling crews directed by Saudi foremen; roughly one-quarter of the labor time Aramco pays for is spent in education and training of some sort.

Broadening the labor pool

Negro Americans, needless to say—even those from the rural South—are quite a few notches above the Saudi tribesmen. If given the chance, they can learn as well as whites; the expense of training them represents a cost of broadening the labor pool. There are present or potential shortages in a good many skilled jobs, partly because of skyrocketing demand, but in good measure because union training regulations artificially restrict the supply. The pressure to hire more Negroes in skilled jobs may give industry the opportunity to take a fresh look at obsolete training requirements.

There are other precedents for the actions business is being urged to take. In many ways, the current racial conflict resembles the conflict over trade-unionism during the 1930's. (The analogy can be pressed too far, of course; there are important differences, the main one being that trade unions could purport to speak for *most* of a firm's employees, whereas Negro organizations speak only for a minority.) Businessmen then resented the unionists' demands to share in managerial power; but the U.S. averted class warfare because large corporations gradually came to accommodate themselves to trade-union power, i.e., to negotiate with it.

When all is said and done, however, business must take the initiative not because it is expedient, nor even because it is necessary, but because it is right. "I tremble for my country," Thomas Jefferson wrote, "when I reflect that God is just." Nor can there be any question about the moral issue involved, unless we are to discard the Judaeo-Christian tradition altogether. "Unlike any other social problem religion has ever had to come to grips with," the Reverend Will D. Campbell of the National Council of Churches has written, "here is one on which there is no room for argument . . . It was settled for the Jews in the wilderness when they were admonished to accept the Ger, the sojourner, the stranger within their gates . . . and it was settled for Christendom at Pentecost when members of every race and nation and tongue were 'altogether in one place hearing the mighty works of God.' " The question, therefore, is no longer what to do, but whether there is still time in which to do it. END

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
December 31, 1963

CIVIL RIGHTS: YEAR-END SUMMARY

During 1963 an estimated 930 individual public protest demonstrations took place in at least 115 cities in the 11 southern states.

More than 20,083 of the persons, Negro and white, who have so demonstrated have been arrested.

Ten persons have died under circumstances directly related to racial protests.

And 35 known bombings have occurred.

On the positive side some progress toward integration has taken in an estimated 186 localities in the 11 southern states. In an estimated 102 of these cities, towns, and counties biracial committees with varying degrees of official sanction are currently working toward the achievement of further integration.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
December 31, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IV*

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South from September 1963 through November 1963. It is principally compiled from newspaper sources. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.)

ALABAMA. (Statewide)

September 6 - Legislature appropriated $25,000 for two years to its joint Commission to Maintain the Peace, created earlier in the year to investigate subversive elements in racial disturbances.

Anniston: September 15-16 - Two Negro ministers beaten by over 25 whites during attempt to use library; following day they were escorted by city officials to the Anniston library, which then integrated.

Atmore: August 18 & 30 - Six separate attacks committed upon Negroe By September 20, six whites, aged 18 to 23, from Florida charged with assault with intent to murder.

Birmingham: September 4 - Bombing of Arthur D. Shores home set off riot in which one Negro was killed.

September 8 - A. G. Gaston home bombed.

September 15- Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombed, killing 4 Negro girls; two Negroes killed in subsequent clashes.

September 18 - Brief, 3-block long demonstration halted during funeral for 3 of the 4 dead.

September 25 - Two consecutive bombs exploded in early morning on street of Negro residential area.

President Kennedy met with separate Negro and white delegations in Washington, sent his own mediators to city. No further Negro demands - employment of Negro police, desegregation of facilities - have been met. There have been no bombing convictions. No further demonstrations. A biracial subcommittee has held meetings.

October 3 - Bombing of Negro store front admitted by Negro.

Florence: In October - city government approved plans to hire first Negro police, none hired as yet.

Gadsden: In September - Negroes filed suit in Federal District Court seeking integration of municipal building, auditorium, tennis courts, swimming pools, recreation center, schools. September 13 - Grand Jury did not bring indictment against grocer held in slaying of Freedom Walker William Moore. November - Store hired 2 Negro butchers and a cashier following economic pressure from community.

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*(Includes events prior to August 29, 1963, which were not reported in previous chronologies. Does not deal with school desegregation.)

ALABAMA(Cont'd).

Huntsville:	August 31 - City Council approved 9-man bi-racial committee.
	September 29 - Seven motels and a leading hotel integrated.
Mobile:	Mid-November - City's picketing ordinance ruled unconstitutional by circuit judge.
Montgomery:	September 5 - One of 3 Negro members of 50-man integrated Kansas high school drum and bugle corps en route to Florida beaten by two unidentified white men in lunbh counter of Trailways Bus terminal.
	September 15 - Clash of whites & Negroes outside segregated movie controlled by police, with no arrests.
Selma:	September 16 - October 16 -- Demonstrations began September 16 when high school students cut classes, attempted sit-ins, marched downtown, 67 were arrested. Protests originated over Birmingham bombing, then focused early on voter registration and segregated facilities.
	September 17 - Twelve arrested.
	September 23 - Fifteen arrested, parade attempt halted.
	September 24-- 132 arrested during two marches and kneeling at housing project. Justice Department lawyers arrived.
	September 25-- 28 arrested picketing court house.
	September 29 - Four Negro women integrated First Presbyterian Church.
	October 1-2 - Six pickets at court house and post office arrested.
	October 7 - Over 200 Negroes stood in line all day to register (under 40 applications processed). Two Negroes attempting to take sandwiches to registrants arrested and two newsmen received rough treatment from state troopers and police.
	October 15-16 - Smaller groups of Negroes attempted to register.
	White leadership has refused negotiation. Charges were parading without permit (permits applied for have been denied), truancy, contributing to delinquency of minor, unlawful assembly, interfering with officer, picketing without license, disorderly conduct.
Tuscaloosa:	September 10-- 3 Ghanaian students, a white student, and a white minister from out of state driving through the city were taken into custody by police, released, later stopped on highway and beaten.
	November 17,18,19 - 3 Separate bombings, 2 of them near University of Alabama.

ARKANSAS.

Benton and Conway:	September - Drive-in movies integrated.

ARKANSAS(Cont'd).

Fayetteville: Summer - Theatres, some motels, most restaurants, and municipal swimming pool integrated.

Fort Smith: August 12 - Negroes picketed supermarket without incident, seeking employment.

Helena: November 16 - 32 arrested during drugstore and restaurant sit-ins, reportedly town's first demonstration.

FLORIDA.(Statewide)

A 1957 statute (Section of the Hotel and Restaurant Commission Act) declaring public lodgings and food service establishments "private enterprises" found to block passage of municipal "open" public accommodation ordinances.

Late October - Florida National Guard integrated by first Negro member.

Bradenton: Since Summer - has formed bi-racial committee.

Clearwater: September 9 - Movies integrated, with one exception.

Jacksonville: October 5 - Over 1,000 staged peaceful march asking jobs, bi-racial committee, desegregation of accommodations. (On September 5 all but two restaurants pledged open policy, but no integration to date.)

Miami: September 15 - Over 1,000 marched in Birmingham memorial procession.

Ocala: September 21 - The Florida Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, holding hearings, was refused motel accommodations, heard testimony on harassment of Negroes advocating integration.

St. Augustine: July 23-October 25 - Demonstrations which began in June have gradually come to a standstill. Police dispersed a Labor Day protest march in the tourist section, have permitted some subsequent picketing. A few lunch counters and one restaurant have integrated. Mayor refuses to name bi-racial committee. Four juveniles arrested July 23 during drugstore sit-in are still held in state reform school. An atmosphere of unrest has been accentuated by some violent incidents, including 2 Negro homes and 2 Negro juke joints shot into, car tires slashed and cars turned over.

August 31 - Eight arrested during drugstore sit-in. September 2 - Thirty-two arrested in city park for holding a public meeting without a permit.

September 12 - City manager issued indefinite ban on parades and open air mass meetings.

September 19 - Four integration leaders severely beaten at Ku Klux Klan rally (which was held in the open air). (Charges against one of the Negroes dismissed in November after complaining Klan witnesses twice failed to appear.)

Week of October 21 - Four bombs thrown at integration leader's home.

October 25 - One of 4 white men driving with a rifle through a Negro neighborhood slain.

November 7 - Two Negroes arrested in connection with shotgun deaths of 2 whites, including October 25 incident.

Sarasota: Since Summer - has formed bi-racial committee.

Tallahassee: September 13-16 -- 248 college students arrested in renewed picketing (after 2 month lay-off) of movie theatre. Approximately 475 marched to jail protesting arrests and 104 of those arrested in their effort to pack jail.

November 7 - Negro student at Florida A & M University shot in arm while walking near campus.

Mid-November - Students have been picketing restaurants adjoining Florida State University campus. One has subsequently served Negroes.

Tampa: September 9 - All movies integrated.

GEORGIA:

Albany: Library recently integrated on stand-up basis.

Americus: August 8 - November 2 -- Four workers in the efforts of voter registration and integration of library,movies and municipal facilities arrested August 8 and 17, charged with insurrection, held 70 days until November 2, until suit brought in Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals secured their release and prohibited further prosecution under the capital charge.
October 22 - Two arrested for picketing movie in only overt protest activity since August.

The 20-man Urban Renewal Committee has 5 Negro members.

Atlanta: September 7 - State Senator Leroy Johnson's office picketed.

As of October 1 - Most drive-in movies integrated after previous 30-day test period.

October 7 - An estimated 500 Negroes picketed Governor Wallace's sppech.

October 21 - 25 picketed First Baptist Church.

October 29 - Mayor named bi-racial panel to study Negro municipal employment.

November 3 - Atlanta Summer Leadership Conference (9 organizations which united in October) asked negotiation of Negro goals with no threat of demonstration.

Week of November 11 -- Lovett School picketed.

November 13 - Negro leadership met with Chamber of Commerce and Board of Aldermen. Chamber issued public statement urging end to discrimination in business and employment.

A Sierra Leone visitor, State Department official, and two Atlantans refused service at one restaurant, police called when they refused to leave.

Atlanta (Cont'd)

November 14 - Board of Aldermen refused to permit Mayor to speak, refused to endorse resolution for voluntary desegregation.

November 19 - Retail Merchants Association joined Chamber of Commerce in endorsing voluntary end to discrimination in public accommodations.

November 21 - Approximately 400 Negroes picketed Rich's seeking employment of Negroes among extra holiday sales personnel. Negro leaders and hotel owners conferred.

Augusta: During late summer - Mayor appointed bi-racial advisory commission. Parks and library integrated. A Negro bus driver hired.

Late September - Merchants began hiring Negroes in non-traditional jobs.

October 9 - Polling places integrated for Mayor's election.

Columbus: September 2 - Library integrated

September 4 - 25-Member (15 whites, 10 Negroes), bi-racial committee named by City Commission.

During October - Movies integrated.

Decatur: During October Municipal Recreation Center used for first time by integrated group (had previously been integrated in principle).

DeKalb Co.: During September an unofficial bi-racial study committee organized to stimulate voter registration.

Fort Valley: November 12 - Negro community formally requested open public accommodation ordinance and integration of municipal facilities.

Griffin: November 9 - Integrated group of 21 Peace Marchers arrested. Main library has integrated recently.

Jekyll Island: September 24 - Suit filed for integration of state park facilities here.

Macon: September 22 - Vineville Baptist Church admitted Negro to church membership; is reportedly first Southern Baptist congregation to do so.

As of October - More than a token number of Negroes have been employed in mercantile jobs. Library integrated recently.

Rome: September 24 - Sorority cancelled scheduled October Air Force Band concert. (Earlier in month Air Force barred its personnel's participation in events before segregated audiences.) Defense Department announced other service arms were doing likewise.

Library recently integrated.

GEORGIA (Cont'd)

Savannah: October 2 - Two motels, two hotels, and three downtown movies integrated.

A Negro delegation to the City Council officially protested five fatal shootings of Negroes by police during the year. (In addition, one Negro woman's home has been shot into seven times within year with no convictions made.)

October 29 - One integrated movie tear-gas-bombed simultaneous with picketing by 15 Klansmen.

Tifton: Library recently integrated.

Valdosta: September 5 - Mayor appointed bi-racial (14 white, 10 Negro members) committee held first meeting. Library subsequently integrated.

Warner-Robbins: September 5 - Integration requests formally presented to mayor by Negro committee.

During October - Although city recently passed a picket-proscribing ordinance, a supermarket has been regularly picketed without incident.

October 19 - Seventeen arrested during drugstore sit-in.

KENTUCKY.

Hopkinsville: Late August - Many restaurants, movies, and bowling alleys voluntarily integrated.

Lexington: August 31 - Over 250 demonstrators marched downtown carrying signs saying newspapers discriminate.

During August - 4 private businesses and secretarial schools integrated.

Louisville: September 12 - Ordinance prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodations went into operation; carries fines up to $100 for violation, injunction for public nuisance after 3 convictions. Bowling alleys have all publicly announced compliance. Tavern owners have brought suit challenging ordinance's constitutionality.

By September 15 - Negro leaders reported tests showed 80 restaurants integrated.

LOUISIANA.

Baton Rouge: October 1 - 4th Negro policemen (3 hired in August), joined force.

Large number picketed food store where clerk allegedly threatened 2 Negroes with gun.

Clinton: October 12-13 -- Twenty-six arrested for picketing. At the city's request, a state court issued injunction banning racial demonstrations.

October 22 - Federal Court extended indefinitely a stay of injunction.

Gonzalez: Late August - A Negro arrested for disturbing the peace when refused restaurant service in bus station.

LOUISIANA (Cont'd).

Hammond: September 5 - Approximately 275 marched to City Hall, attempted 2 sit-ins, in city's first racial demonstration. School suspended for a week participating students (who had cut classes).

September 7 - Mayor met with Negro leaders.

September 8 - Some students returned to school and accepted work penalties in lieu of suspension.

September 9 - Students picketed their school protesting suspension. Mayor agreed to name bi-racial committee and Negro leaders to no further demonstrations.

September 17 - Commission Council passed resolution creating bi-racial committee on community relations (8 whites, 8 Negroes), reportedly second such committee in state (other in Baton Rouge).

September 18 - Committee held first meeting.

Newly formed Association for Preservation of Constitutional Government began efforts (meeting with 115 attendance) to have Mayor recalled.

Jena: September 29 - A KKK rally of 5,000 in a pasture.

New Orleans: August 13 - 10 Negroes hired by Sanitation Department as garbage collectors (job previously unavailable to Negroes).

September 4 - A Methodist church made public announcement that worship services were open to "any and all."

September 10 - 3 leading hotels and 1 motel agreed to accept Negroes as convention delegates.

September 18 - City announced it will appeal July 1 Federal Court order to integrate Municipal Auditorium.

September 19-20 - Students marched before City Hall protesting discriminatory voter registration practices. 83 arrested on the 20th.

September 30 - Parade permit and police protection granted City Hall march of approximately 5,000.

November 4 - Three arrested at City Hall cafeteria (sit-ins have been held here regularly).

November 5 - Five arrested outside Mayor's office and 4 arrested in restaurant protesting segregation.

November 7 - Six arrested in City Hall cafeteria included a Negro Catholic nun.

Opelousas: September 3 - Approximately 300 attended meeting decrying Negro "second class treatment," asking negotiation with city government.

Plaquemine: September - Demonstrations began here August 19 when annexation to the city of 2 Negro neighborhoods (one of which is nearly surrounded by the City) and bi-racial committee denied. A second temporary restraining order

LOUISIANA (Cont'd).

Plaquemine (Cont'd):

(first was stayed by 5th Circuit) issued by U. S. District Court judge on September 1 failed to halt demonstration that night in which 68 were arrested protesting alleged police brutality in smaller protest the night before. Tear gas, electric cattle prods, fire hoses, and mounted police were used to drive retreating demonstrators, including 6 ministers, from a church.

Negro students refused to eat in school cafeteria in protest over firing of lunchroom worker who participated in demonstrations.

September 26 - In response to Negro suit, Federal District judge did not lift, but extended, demonstration ban through October 10.

October 4 - Approximately 500 students held "freedom song" demonstration in high school; 35 students suspended indefinitely.

October 7 - Protesting suspensions, 400 students attempted to protest at school board office, met road barricades and tear gas.

October 8 - Sixty students dispersed from attempted sit-down at white school.

October 9 - A tear gas grenade thrown into a Negro church during protest meeting.

October 10 - Approximately 40 students dispersed from a demonstration at their own school with tear gas; 2 arrests. Nine students dispersed from restaurant sit-in with cattle prods.

October 11 - Individual students served with copies of the anti-demonstration injunction.

October 26 - A scheduled civil rights meeting broken up when arriving participants met at church by armed police.

In long-range efforts, Negroes are attempting to do most of their buying in 20-mile distant Baton Rouge; have offered a full slate of city and parish candidates for December 7 primary.

Pointe a la Hache:

October 10 - Plaquemine's Parish Council authorized Leander Perez to lease an old fort as a stockade for racial demonstrators, and to take Martin Luther King, Jr., into custody should he "visit the Parish."

Shreveport: September 22 - Parade permit denied for a Birmingham (church bombing) memorial march. (By contrast, large marches took place in North Little Rock, Ark., Miami, Fla., Columbia, S. C., and Raleigh, N. C., to name a few places.) When some Negroes attempted to march, police dispersed them with tear gas, arrested one teacher and one student after group took refuge in a school.

October 9 - Four Negroes arrested attempting to register at motel.

MISSISSIPPI.

Indianola: October 22 - Fourteen youths, including 2 Yale students, arrested for distributing literature without a city permit during write-in election drive for Mississippi Negro leader Aaron Henry for governor.

Jackson: October & November - City has been the scene of repeated attempts by integrated groups to worship at white churches, only 2 of which (Catholic and Episcopal) have admitted them.

October 6 - Two Negro and 1 white Tougaloo female students arrested on charges of disturbing public worship at Capitol Street Methodist Church.

October 12 - National Council of Churches, on coeds' behalf, filed suit contesting law which permits arrest of persons trying to integrate church services.

October 13 - Same 3, with a white minister, turned away at same church; no arrests.

October 20 - Twelve arrested at 2 churches.

October 27 - Two ministers arrested when, after police had turned them away from church, they knelt on sidewalk.

November 17 - Ten, including 5 clergymen, 3 of them white, arrested at 4 churches.

Other events have included:

September 4 - U. S. District Court judge released the city as defendant in suit seeking to enjoin it from enforcing segregation under state and city laws.

September 7 - U. S. District Court judge ordered city to remove segregation signs outside 3 terminals. (The 2 bus and 1 railroad company had already removed their own signs inside building. Also, the same judge had earlier refused so to order the city, but his decision was overturned by 5th Circuit.)

September 17 - Two Negroes served on trial juries, reportedly for first time in state in recent years.

October 15 - A Negro shot to death a white service station attendant in argument over use of "White only" drinking fountain.

November 19 - Two white youths arrested for setting fire to drive-in restaurant because owner recently employed Negro car hops and waitresses.

During November - Three Negro girls drew irate crowd of students when they integrated Millsaps College's Christian Center for a play performance.

MISSISSIPPI (Cont'd)

Meridian: August 30 - Three busloads of Negroes, returning from Washington March, refused service at "white only" bus station facilities; some beaten by white bystanders.

October 5 - Four additional Negro policemen hired (previously one on force).

Natchez: August 30 - One Negro arrested for using "white only" service station restroom; complained to Justice Department he was beaten by sheriff's deputies.

Winona: September 9 - Justice Department brought suit charging police with brutality in custody of 5 who sought bus terminal restaurant service last July.

Yazoo City: November 5 - Police met and dispersed election workers, warning them of ordinance against circulating handbills without a permit.

NORTH CAROLINA. (Statewide)

Governor Sanford keeps personally informed of racial demonstrations via statewide telephone reports from State Highway Patrol every 24 hours.

Ahoskie: September 10 - Town Council passed ordinance regulating picketing.

Charlotte: November 22 - All 14 (a 15th is all-Negro St. Andrew's) white Lutheran churches announced January publication of a self-study asserting the churches are open to all.

Concord: September 10 - Negro youths demonstrated before 2 movies, staged a subsequent protest, and on third day, Nov. 16, drew a crowd of 500 hostile whites whom police dispersed.

September 19 - Mayor dissolved 2-month old bi-racial committee saying the demonstrations violated the terms of its formation. Negro members of the committee denied any agreement not to demonstrate.

Dunn: September 20 - Bi-racial Human Relations Committee issued progress report of desegregation, cited integrated drugstore lunch counters and agreement of 11 firms to commence merit hiring. An official truce had been in effect, August 13 through November 13.

November 26 - Negro leadership denied "anything concrete" accomplished in 90-day period.

Elizabeth City: September 14 - Approximately 250 students staged orderly anti-segregation march in reportedly city's first protest of the year.

September 15 - Approximately 450 participated in peaceful prayer march to courthouse.

September 16 - Another march of 150-200, without incident.

September 20 - Negroes made formal announcement of objectives; integration in churches, schools, employment, public

NORTH CAROLINA (CONT'D)

Elizabeth City (Cont'd): accommodations and municipal facilities.

September 25 - Mayor's bi-racial Committee on Human Relations agreed to negotiation with suspension of demonstrations through November 9.

Enfield: August 31 - 1,200 demonstrations clashed with police as violence erupted over failure of bi-racial committee's negotiations and passage of picket-regulating ordinance.

September 4 - Governor's race relations aide visited city but failed to break deadlock.

September 7 - Department store pickets protesting discriminatory hiring arrested as fast as they appeared until jail was filled.

Gatlinburg: October 15 - AFL-CIO's Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights meeting here noted all leading motels, hotels, and restaurants are integrated.

Gastonia: During November - Protests initiated asking integration of movie theatres.

Goldsboro: November 18 - Bi-racial Council announces formation of also bi-racial Woman's Good Will Committee to improve communication across race lines.

High Point: Demonstrations which began in mid-August, and reached a crescendo in early September have centered on public accommodations and employment and resulted in the arrest of over 1,000 by September 10.

September 1 - Seventy-five Negroes marched through downtown and converged on segregated drive-in restaurant.

September 2 - Three leaders of singing march of approximately 120 arrested.

September 3 - Nearly 50 of 200 demonstrators arrested in 3rd consecutive night at drive-in.

September 4 - 225 marching on drive-in met by about 800 angry whites, 2 of whom were arrested for inciting to riot.

September 6 & 7 - Cafeteria, 2 movie theatres, & drive-in picketed.

September 8 - Mass meeting of 900 at City-County Building and downtown march of 380.

September 9 - 363 arrested in 3 waves of theatre-restaurant protest.

September 10 - Mayor requested, Negro leaders rejected moratorium on demonstrations, pending negotiations, 10 of 700 marchers arrested as police restrained 2,000 onlookers from near clashes. To date police had kept order, drawn praise from Negro leaders.

N. C., High Point (Cont'd)

September 11 - A hail of rocks, eggs, and tomatoes thrown from crowd of 3,000 at approximately 500 marchers caught some innocents in crossfire; police used tear gas to keep order, arrested 9 for trespass.

September 12 - Negro leaders agreed to 90-day (through December 6) suspension of protest actions and City Council deferred passage of severe anti-demonstration ordinance. A permament 11-member human relations commission planned to replace bi-racial committee.

September 30 - Women's Good Will Committee held integrated luncheon.

November - Two Negro firemen hired in recent weeks and negotiations with bowling alley owners in progress.

Kenansville: November 8 - Two Negroes served on Superior Court jury in criminal trial (burglary and rape) of a Negro.

Kinston: October - Two Negro firemen hired.

Laurinberg: October 15 - First Negro policeman hired.

Monroe: September 4 - Approximately 125 marched around county courthouse protesting school segregation.

Murfreesboro: During September - Board of Commissioners approved naming of Advisory Committee on Bi-racial Affairs.

Raleigh: During September - A permanent Community Relations Committee succeeded temporary group named in May.

Southern Pines: September 1 - Town's first Negro policeman hired.

Statesville: September 19 - Voters in recall election elected 6 new city councilmen pledged to holdrreferendum on status of swimming pool integrated during summer.

November 19 - Mayor named additional members to expanded bi-racial human relations committee.

Wadesboro: September - Negro community formed its own Economic Development Corporation, established shirt factory providing new skilled jobs.

Washington: September - Bi-racial committee established and second Negro policeman hired.

Williamston: August 29 - After a week-long truce and city's enacting an anti-picketing ordinance, 11 were jailed in violation of it.

August 30 - Approximately 400 Negroes, protesting previous arrests, met phalanx of police. All in all, demonstrations had been held almost daily for 32 days through....

October 15 - When Negro leaders telegraphed the governor to intervene, staged a peaceful march of about 100 persons.

November 17 - Fifteen white ministers from Boston area arrested while protesting with local citizens and jailed in Greenville and Washington (N.C.) where Williamstonians regrouped and protested November 18.

N.C. Williamston (Cont'd):

November 21 - Seventy Negroes, 11 white ministers, and several white seminarians marched in protest despite Superior Court restraining order issued in the morning.

November 22 - Further demonstrations planned for weekend cancelled because of President's death.

Wilmington: October 2 - Approximately 100 arrested demonstrating at movie theatre.

November 16 - An estimated 1,000 persons attended Ku Klux Klan rally 6 miles from city.

Wilson: September 1 - Negroes assembled to sing on courthouse steps; whites formed a counter demonstration with some minor incidents, 5 arrests.

September 2 - Two downtown marches of approximately 125 persons each before movie theatres conducted peacefully.

Winston-Salem: September 3 - Picketing resumed (first since August 28 Washington March) at downtown cafeteria without incident. Bi-racial committee appointed sub-committee to evaluate integration; Negroes claim restaurants are foot-dragging.

September 7 & 8 - Drive-in restaurants with heavy Negro patronage picketed with demands for Negro employment.

September 10 & 11 -- Cafeteria and drive-in picketed, 2 arrests.

September 12 - Largest demonstration - 55 persons - since August as pickets sang in front of cafeteria.

SOUTH CAROLINA. (Statewide).

September-October -- A legislative committee chaired by Representative James C. Arrants held 11 hearings throughout state to take testimony on whether state should maintain open or closed its 26 state parks after federal court ordered integration (parks closed indefinitely by Forestry Commission on September 8). The consensus was for open parks. The Arrants committee will make its recommendations to the General Assembly in January.

Anderson: November 28 - The Ministerial Association, sponsor in past years of the Annual Thanksgiving Day ceremony at the city's recreation center, asked the City Council for permission to hold an integrated program. When the request was denied, the Association, which this year admitted 6 Negro clergymen, withdrew its sponsorship.

Charleston: August 30 - A supermarket and automobile company picketed by approximately 25 Negroes.

September 1 - Picketing. It was announced by Negro leaders on September 7 that this and other demonstrations would be discontinued indefinitely. Unpublicized negotiations reportedly taking place with the bi-racial committee.

S. C. (Cont'd)

Columbia: September 9 - City's first anti-segregation demonstration of the year was a 4-block, few minutes march of 17 youths. Later, on two occasions, at noon and in late afternoon, 23 were arrested trying to integrate movie theatres.

September 10 - Fifty-two participated in theatre demonstration; no arrests.

September 14 - One youth arrested at theatre aroused 20 marchers to sing before jail.

Florence: September 16 - Twenty-member Bi-racial Community Relations Committee under fire from Citizen's Council, drew declaration of unequal support from City Council.

Greenville and Newberry: Bi-racial committees have been formed.

Orangeburg: Communications lapsed here following an August 20 formal presentation of 10-point integration program by Negro leaders to city officials.

September 28 & 29 - Three downtown marches comprising about 200 persons each - 1 on Saturday and 2 on Sunday - resulted in arrest of nearly 500. State law officers and highway patrolmen reinforced local police in city's first large protest action since 1960. (To date this year there had been intermittent sit-ins, fewer than 50 arrests on trespass charges.)

September 30 - During the morning 12 arrested at restaurant sit-ins as 190 paraded downtown and were also taken into custody. During afternoon, 130 marched by jail without incident.

October 1 - 262 demonstrators arrested attempting a second parade. Police had permitted a march of over 100 earlier in day but warned against repetition.

October 2 - With approximately 1,000 arrested in less than a week, Negro leaders met with city officials. Mass demonstrations halted, but single pickets were out.

October 10 - Approximately 80 arrested picketing schools, where partial boycott of classes continued for several days and one teacher was dismissed for protest activities.

October 23 - After a two-week lull, 50 youths arrested during march to police station to register for picketing as required by new ordinance.

By November - Arrests in 2 months of protest have surpassed 1,500 and there has been no resolution of problems.

Seneca: During September - A movie theatre and some lunch counters integrated. A bi-racial committee was formed earlier in summer.

Sumter: August 19 - Two Negro women attempted to integrate a courtroom during trial of 6 ministers charged with trespass for sit-ins. The two served 12 hours in jail on contempt

S. C. (Sumter Cont'd)

charges rather than pay fine.

October 6 - Forty-four arrested during attempted prayer gathering at courthouse in memorial of Birmingham bombing.

October 13 - 102 who were singing and hand-clapping arrested in protest march. Similar but silent marches have occurred in recent weeks without incident.

TENNESSEE.

Chattanooga: Mid-September -- Mayor and City Commission formally declared Chattanooga an "open"city.

October 8 - A vacant house in a predominantly white neighborhood which had been shown to prospective Negro buyers wrecked by dynamite.

Franklin: During August - Bi-racial committee established.

Jackson: November 4 - Seven Negroes arrested in attempted restaurant sit-in.

November 23 - Twenty-five, including 4 white students, arrested in attempt to be served at 4 different restaurants.

Johnson City: September 5 - Members of the City Commission and Chamber of Commerce, as individuals, signed and circulated for public approval a resolution calling for complete integration of public facilities.

Memphis: August 31 - Approximately 400 Negroes marched downtown protesting double shift school day.

September 12 - Sit-in at segregated, privately leased restaurant in railroad terminal.

Smithville: September 3 - Shotgun and pistol fired into home and car of Negro family whose two children integrated the elementary school. Sheriff and a former sheriff arrested on warrant sworn out by the parent. Charges dismissed September 9.

TEXAS.

Austin: August 28 - Eleven persons reportedly paraded in White Citizens' Council counter-protest to civil rights march which took place later in day with several 100 participants.

During October - City Council took under advisement a public accommodations ordinance.

Dallas: October 1 - A Marine color guard scheduled to participate in woman's club meeting did not attend because of armed services directive against participation in segregated gatherings.

Galveston County: September 4 - Fourteen members appointed to bi-racial committee to deal with racial problems in county government employment, service at county hospital, and in public accommodations in unincorporated areas.

Marlin: August - Established a bi-racial committee.

Prairie View: November 9 - Boycott of football game and home-coming requested by students of the Prairie View A & M student body and alumni to support efforts to integrate nearby Hempstead effective as about 100 persons attended (attendance in previous years: 9,000).

November 15-16--White ministers joined students picketing restaurants in Hempstead.

VIRGINIA

Statewide: Oct. 15 - Two Negro applicants passed examinations for National Guard but have not been inducted to date.

Charlottesville: Sept. 22 - Peaceful Birmingham memorial march.

Covington: Sept. 3 - First Negro policeman hired.

Danville: August 30 - Twenty-five arrested for parading without permit.

September 1 - An Episcopal church Holy Communion service integrated.

September 17 - More than 80 participated in peaceful public prayer meeting (for those who died in Birmingham) on Post Office Building steps.

October 16 - First Negro policeman hired.

November 21 - A League of over 200 white citizens petitioned mayor to approve a biracial committee.

Eastville: September 5 - Negro ministers from state's two eastern shore counties, Accomack and Northampton, formally requested biracial committee in first such action in area.

Farmville: September 5 - Picketing and selective buying had been fairly continuous to date when three merchants pledged to employ Negro sales personnel.

September 7 - Fifty staged singing protest before movie theatre without incident.

September 12 - A fourth merchant agreed to open jobs. Picketing continued before those who have not agreed.

Fort Lee: During September - A biracial committee and an equal employment opportunity committee formed.

Fredericksburg: October 11 - Biracial Commission reported several large motels and hotels in the area have integrated eating and sleeping accommodations.

Virginia cont'd

Hopewell: September 18 - City's first Negro policewoman hired as school guard.

Martinsville: During August - A bi-racial committee established. First Negro policeman joined force thereafter.

Norfolk: September 19 - More than 2,000 Negro students paraded before Norfolk School Administration Building and a student delegation presented list of grievances about the city's only Negro high school to the school superintendent.

Petersburg: September 19 - Over 1,000 Virginia State College students marched 8 miles carrying coffin labeled "Birmingham Justice."

Portsmouth: November 20 - Full integration of hospital medical staff to be recommended at hospital board meeting in December as a result of meeting with Negro leaders. No action taken on request for integration of facilities.

Radford: A bi-racial committee has been established.

October 1 - Public roller skating facilities integrated and Recreation Department announced its basketball program would in integrated at season's opening in December.

Richmond: September 4 - Twelve-member Bi-racial committee held its first meeting.

Staunton: September 28 - Hired first regular Negro policeman.

Tappahannock: A 12-member bi-racial committee has been established.

* *

CITIES WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SEPTEMBER - NOVEMBER, 1963

ALABAMA

Anniston
Birmingham
Selma

FLORIDA

Jacksonville
Miami
St. Augustine
Tallahassee

GEORGIA

Americus
Atlanta
Warner Robins

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Clinton
Hammond
New Orleans
Plaquemine
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

Concord
Elizabeth City
Enfield
Gastonia
High Point
Monroe
Washington
Williamston
Wilmington
Wilson
Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston
Columbia
Orangeburg
Sumter

TENNESSEE

Jackson
Memphis

TEXAS

Austin
Hempstead

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Norfolk
Petersburg

* *

CITIES WHERE SOME PROGRESS TOWARD INTEGRATION HAS OCCURRED

ALABAMA

Anniston
Florence
Huntsville

ARKANSAS

Benton
Conway

FLORIDA

Bradenton
Clearwater
St. Augustine
Sarasota
Tampa

GEORGIA

Atlanta
Augusta
Columbus
Decatur
Macon
Savannah
Valdosta

KENTUCKY

Louisville

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Hammond
New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson
Meridian

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Dunn
Gastonia
High Point
Laurinberg
Murfreesboro
Southern Pines
Washington

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Greenville
Newberry
Seneca

TENNESSEE

Franklin
Johnson City

TEXAS

Galveston County
Marlin

VIRGINIA

Covington
Danville
Farmville
Ft. Lee
Fredericksburg
Hopewell
Martinsville
Radford
Richmond
Staunton
Tappahannock

Estimated number of arrests in 11 Southern states since August 28, 5,125.

The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments, V

This synopsis covers the period December 1-23, 1963.

ALABAMA - In Birmingham on December 9 a meeting of the National States Rights Party called off when only 12 persons attended. On December 10 a window in the home of a Negro civil rights attorney was smashed by a steel ball. On December 12 a U.S. District Court judge ordered integration of the Birmingham Airport Motel.

In Tuscaloosa on December 19 and 20 five National Guardsmen were arrested on charge of setting off three November explosions near the University of Alabama.

ARKANSAS - In Helena on December 6 three integration workers were arrested.

FLORIDA - In Ocala on December 7 12 white students and teachers who were picketing with Negroes (who were permitted to continue) were arrested.

In Tallahassee on December 12 a petition signed by 116 Florida State University faculty members asking integration of off-campus restaurants ran as a full-page ad in FSU student newspaper.

GEORGIA - In Americus on December 5 one of the four rights workers who had been held and later released on insurrection charge was convicted of assault with intent to murder.

In Atlanta there was considerable activity highlighted by the following:
-Dec. 3 - Board of Aldermen voted 10-4 in favor of open public accommodations resolution;
-Dec. 9 - Federal suit filed by Negroes against segregated motel built in Urban Renewal area;
-Dec. 15 - Outdoor civil rights rally of approximately 2,500;
-Dec. 16 - City's remaining segregation statutes invalidated by Board of Aldermen;
Dec. 21 & 22 - A total of 21 arrested in two restaurant sit-ins;
-Dec. 22 - First Baptist Church congregation voted to admit Negroes to worship.

In Dawson at about midnight on December 8 a Negro home which had been used by registration workers was shot into and bombed.

LOUISIANA - In Baton Rouge on December 12 a Negro integration leader from nearby Plaquemine was convicted on a bad check charge. A suit seeking the integration of the city's Parks and Recreation Commission's facilities is pending; to be heard January 17.

In Clinton on December 4, 5, & 6 a total of seven pickets at segregated businesses were arrested.

In Monroe on December 13 a resolution calling on state's Congressional delegation to oppose civil rights legislation introduced at meeting of the state bar association's house of delegates.

MISSISSIPPI - In Jackson the following events occurred:

-Dec. 11 - Six Negro housewives were fined $500 each and sentenced to six months in jail on charges stemming from their picketing a downtown store December 6;

-Dec. 13 - Citizens Council advocated a $6,000 a year raise for mayor for "a job well done" on racial problems;

-Dec. 15 - Two Negro and two white ministers arrested attempting to enter Methodist churches.

Also, during the month, Britain's Manchester Guardian criticized conductor Sir Malcolm Sargent and revealed a white British student was arrested for attempting to attend a segregated Royal Philharmonic concert here with a Negro.

NORTH CAROLINA - North Carolina Good Neighbor Council on December 10 reported increase of Negroes in non-traditional jobs, both commercial and municipal, in Asheville and Buncombe County, High Point, Gastonia, Winston-Salem, Ahoskie, Alamance County, Goldsboro, Laurinberg, Fayetteville, Greensboro, and Rocky Mount.

Alamance County Board of Commissioners on December 13 refused to give county's human relations council power to negotiate with local businessmen and other groups, but agreed to increase council's membership from 24 to 28.

Goldsboro in early December reported more than 100 Negroes had been employed by local stores, 92 (including three policemen) by city itself, and 121 by a local manufacturing firm employing a total of 383 workers.

Wayne County appointed its first Negro deputy sheriff December 12.

In Winston-Salem on December 9 three sat-in at a coffee shop; left when owner called police.

OKLAHOMA - In Tulsa public hearings on a proposed public accommodations ordinance ended December 12. Fifty person spoke in favor of it; 33 against.

SOUTH CAROLINA - In Columbia Main Street movie theatres and a luxury motel quietly integrated in late November. A biracial drive to integrate all local motels, hotels, and restaurants launched in early December. Dec. 16 - Over 100 marchers arrested.

TENNESSEE - Nashville's Metropolitan government adopted a nondiscriminatory hiring policy for all local government workers in December.

TEXAS - In Austin on December 20 20 students picketed Lynda Bird Johnson's dormitory at the University of Texas protesting segregation of coed dorms.

The Dallas News reported on December 12 that the hiring of Negroes has "become normal employment practice in a broad spectrum of Dallas stores."

VIRGINIA - In Danville on December 10 9 of 20 demonstrators were arrested at a theatre and restaurant in city's first racial incident since last summer. Fifteen more demonstrators were arrested December 11 and 12. A fair employment ordinance prohibiting discrimination in hiring of city employees was passed by city council on December 10.

VIRGINIA cont'd.

In Norfolk the Virginian-Pilot reported December 13 that two Negro leaders are expected to run for the city council next June.

In Roanoke two Negro firemen were hired during December.

Excerpt from remarks of Roy Wilkins of New York City,
Executive Secretary of the National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
At the annual dinner of the Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia, January 29, 1964, 8:00 P.M.

We cannot have meaningful change in human relations, especially if these involve the revision of laws and the uprooting of tradition, without confrontation, tension and occasional strife. Thoughtful students of the national scene have marked the frank talk and direct negotiations of the Sixties as a most significant gain in the assault upon citizenship inequities based upon race.

In no quarter has the value of supplementary direct action and individual involvement been acknowledged more readily and with more warmth than among those who had employed other approaches and had found these, in and of themselves, agonizingly slow in producing the results desired.

But a program of conciliation alone (such as the early Interracial Commissions) or court action alone (such as the 1917 decision against municipally-established ghettos) or legislation alone (such as certain of the state and municipal civil rights laws) did not meet our varied needs and situations.

Events in both the North and the South would seem to suggest that today we need to study the efficacy of the exclusive direct action approach. Such a study should recognize the very obvious fact that circumstances may differ even when they appear similar. For example, is any different procedure indicated in a city at a time when desegregation is underway than at the time when the segregation front was solid?

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If the problem in a public school system is the junior high school feeder system, is a city-wide, all-level pupil boycott the effective tactic to achieve the end desired? If a neighborhood selective buying campaign can win the employment of supermarket checkout cashiers, can the same tactic win jobs for unemployed laborers as electricians or sheeet metal workers?

Negro doctors last year staged a dramatically informative and persuasive picketing of the American Medical Association. They do not expect, however, that a picket line will solve the intricate, tradition-and-income-and prestige encrusted problem of hospital staff appointments, among other problems.

It may be that the time has now arrived when the civil rights forces need to go to a quarterback clinic. The goal of a football team is to make points enough to win the game. If points cannot be made with touchdowns, field goals can be called upon. If the line of the opposition is unyielding, end runs or forward passes are tried. No quarterback worth his salt keeps pounding away with line ~~backs~~ bucks that yield at best a yard or, worse still, a yardage loss.

The enterprise that engages us is not one against a single restaurant in Atlanta, Ga., or a single school board in Malverne, N.Y., or an employment policy in St. Louis, Mo., or police action in Plaquemine, La., or a single hotel in Salt Lake City, Utah. We are engaged in a comprehensive campaign for the civil rights of 18 million citizens scattered in 50 states, living under varied economic, social and political conditions and functioning with a variety of education and technical knowledge, training and skill.

The 18 millions are a minority in 186 millions of citizens. Thus even elementary reasoning would seem to indicate that allies among the

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majority must be won and held if the minority's efforts are not to end in frustration and failure.

Craven tactics do not win allies; instead, they pile up contempt. Unending patience, ultra-conservatism and continuous conciliation win nothing except an occasional crumb or bone and the deeper entrenchment of the status quo.

But uni-racial assaults, brave and dedicated though they may be, which are rooted in one tactic and in no critical appraisal of pertinent factors in a particular encounter, could not only fail in their immediate objective, but could set back the whole civil rights army across the entire action front.

Is it too old-fashioned to suggest that we may need more flexibility in our campaign? Where our opponents have been most inflexible, they have been most vulnerable and we have won undisputed psychological victories, even though practical advances may have been delayed. When the Trojans formed a frontal assault, ineffective, they used a wooden horse. Hannibal surprised the Romans by bringing elephants the back way across the Alps.

David spurned the traditional sword against Goliath and used a slingshot. The females added Stuka dive bombers and V-2 rockets in World War II, and the Japanese went one better with their suicide pilots.

A bulldozer can excavate for a foundation, but a block and tackle is required to get a piano into the ninth floor.

Let us not become so inflexible in thought and method that we, too, become vulnerable. In some places outside the South some of our tactics are causing questions to be raised about our campaign among, not our expected opponents, but among some of our own people and our potential allies.

Here in the South some procedures are undermining those persons in strategic positions who have supported us. These procedures are also reviving hard-core opponents who had been repudiated and all but forgotten in the struggle. And, most seriously, some tactics have won support for the segregationists from that reservoir of public opinion that might well have been won--or neutralized--by us.

The plain lesson is that we must use every method, every technique, every tool available. We need to devise new tools. Our

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attack must be across the board and must be leveled at all forms and degrees of second class citizenship. Where one weapon is sufficient, let it be employed. Where a combination is required, let it be used. Where variations in timing and methods will be effective, by all means let us employ these. But let none of us, in the North or in the South, "activists" or not, fall into the trap, at this crucial stage, of attempting to solve all problems everywhere by a single method.

If Negro citizens today need to re-examine their position, white people are under no less obligation to review theirs. Despite the bitter-enders, the question of the day is not whether racial inequality and its principal tool, segregation, shall survive. The question is only on the means and the pace of eliminating it. Die-hard opposition will but delay matters; it cannot win.

The Panama crisis came to a head because of many factors, but it was given emotional drive by the arrogant and contemptuous "white colonialism" of many Americans in the Canal Zone. The lid over the cauldron was kicked off by American high school youngsters who believed their parents' assertion that Washington agreements with the government of Panama did not affect their little racial empire. How like our states' rights "arguments"!

American Negro citizens are a unit in insisting that the Constitution of the United States guarantees protection of their citizenship rights against the abridgements and denials of any racist doctrine or practice, in Atlanta or in Spokane.

In 1964 they expect to move at an accelerated pace toward the practical realization of that goal. Peaceful, mutually respectful and brisk progress can result if the white majority will acknowledge the realities of the day and not persist in using turn-of-the-century blinders.

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Mary Godwin

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1963
FEBRUARY 1964

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF

1963

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Miss Josephine Wilkins*
Rufus E. Clement*
Marion A. Wright*

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Director, Southern Leadership Project - Benjamin Muse
Editor, *New South* - Miss Margaret Long
Director, Voter Education Project - Wiley A. Branton
Director of Research - Staige D. Blackford
Assistant to the Director - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director of Information - Pat Watters

*ex-officio members of Executive Committee

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1963

The Southern Regional Council was completing during 1963 its twentieth year of work and, we believe, good service. The "new South," so long heralded, must finally have arrived, and what is "new" about it is not only its almost bewildering complexity but its new-found self-direction. In the past, things happened to the South -- the importation of slaves, the cotton gin, Reconstruction, the boll weevil, the depression of the 30's, Brown v. Topeka --, and the South reacted to them and was thereby changed.

Now the South with new leadership -- principally Negro -- is revising itself, its institutions, and its ideas. Race relations remain its core issue, and though we can be optimistic we cannot be certain what they may become. We can, however, know with sureness this: southern race relations of the next decade and beyond will not repeat the northern experience of de facto segregation and discrimination. For that had grown up like Topsy, unplanned and unchosen though within an antagonistic environment. Whatever race relations there may lie ahead in the South (or, for that matter, in the nation at large), whether they may be good or poor, they will be, primarily, the result of conscious choice and policy. Both human drift and social custom are irrelevant; we are choosing where we shall go, and what we shall be.

Appropriately, therefore, the Council in this time of new decisions has elected a new President. I believe many members of the Council, including its incoming-President, might have wished James McBride Dabbs could serve forever, so perfectly did he represent the thoughts and the hopes of us all. Indeed, this might have been his fate, had not he himself firmly urged otherwise.

A no less representative Southerner is John H. Wheeler, the Council's fifth President since its founding. From the time in 1942 when he took part in the Durham Conference -- the first stepping stone in the formation of the Council -- John Wheeler has been a devoted member and leader. As Chairman of the Executive Committee since 1961, he has given policy guidance during demanding years. I have worked under his supervision in that capacity, and to him and to Mr. Dabbs, president throughout my tenure, I am deeply indebted for support and for instruction.

This time last year, in the 1962 Annual Report, I wrote that "it would be hard to exaggerate the seriousness and probable effects of the Birmingham ordeal which lies ahead." Successful prophecies of this sort are distinctly unwanted; I was, besides, looking ahead to a school desegregation crisis. That came, and with it ugly tremors, and then the horror of September 15 when, in an ultimate frenzy of hate, six Negroes were murdered.

This followed by three months and more the Birmingham street events which had fired the Negro revolt as nothing before had.

Birmingham was of the pattern of Albany. Mass demonstrations were hurled in protest against an iniquitous system, and without the pin-point focus of the earlier sit-ins nor with their incredibly exemplary deportment. Like Albany too, whose Negro community today is defeated and almost hopeless, in Birmingham little local change resulted. Unlike Albany, Birmingham met the demonstrators not with slick, sophisticated police suppression but with ferocity. And this, if anything did, made the difference. A national administration, which had had no prior intention of seriously sponsoring civil rights legislation in 1963, mobilized its thinking and its supporters and put before Congress a far-reaching civil rights bill, and yet one which the key Congressional Committee (House Judiciary) refused to report out until it was further strengthened. A tidal wave of demonstrations swept through the South,* and in its wake much was changed where change had earlier begun, though little change was started where none or but the smallest had earlier occurred. Even more important, the northern cities came apart, for the first time since the race riots of the forties, ripped by demonstrations against non-legal and even non-acknowledged, but equally impenetrable, segregation. It is reasonable to suppose, and the polls confirm, that many northern whites learned a new determination to establish justice, while many others learned a new or renewed, if usually silently held, antipathy to racial equality.

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*According to our count, demonstrations occurred in at least 115 southern cities during 1963. More than 20,000 arrests of demonstrators were made. Ten persons died; at least 35 bombings occurred.

There was more, even, than this. Upheavals within the ranks of Negro leadership, nationally and in all parts of the country, were marked, as the spirit of revolt ran too fast for some to be able to keep up, or to want to. Many liberals, both Negro and white and South and North, worried sincerely with the problem of demonstrating methods which sometimes obscured the rightness of the underlying cause. But there were also intellectual stirrings within the revolt's vanguard, reappraising the efficacy of demonstrations and examining the need to identify the aims of Negroes with those of other disadvantaged elements of the economy.

Revolutions throughout history have been more frequently justified in cause than beneficial in result. America's good luck is that the Negro drive -- which is genuinely revolutionary -- has been carried on through methods which have had the wondrous quality of relaxing rather than deepening hostilities or breeding new ones. America has been profoundly lucky too that the goal of the revolt has been and is integration or, to put it in different words, has been to make the community whole by knitting it more firmly together. The true dangers of the future are not those which the segregationists fear, which are what Negroes will do to the community when they have been admitted into it. The true danger, and I think it is a real and threatening one, is to keep large segments of the white population from flying out of the national consensus as Negroes come in. It is not, unfortunately, inconceivable that integration will, for example, greatly accelerate the polarization of political opinions within the electorate, and if that happens widely enough to affect the behavior of the political parties at local, state, or national levels our governmental institutions would be under heavy difficulty.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The Voter Education Project seeks another end. It is approaching its third and final year. As of December 31, 1963 it had received grants totaling $584,733 and had granted out to cooperating agencies $382,003 to sustain voter registration work. The Project began April 1, 1962, and by the end of 1963 -- 21 months later -- 327,588 new voters had been registered through its programs. With these, the number of Negro voters in the eleven southern states has reached 1,752,000. During the pre-election months of 1964, we expect that the total will finally go well beyond two million.

The Voter Education Project does none of the actual registration work. Its purpose is to study what others do and the problems they encounter in seeking to broaden the southern electorate. It is experimental research, which provides us the unparalleled opportunity of studying registration methods and organizations in close-up detail.

Under the forceful direction of Wiley A. Branton, VEP receives proposals from non-partisan agencies interested in registration work, decides which it can support within already determined geographic criteria, allocates funds, and thereafter observes the work closely.

VEP is our largest present program by far. To administer it has been a tremendous trust and a steady challenge to our ability to work cooperatively with other agencies and people. We intend to do all we possibly can to publish from the Project's records and findings a lastingly valuable study. The Project, has moreover, given us the privilege of planning and guiding the largest effort ever made to make real the Fifteenth Amendment.

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Voter Education Project is concerned with the enlargement of our democracy. The Councils on Human

Relations seek to strengthen its quality.

Membership in the state and local Councils was 8,257 in 1963, an increase of nearly two thousand over 1962. Funds raised locally (exclusive of any foundation grants or SRC grants-in-aid) were $65,525, an increase of $9,186 over 1962. Especially noteworthy was the record of the Florida Council, which during the year re-built itself, under first-rate lay and staff direction, to a strength of 1,200 members, with 14 active local Councils.

As I said at Annual Meeting, 1963 seems to me the year in which the Council on Human Relations movement began to shift to high gear. Happily, there is one -- Virginia -- already in high, and we think it can be and will be in 1964 joined by one or two others. Everywhere there is a growing awareness that numbers do count, that the once prevalent notion of a small band of good people quietly doing good is outmoded, and that the Councils on Human Relations -- virtually the only southern instrument of bi-racial programming -- have unique opportunities, and therefore responsibilities, for program accomplishments.

OTHER FIELD ACTIVITIES

Especially in Mobile, but also in Birmingham and Jacksonville, staff and consultants worked during the Summer with local citizen groups concerned with effecting peaceful, orderly school desegregation. As a future help to us, and also to other agencies working in such local situations, we had prepared, under the supervision of Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities, a hefty manual of advice and shared experience. Transition Without Tragedy, by Florence Robin, is not a publication for general circulation, but in the quiet use for which it is intended it should be of considerable practical value.

Completion of his writing assignment enabled Benjamin Muse, Director of the Southern Leadership Project, to return to the field in late 1963; he was especially active and helpful in Danville. His associate in the field work of the Southern Leadership Project for three years, Public School Consultant J. J. Brewbaker, retired in mid-1963 for personal and family reasons. In the final months of his work, Mr. Brewbaker was engaged in conferences with school authorities in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. During his three years with SRC, Mr. Brewbaker gave excellent professional service, and we miss him badly.

We continued our cooperative program with the National Council of Churches, planned to aid the clergy of the rural Deep South in their awesomely delicate ministry. And through our own Fellowship of the Concerned, inspiringly led by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, we maintained our long working association with churchwomen all over the South. The

Fellowship's annual meeting in October was, in a word, magnificent; through it and from it came a vital partnership with the White House initiated National Women's Committee for Civil Rights.

As in the past, SRC acted as secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference. And as always, our office has been the meeting place and the crossroads for nearly every agency and person engaged in human relations work in the South.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

In 1962 we undertook to write the political history of the South's reaction to Brown v. Topeka, and contracted with Viking Press for publication. Benjamin Muse was assigned to the writing, which he completed in the Fall of 1963. The book, titled Ten Years of Prelude, will be published May 17, 1964.

James McBride Dabbs completed a study of southern character, begun and researched as an SRC project. The book will be published by McGraw-Hill in late 1964.

Dr. M. Robert Coles's psychiatric studies under our Research in Student Adjustment Project culminated in several publications during the year, including a paper read before the American Psychiatric Association and subsequently published in its journal. Dr. Coles continues his research, and, though his sponsor is now Harvard University, we enjoy his association still.

Our research publications for the year were:

Pamphlets:

J. Kenneth Morland, Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond.

Robert Coles, The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study.

Vivian W. Henderson, The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South.

Special Reports:

Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey

Special Issues of NEW SOUTH:

"March on Washington," September 1963

"Direct Action in the South," October-November 1963

Miscellaneous:

The City and Minority Groups (jointly prepared with the Potomac Institute and the International City Managers Association, and published by the latter)

The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments in four parts: I. April-June 24, 1963; II. June 24-July 24, 1963; III. July 24-August 28, 1963; IV. August 28-November 30, 1963.

L-Reports:

L-41 "Excerpts from Speeches of Governor Bert Combs of Kentucky and Secretary of Commerce Luther T. Hodges."

L-42 "Speech by Edward J. Meehan, Editor Emeritus of Memphis Press-Scimitar."

L-Reports (continued)

L-43	"Businessmen Point the Way."
L-44	"Charlotte Has Built Its Integration Road: A Different Way."
L-45	"Public Education in Mississippi."
L-46	"Voice of the People: 'At This Very Late Hour'"

Reception of these publications was gratifying. The Morland, Coles, and Henderson pamphlets received widespread press attention, and all three, especially the Henderson economic study, have been heavily ordered in group lots. We assess the response to our publications not only, however, by volume of press clippings and orders, but by the comments which come from discerning sources. Such, for example, as that from the editor of one of the South's largest dailies regarding Margaret Long's beautiful March on Washington: "The New South issue with your Washington report in it will live. It's a great job.... the definitive work on that day"; and a federal judge's statement regarding Direct Action in the South: "It is the best thing I have seen for putting events of the last three years in significant focus."

Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey, a fairly simple and unassuming report, had an unusual history. We gave it no press release, and it received no news attention until we and the press learned that it was being read and reacted to in very high Washington quarters. I think we can accurately say that nothing SRC has ever published produced more immediate governmental action, nor more quickly affected governmental policies. Washington's response was rather baffling, because while vigorously and most commendably acting upon the report's findings (which were confirmed by the government's own investigators), it simultaneously was questioning that any problem existed and was undermining through news leaks and authoritative gossip acceptance of the report's reliability. The matter roiled over before a Congressional committee, and shortly thereafter subsided. We were nevertheless, gratified that Fortune magazine, after an independent check of its own, confirmed our conclusions in its September issue. All in all, it was an interesting experience.

New South during the year ran articles by such persons as Eric Lincoln, Charles Hartshorne, Fred Powledge, Wyatt Tee Walker, Horace Mann Bond, and James McBride Dabbs, whose final presidential address, printed in the December issue, was a thing of joy.

Pat Watters, former city editor and editorial page columnist for the Atlanta Journal, joined our staff in November as Director of Information. He brings us excellent skills and good judgment, and we are delighted to have him.

SOME OTHER ACTIVITIES

Messrs. Wheeler, Branton, and Dunbar were among the 17 persons invited by the Notre Dame University Law School to a conference on federal civil rights legislation; recommendations of the conference were published in the Notre Dame Lawyer of June 1963. Mr. Branton was a principal speaker at the CORE national convention, as was I at the annual meetings of the Civil Liberties Clearing House and of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. In August the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower called me to testify as an "expert" on pending job discrimination legislation.

In early November, Professor James Silver electrified his audience at the Southern Historical Association and news readers everywhere with his description and indictment of "Mississippi, The Closed Society." We had worked closely with Professor Silver in preparing this and the expanded version which is soon to be published as a book. We have also distributed more than 1,200 copies of the address.

During the year, the Council was host to 105 foreign visitors, sent to us by federal offices. Of these, 21 came from Africa, seven from the Caribbean islands, ten from Central America, nine from the Far East, 53 from Europe, and five from South America. For these we were official sponsor. Another 67 foreign visitors, sponsored by other Atlanta based organizations, came to our offices for discussions and briefings about the South. In addition to both these groups, foreign news reporters visited us from time to time.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS AND FINANCES

Two long-time and devoted members of the Council died during the year: Mr. Charles Shaw of Houston and Dr. H. Councill Trenholm of Montgomery. Their passing saddened us all. We lost in the same humbling way the comradeship of Mr. Harry Jones, director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

New members elected at the 1963 Annual Meeting, all for the Class of 1967 unless otherwise noted, were: Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Memphis; Mrs. Mary Sands, New Orleans; Mrs. Jane Schutt, Jackson (Miss.); Ralph M. Dreger, Jacksonville; S. E. Duncan, Salisbury (N.C.); Paul Johnston, Birmingham; the Rev. Powers McLeod, Auburn (Ala. - Class of 1964); Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville (Ga.); Samuel M. Nabrit, Houston (Class of 1966); C. H. Parrish, Louisville; Jack Young, Jackson (Miss.); James Youngdahl, Little Rock. This is a distinguished group of people, and we welcome them most warmly.

The Council terms of Dr. Crawford Brock of Rome (Ga.), Mrs. E. M. Sparling of Hot Springs (Ark.), Mr. Charles Steele of Louisville, and Miss Florence Sytz of New Orleans ended: their colleagues reluctantly saw them leave our membership, but not our continued association in southern progress.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee was elected to the Executive Committee, filling the place which Dr. John A. Griffin of Tallahassee has held so long and well. In place of John H. Wheeler, elevated to the Presidency, ex-President Dabbs was voted onto the Committee!

Mrs. M. E. Tilly was, by the admiring membership of the Council, elected a Life Fellow, even though she continues as a full-time staff worker.

The 1963 Annual Meeting, scheduled for November 25 - 26, was postponed to January 29 - 30, 1964 because of the assassination. John Fitzgerald Kennedy's death, coming after all the other cruelties of 1963, must have caused many of us to wonder what kind of a people we are, or have become. The guest speaker at SRC's meeting was Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP. He was an ideal choice for this stunned year, because he is a man, like Mr. Kennedy, who has never lost faith in the people or in the human mind.

Expenditures for 1963 were slightly below budgeted amounts, but, alas, income was also, and more so: so we ended the year with a deficit of $5,382.76. It must not happen again.

In all matters of finances, I would like to acknowledge my continuing debt to SRC's exacting Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Ruth House Alexander.

Two internal activities of the year deserve special remark.

First, we carried through a reorganization of staff assignments, including the writing of job descriptions and the establishment of revised salary scales for each position.*

Second, we undertook and completed a thorough study of all SRC programs and opportunities for program. So much work went into this, and now there seems little to say except that it is done, and it was worth doing. The process itself, which involved Council members, staff, and outside friends, was an education. The "Program Review and Evaluation," as the final document was called, was approved by both the Executive Committee and the Annual Meeting, and its recommendations are being put into effect during 1964. Principal staff responsibility for the self-examination was discharged by Professor Henry Clark, of Union Theological Seminary (N.Y.), who worked with us during the Summer.

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*I would like to acknowledge the help given here by our friend John Feild, former executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and a man of many other distinctions. Mr. Feild gave freely and generously his highly valued time to advise me at crucial steps of the reorganization.

Finally, the disposition of the Executive Director was remarkably improved after June 1963, when Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., came with us as Assistant to the Director. Mr. Jordan, formerly Georgia field director for the NAACP, brought with him, and put to our use, judgment, versatility, and good spirits.

A POINT OF VIEW

Twice during the year, the Executive Committee took the unusual step, for it, of issuing public statements. In May it said, with reference to the Supreme Court's "sit-in" decision:

> These decisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity -- and intelligence -- which we turned our backs on in 1954. The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness; instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malice and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit.

In a longer and important statement of December 30, the Executive Committee said:

> We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life. As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration. We are optimistic that a new South, born of struggle, will, with courage and intelligence, re-shape its economic and educational practices as needed to integrate all its people into a society that serves the free and full development of each individual.

That "courage and intelligence" to which the Committee referred were the hallmark of the life and the tragedy of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Over all our remembrance of the nation-shaking events of 1963, his presence and his departure dominates. I was in Cleveland (Ohio) the day of his death, and that night was asked to give a brief testimonial before a large gathering. I was asked to do so as a representative of the Southern Regional Council, and I tried to speak its sense, not only of loss, but of loyalty to the rational and good cause which that day had been assaulted by the senseless evil which always dwells within us:

> It is a hard thing for a people to lose its chief. The President of the United States is President of all Americans, and the man so cruelly taken from us today tried diligently to represent the whole of this nation. The endless variety of America includes even the wicked man who murdered him, who also, we must confess, was a son of this land. America's history has been a boundless quest to give opportunity: for the multitude, an opportunity for happiness; for the person, an opportunity for liberty. Mr. Kennedy knew this, and believed in the magic of the American adventure. May God give comfort to his family, a clear mind and a sturdy faith to President Johnson; and to all of us who go on with the unfinished and never to be finished adventure which is America, and which is the life of humanity freeing itself from burdens to the spirit, may He give us brave souls.

Leslie W. Dunbar

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 1964

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Raymond Wheeler
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Thomas W. Young

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas

---

*Addresses of the officers are given in the attached list of the members of the Council. All organizations and positions are shown for identification purposes only.

Class of 1964

Fred D. Alexander
Realtor
2140 Senior Drive
Charlotte 8, North Carolina

The Rev. Hubert Beckwith
Congregational Christian Church
of Fairfax County
P. O. Box 186
Annandale, Virginia

B. R. Brazeal
Academic Dean
Morehouse College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

The Rev. W. C. Brooke
St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 4211
Roanoke, Virginia

The Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini
Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese
of Natchez-Jackson
The Catholic Church
123 North West Street
Jackson, Mississippi

I. H. Burney
Insurance Executive
101 E. Union Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Irving E. Carlyle
Attorney
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Hodding Carter, Jr.
Editor and Publisher
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta 14, Georgia

James A. Colston
President
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

Jerome Crossman
President
Ryan Consolidated Petroleum
Corporation
3400 Republic National Bank
Building
Dallas, Texas

James McBride Dabbs
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Daytona Beach, Florida

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(United Nations staff,
New York)
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Douglas Jackson
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

The Rev. Powers McLeod
Auburn Methodist Church
Box 1290
Auburn, Alabama

Mrs. Charles White
Member, School Board
2209 Southmore Boulevard
Houston 4, Texas

Class of 1965

A. D. Beittel
President
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Box 314, Route 1
Scott, Arkansas

Mrs. Moise Cahn
40 Versailles Boulevard
New Orleans, Louisiana

The Rev. Caxton Doggett
First Methodist Church
504 South Lake Avenue
Lakeland, Florida

Luther H. Foster
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Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

C. G. Gomillion
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Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
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Playwright, Novelist
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

John A. Griffin
Director
Division of University Relations
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Joseph F. Haas
Attorney
1116 First National Bank Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
582 University Place, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines
Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Texas
520 San Jacinto Street
Houston 2, Texas

The Rev. Duncan Hunter
District Superintendent
The Methodist Church
8705 Camille Drive, S. E.
Huntsville, Alabama

Guy B. Johnson
Research Professor of Sociology and Anthropology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

E. T. Kehrer
Director
Southeastern Region, ILGWU
1065 Gordon Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Austin Kimball
3131 S. W. First Avenue
Gainesville, Florida

Z. A. Looby
Attorney and City Councilman
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Temple Emanuel
Box 1502
Longview, Texas

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

The Rev. M. D. McCollom
District Superintendent
The Methodist Church
P. O. Box 423
Walterboro, South Carolina

John P. Nelson, Jr.
Attorney
702 Gravier Building
535 Gravier Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Lucius Pitts
President
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

David H. Scull
President
Turnpike Press
Annandale, Virginia

Andrew M. Secrest
Editor
The Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina

The Rev. Kelly M. Smith
First Baptist Church
318 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

McNeill Smith
Attorney
700 Jefferson Street Bldg.
Greensboro, North Carolina

Class of 1966

Roosevelt D. Crockett
President
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson
Christ Episcopal Church
3841 Hibiscus Street
Miami 33, Florida

Edward E. Haddock
Physician and State Legislator
1133 West Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Robert J. Harris
Dean
Division of Arts & Sciences
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Mrs. Martin Harvey
415 N. Farish Street
Jackson 2, Mississippi

John G. Lewis
Regional Masonic Executive
P. O. Box 2110
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Francis Pickens Miller
(U. S. Department of State
Washington, D. C.)
Charlottesville, Virginia

L. D. Milton
President
Citizens Trust Company
212 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Riley B. Montgomery
President
College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

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Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

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Executive Secretary
Virginia Teachers Assn.
316 Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

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Greensboro, North Carolina

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3207 Groveland Lane
Houston, Texas

J. M. Richards
President
Columbia Theological Seminary
Decatur, Georgia

Dr. Harry V. Richardson
President
Interdenominational Theological Seminary
671 Beckwith Street, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
The Temple
1589 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
2215 Bonnycastle Avenue
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Walter Sharp
Route 2, Beech Creek Road
Brentwood, Tennessee

Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur
P. O. Box 532
U. S. L. Station
Lafayette, Louisiana

J. Ray Shute
317 E. Windsor Street
Monroe, North Carolina

Moreland G. Smith
Architect
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery 6, Alabama

William H. Townsend
Optometrist
507 W. 31st Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Nat Welch
Federal Representative, Southern Interstate Nuclear Board
Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama

Class of 1967

Mrs. Lawrence Coe
Member, School Board
3580 Watauga Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Ralph Dreger
Professor of Psychology
University of Jacksonville
Jacksonville, Florida

S. E. Duncan
President
Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina

Paul Johnston
Attorney
First National Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Sylvan Meyer
Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

C. H. Parrish
Professor of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Mrs. Mary Sands
1447 Granada Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. Jane Schutt
955 Pecan Boulevard
Jackson, Mississippi

W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary
Palmetto State Teachers Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

James E. Stewart
Businessman and Newspaper Columnist
548 N. E. Fourth Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

James Stokely
Author, Poet
405 Clifton Heights
Newport, Tennessee

Lee B. Thomas, Jr.
Executive Vice-President
Vermont American Corporation
500 East Main Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

The Rev. Thomas Thrasher
Chapel of the Cross
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mrs. J. F. Tillman
President, Woman's Division of Christian Service
Board of Missions, The Methodist Church
Palmetto Farm, RFD 1
Lewisburg, Tennessee

John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Raymond Wheeler
Physician
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Bell I. Wiley
Professor of History
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Miss Josephine Wilkins
387 South Milledge Avenue
Athens, Georgia

H. Franklin Williams
Vice President
The University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Paul D. Williams
Publisher
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Marion A. Wright
Attorney
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Stephen J. Wright
President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Jack Young
Attorney
The Redmond Building
North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Thomas W. Young
Editor
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

James Youngdahl
Attorney
The Tower Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Life Fellows

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
P. O. Box 626
Tryon, North Carolina

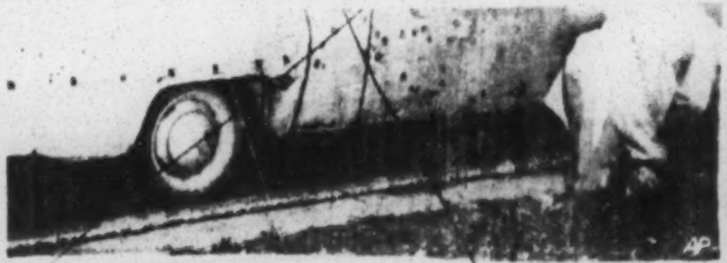
Leonard Haas
Attorney
601 Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gordon B. Hancock
Educator and Newspaper Columnist
P. O. Box 6056
Richmond 22, Virginia

The Rev. M. LaFayette Harris
Resident Bishop, Atlantic Coast Area
The Methodist Church
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Edward A. McDowell
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
Wake Forest, North Carolina

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia



HE HAD TO SHOOT SOMETHING—Herbert Schmidt of Chicago had an explanation when police questioned him about bullet holes in his car. He went hunting last year, said Schmidt, didn't bag a thing. So he used his car for target practice. A detective looks over the vehicle, counting 300 bullet holes.

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5-0072

Ministers Decide To Invite Negroes To Consider Merger

C.L.

By ROY COVINGTON

Observer Staff Writer

Heeding the recommendations of its interracial committee, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Ministerial Association moved Tuesday toward joining together the "split personality within our Christian family."

By a count of 44 to 14, the all-white ministerial association voted to invite the all-Negro Charlotte Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance to consider a merger of the two organizations.

Covington

A prayer for "Divine guidance," almost two hours of discussion and the rejection of two substitute motions preceded the association's decision.

Although such a merger likely will be effected, its organization rests upon joint action of the white and Negro group.

Specifically, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Ministerial Association voted to:

1. Extend an invitation to the Interdenomination Ministerial Alliance of Charlotte and vicinity to consider merging the two organizations, and

2. To appoint "a committee to present this invitation to them and to meet with their representatives to consider this matter and bring back a report of ways and means to accomplish

(over)

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Nov 9, 1955

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Continued From Page 1

this morning of the organizations. 5 -0073

Informed of the white association's action, the Rev. Thomas Jenkins, president of the [illegible] Alliance said, "We will welcome the possibility to consider such a merger."

[illegible]

Christian brethren," but noting "we are caught between principle and practice." Dr. W. M. [illegible] moved for the establishment of a Charlotte Congress of Churches.

His motion, defeated 17 to 18, called for attempts to organize an association which would bring together "professional leaders" of all churches including Catholics and Jews.

[illegible]

He branded the Supreme Court decision as the greatest act of [illegible] ever perpetrated upon our people.

[illegible]

groes and whites [illegible] in both the North and South to fight the decision because it is so far out of line.

Saying there is "no basis in the Bible for the conclusion that segregation is not Christian," Dr. McClure [illegible] the merger [illegible] nonsense.

In defending the action of [illegible] committee, Dr. [illegible] said, "We did not [illegible] this suggestion because of the Supreme Court decision or because of pressure.

[illegible]

"As Christian ministers we feel we have something in common with Negro Christian ministers. As it stands now there is a split personality in our Christian family."

At present there [illegible] for white and Negro ministers to discuss common problems, he said.

[illegible]

—May See Us Tonight

[illegible]

HONEY

Continued From Page

[illegible]

On the other hand, Honey, you'll be glad to know that [illegible] of all. Only [illegible] per cent of the [illegible] from the marital path.

Those Yankees [illegible] 25 per cent of the time, while 18 per cent of the [illegible] have left mama's bed and board.

Only one thing: Sugar. That Yankee department [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Report No. L-44
August 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from *The Charlotte Observer*, July 14, 1963, with permission)
Sunday, July 14, 1963 The Charlotte Observer . . .

A DIFFERENT WAY

Charlotte Has Built Its Integration Road

While Negroes paraded, staged sit-ins, actually fought battles elsewhere in the country, many of Charlotte's public accommodations firms quietly desegregated.

It was done through a highly organized plan. The arrangements had been worked out carefully behind closed doors. Reporters were given few details.

White leaders and Negro leaders, prearranged schedule, began having lunch together. Negroes, on schedule, began going to downtown movies.

Far off in other parts of the country, people began reading about the Charlotte plan. How could it be done? Who did the arranging? Was this a model for the rest of the South?

A SPECIAL REPORT
By L. M. WRIGHT, JR.
Observer City Editor

Cool Heads Behind Closed Doors Thought, Planned And Convinced

Charlotte chose a different way.

In Birmingham, hundreds were marching in the streets.

Closer to home, protesters sat all day in the mayor's office in Greensboro and were carried out by police when the time came to close the office for the day.

In Raleigh and Durham they marched, and they were arrested. In Wilmington, in Fayetteville . . . in Lexington . . . they protested.

But Charlotte chose a different way.

"I was talking to the Mayor that Sunday, and we thought we'd get the executive committee together that week and see what we could do about it."

The man talking was J. Ed Burnside, Sr. He is president of the Chamber of Commerce of Charlotte. He is also president of one of the city's leading financial institutions and, incidentally, a former South Carolinian.

The Sunday he was talking about was May 19. The mayor he was talking to was Stan R. Brookshire. The executive committee was the central governing group of the 4,500-member Charlotte Chamber of Commerce.

First Steps Were Quickly Taken

The subject of their discussion? Race relations in general in Charlotte and, more specifically, the fact that virtually no public accommodations — hotels, motels, theaters and restaurants — accepted Negroes as patrons.

"We went into the meeting without anyone knowing what was coming off," Burnside said. "I had used no one for a sounding board. It went around the room. They all said how they felt. I was surprised. It was unanimous. . . . Finally, Dwight Phillips said, 'Why don't we go ahead and do it?'"

C. A. McKnight, editor of The Observer, Joe H. Robinson, vice president of Wachovia Bank and Trust Co., and J. M. Wasson, general manager of Southern Bell, were asked to write a brief resolution for the consideration of the full board of directors.

By this time, it was Wednesday, May 22. The executive committee, with 11 of its 15 members present, had already acted.

But other things had happened, too. On Monday, Brookshire had asked Charles Crawford, executive vice president of the Chamber, to invite a representative group of hotel, motel, theater and restaurant owners and managers to a meeting at the Chamber on Thursday, May 23. They were not told what the subject would be. They were asked to come to discuss a matter of vital concern to the city and its development.

When the invitation went out Monday, the original plan had been for the Chamber's executive committee to meet privately Wednesday, then meet privately Thursday with the business men to let them know that the Chamber stood ready to back them in a move toward desegregation.

But at the executive committee session Wednesday another idea developed. And promptly, a called meeting of the full board of directors with its 39 members was set for Thursday noon.

"If I had had to bet," said Burnside, "on the day before, I would have bet on some opposition. Maybe two or three votes, at least."

Twenty-four of 39 directors came. Reading the list is like reading a Who's Who of Charlotte: Beatty, Blythe, Broadrick, Brookshire, Burnside, Covington, Dickson, Duncan, Flintom, Gluck, Harris, Matthews, McKnight, Pease, Phillips, Robinson, Sloan, Smith, Vinson, Walker, Wasson, Wayne, Whelchel, Younts. Many of them names long associated with the leadership of Charlotte, all of them names of significance in the direction of the city's future and fortunes.

The committee that had gone out the day before to write the resolution came in with one sentence. Wasson read it: "We, the directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color."

Burnside called for discussion. There was none. The voice vote was uanimous. "This means that every man in this room thinks we have taken the right step," said Burnside.

Later, he said he added that remark to encourage any possible dissent, to make sure that no one was cut off, to emphasize the importance of what he understood to be happening.

Still later, Burnside said again: "It was unanimous. I was shocked. I wanted to be sure."

Leadership Speaks

But the leadership had spoken. The public knew how these men felt. And with that, the public sessions were ended.

And, at that point, there began the real work: how, what, when and where to desegregate?

Within two hours of the luncheon session, the meeting to which representative businessmen had been invited began.

It's one thing to meet at lunch and pass a resolution. It's something entirely different to sit down in a private room with men who own the businesses and begin the task of discussing, persuading, negotiating—to begin to make the actual changes.

Three or four hotel and motel men were there. Four theater men had come. A spokesman for restaurants was present, too.

What is said at a meeting of this sort? Who moves first? What is the atmosphere?

Altogether, about 30 people sat around the table. Significantly, although no ministers had been closely associated with the decisions up to that point, there were at least four ministers at the first closed session.

"We wanted them to know that the business leadership of this community felt that this was the right thing to do," said Chamber Vice President Crawford, a man who observed many of the sessions.

An Obligation

Burnside told the businessmen simply that he thought it was "the right thing to do." He spoke of the economic consequences of not making a change. But he emphasized the moral obligations.

"These were Southern men," another participant recalled. "These were hard choices. But this was too good a town to have it ruined, and they just weren't going to have it. They thought the time was right. They thought the community was ready."

Every man at the session was asked to stand, identify himself, his business, and give his views. To a man, they said the change should be made.

"No one seemed to know how," it is recalled. "All of them said they would be willing. But no one was willing to do it alone."

How To Change?

How to do it? It was decided in that session—it lasted more than two hours—that the businessmen would meet in groups according to their business to see if specific plans could be made.

Two other things of importance came out, too.

So rapidly had the Chamber moved in that week that there had been no real coordination between the Chamber and the already existing and functioning Mayor's Committee on Community Relations. Dr. John R. Cunningham, chairman of the committee, did not know of the Chamber's plans until the day the resolution was passed.

The second thing was that the Chamber officials themselves made a commitment to participate in the desegregation personally. A restaurant representative had asked: "If I desegregate, will you come to my place and bring a Negro guest?" Ed Burnside had said yes, and so had the mayor and a councilman and an editor and a minister and a banker.

Hotel and motel men met again on Friday, May 24. There was some hesitancy, of course. No one denies that. But the idea was not totally strange. There had been a tentative agreement for some desegregation in some hotels and motels back in April in connection with the trade fair. Demonstrations had been threatened. The agreement had not lasted, however. Actually, most of the hotel and motel men were ready to go. Two or three never had considered doing anything else. But without some of the really big ones, the change would have less meaning.

Here, as in many other areas, concern about the possible loss of white customers, concern about a possible incident seemed to be the delaying factors.

The handful of hotel men went away to hold their own meeting, away from any outside committees. Seven establishments had been involved, at first. The hotel men invited 40 to their own meeting. And out of that group, one more joined the desegregation movement. The others would wait.

In A Week

In a week, the others moved. It was done, over and announced. The hotel men agreed to desegregate their dining rooms first. Five of them had dining rooms: the Manger, the Queen Charlotte, the Sheraton-Barringer Motor Inn, the Heart of Charlotte and the Downtowner.

On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, May 29, 30 and 31, the white directors of the Chamber of Commerce and several other leading business, civic and government leaders went to lunch with Negroes as guests.

Ed Burnside and three other members of his firm took two Negroes, Dr. G. A. Lowe and James K. Polk, to lunch at the Sheraton-Barringer. Mayor Brookshire and Cunning had lunch at the Manger with Fred Alexander, manager of Double Oaks apartments, and Moses Belton, director of public relations for Johnson C. Smith University. On another day, Editor C. A. McKnight and Commissioner Charles M. Lowe sat across the table from Dr. R. A. Hawkins and lawyer Thomas H. Wyche. Councilman James B. Whittington and Bishop Herbert Spaugh were at the Queen Charlotte with funeral home owner Arthur Grier and businessman Bishop Dale.

There were others. For three days, in groups of two, four and six, they went by appointment. There was no publicity. Once, when an out-of-town newsman sought to take pictures for national television at one restaurant, Crawford of the Chamber, who planned the groups, switched them to another restaurant so that the agreement not to take pictures, not to create abnormal public attention would remain unbroken.

"Getting 12 to 15 people a day lined up for lunch isn't easy," Crawford recalled. What was the biggest problem? "They really didn't know each other," Crawford said. And the fact that a lot of these people didn't know each other came home quickly to Crawford when he and a Duke Power executive took banker A. E. Spears and Dr. E. L. Rann to lunch. Said Crawford: "I knew Mr. Spears, but I had never met Dr. Rann."

That phase of the effort went well enough so that on Saturday, June 1, the names of the five hotels whose restaurants had desegregated after the three-day test period were announced. Further, their rooms were desegregated, and so were those at the Coliseum Motor Court, the James Lee Motor Inn and the Alamo Plaza Hotel Courts.

Though not by design, nor really even by expectation, the theaters came next.

Theaters Different

Theaters, somehow, are different. From the beginning, those participating in the planning of the changes had thought the gravest problem would be here. The themes of some movies create tensions and emotions that are quite different from what is encountered, say, in a restaurant during lunch. Theaters are dark, too, while hotels, motels or restaurants are open, public, well-lighted.

Whatever fears there were about the other changes certainly existed for all concerned about the change of policy for theaters—and more so.

Like the hotel and restaurant men, the theater men wanted no publicity. They agreed to accept Negro patrons, by appointment and reservations, for a limited time to see how it worked.

While things had moved rapidly enough with the hotel and motel operators so that there had been little time for the members of the Mayor's Committee under Dr. Cunningham even to enter the negotiations and assist in the planning, the participants now began to shift, and the Chambers officials, as active participants in negotiating sessions, began to take a back seat and let the mayor's committee perform some of the functions for which it was intended.

For the theaters, though Cunningham personally participated, much of the negotiation was done by half a dozen Negroes, all members of the mayor's committee, and the theater owners. The Negroes included Fred Alexander, A. E. Spears, Rev. J. F. Wertz, Rev. K. Melvin Taylor, Moses Belton and James K. Polk.

A Beginning

It took a couple of meetings to work out a plan for the beginning. It came on Tuesday, June 11. The hotels and motels had begun accepting Negroes six days after the Chamber resolution and had announced that their doors were open to all nine days after the resolution.

The theaters took their first Negro patrons 19 days after the resolution. The trial period ran nearly three weeks, until July 1. Now, all major indoor theaters are following a policy of admitting Negroes who choose to come. The theaters are the Carolina, Center, Charlotte, Dilworth, Imperial, Manor, Plaza and Visulite. A couple of neighborhood theaters are not included in the agreement, nor are any of the half dozen or so drive-in theaters.

The task of arranging for theater trips during the test period was larger than had been Crawford's task at the Chamber during the trial period for the hotel-related restaurants.

"It kept two or three people a day busy getting people lined up," said Polk, the man who coordinated the effort for the mayor's committee and for the Negroes.

"You had to start by calling someone you thought would be interested, explaining that the control plan was in effect, and then asking if he wanted to go to the movie."

By Reservation

Negroes, generally, were admitted only by reservation, by name. At the end of the first week, some of the theater managers were letting in a few Negroes who did not have reservations while others were not.

At each weekly session, the mayor's committee suggested that reservations were no longer necessary, that all the phoning was an unnecessary bother. But some of the theater owners wanted a longer test period—and they got it.

Altogether, 30 to 50 Negroes a day were formally attending all-white movies at the eight Charlotte theaters. Usually they came in twos or fours. Usually there were Negroes at both afternoon and evening showings.

And while the experiment went on, with apparent smoothness, everyone aware of it watched closely.

"I think we all have some bias," said one theater man. "However, these things were not involved. A year ago, nobody thought they would do this in their lifetime. . . . I think a lot of people are staying away from the movies. . . . It depends on how the Negroes handle it."

As everyone thought, there was apprehension about the theaters beyond the apprehension encountered elsewhere.

Theater managers and all others involved have made it clear that they think restraint will be the best approach for some time. Attendance at some theaters has been as high as 20 Negroes on a single day, but these 20 were not in a group, and groups are not being encouraged.

"In the same way that they find out about desegregation (by word of mouth, at first), it should be made clear that they need to be even more circumspect than the whites," one owner suggested.

"White people are in the process of making up their minds whether they are going to like it or not."

Complaints have come, of course, though the number has been limited. "We must say we've already done it, we did it last week. Even though they object, they go in there and see two or three well-behaved Negroes. They think maybe they ought not to raise a stink about it."

Theaters are in, then. And on July 1—39 days away from the Chamber resolution—admission to eight downtown theaters was available without reservation or prior arrangement to Negroes.

"To tell the truth," said one man, "I'm right proud of this town, the Mayor's Committee and those Negroes we've dealt with.

"The town seemed to be ready for it."

Restaurant

The third area in which desegregation was being sought was one in which some had already taken place—some time ago. This was the restaurants.

There are 466 licensed food handlers and sellers in Mecklenburg County. They range from the city's finer restaurants to some that are no more than stand-up snack bars. Many of those who hold licenses from the Health Department do not serve the public; they are private clubs, food processors or cafeterias in private businesses serving only employes of a company.

It was two years ago that Charlotte's first sustained desegregation demonstrations came, and they were aimed primarily at restaurants in the downtown area and at theaters.

Students from Johnson C. Smith University, assisted and at times led by Dr. R. A. Hawkins, Negro dentist and political leader, demonstrated over a period of months in the spring of 1961. The mayor's committee did some of its first negotiating between demonstrators and business owners at that time.

As a result, most lunch counters in variety and drug stores in the downtown area desegregated. So did restaurants at Belk's and Ivey's.

There was a brief effort at demonstrating later in the summer of 1961, largely at theaters, but no gains resulted for Negroes.

Pressure

But those demonstrations probably contributed to a buildup of sentiments. In May and June of this year, when other cities got into trouble, these sentiments were strong enough to make many believe that the time had come for Charlotte to make some changes.

Demonstrations had been threatened here in April in connection with trade fair desegregation requests. There was a peaceful march of about 75 Negroes (again led by Dr. Hawkins) on May 20 (Mecklenburg Declaration Day; of this year. Though the march did not prompt the Chamber resolution that came three days later, few will deny that the continuing possibility of demonstrations was a factor, though perhaps not the mayor factor, in the moves made in late May and June.

Another significant factor, too, is that Dr. Hawkins, the identified leader of the demonstrators, has not been a party to the negotiations that have led to the changes.

Mayor Brookshire, in a recent public statement on the work of his Community Relations Committee, noted that he and others had made a deliberate choice to leave advocates of extreme points of view on either side off the committee in an effort to avoid any possibility of having the members of the committee in a position of bargaining among themselves.

Few Came

Restaurants, then, had made a start. But for nearly two years no significant changes had been made.

After the Chamber resolution of May 23, when the first negotiating session was held, there were representatives of theaters and hotels present, but only one restaurant operator. About half a dozen had been invited, but they did not come.

From that meeting the word went out, though there was difficulty in spreading it very far because of the large number of restaurants in contrast to the number of hotels, motels and theaters.

In any event, in a few days, 15 to 20 of the restaurant owners had been contacted. In general, they said the same thing: We will desegregate when Frank O. Sherrill desegregates the S&W cafeterias.

Sherrill, invited to that first meeting, had not come. But he was having demonstrations at his cafeterias in Greensboro and Durham.

After telephone calls to many operators, about 20 had given assurances that they would desegregate. But meetings, effective meetings with the operators to make specific plans to act together, were almost impossible. A typical situation: Of seven operators who said they would desegregate, four said they had no objection to a public announcement of that fact or to accepting Negroes immediately. But three others wanted no publicity. They simply agreed not to turn Negroes away if they came.

It is important here to understand the nature of the restaurant association through which the mayor's committee was attempting to deal. James W. Claiborne of the Barclay Cafeteria is president, and he is the first to admit that it is not an effective association for the 466 licensed food handlers in the county. Average attendance at a meeting is between 20 and 25.

Division Shows

About two weeks after the Chamber resolution, nine restaurant operators met one night to see how things were. The purpose of the meeting was to turn those operators present into a committee whose members would divide up the county and begin contacting other restaurant owners about desegregating. But four of those present didn't want to go in that direction and four did.

"We broke up in a state of confusion and shock," said one man who was present, for it had been assumed that some positive steps could be taken, at least among the leading restaurant owners.

By then, it was apparent that if all restaurants were to desegregate at one time it would take quite a long time to do the necessary organizing.

Meanwhile, meetings were continuing with representatives of the mayor's committee. They were asking for a list of desegregated restaurants.

"Why make up a list of some," asked one leader, "when you haven't even contacted the majority to ask them what they are doing?"

But things did happen.

Charles J. Edwards of the Plantation on Wilkinson Boulevard decided desegregation was the right thing to do. He was ready.

A Break Comes

And on one dramatic Monday morning, with the operator of Bailey's cafeterias and the Barclay Cafeteria sitting in his office, Sherrill of the S&W announced the desegregation of his chain as fast as individual community problems could be worked out.

Though there had been no evidence of it here, reliable sources elsewhere had reported minor attempts at sabotage in some restaurants. White pepper in mashed potatoes, salt in coffee, particularly during a rush hour, will play havoc with a restaurant's business for a day—and may cost it some customers permanently.

Working with an almost non-existent organization, then, restaurant owners were willing on June 19 to announce that they would accept Negroes. Eight leading restaurants said they would take Negroes under the previously used control plan for three days to see how it worked. These eight included three S&W cafeterias, two Bailey cafeterias, the Barclay, two Shoney's restaurants and drive-ins.

The plan went into effect. It worked, just as it had worked at theaters, at hotel and motel restaurants.

Thus, 27 days away from the Chamber resolution, a start had been made among restaurants that had not changed their policy two years earlier.

The Drive-Ins

Attention was turned, then, to drive-in restaurants. And the next few days were crucial.

Meetings and telephone calls had brought an agreement for 21 drive-ins to begin accepting Negroes, two groups a night, for three nights beginning June 24. After that, it was hoped, general desegregation would be announced.

In a letter to Dr. Cunningham of the

mayor's committee, Claiborne of the restaurant association gave a list of 18 drive-ins that requested Negro patrons under the control plan.

On Friday, June 21, Negro members of the mayor's committee again started making their reservation calls, lining up groups to go to the drive-ins.

But something that can never be predicted or planned for happened over the weekend. There was a big social affair on Sunday that involved several restaurant owners. Some of the dining-room owners chided some of the drive-in owners about their plans to desegregate.

And by Monday, June 24, several of them, with telephone calls going all over town, had changed their minds. When the Negro groups showed up that Monday night, they were turned away at 11 places.

Misunderstanding

And there was what some thought was an incident at one.

Negroes in one car had already been served. Two white boys walked by the car and one said to the other: "I think they are taking this integration too far."

The one Negro in the car who heard the remark did not believe it had been directed at him and continued to eat.

But a waitress did hear the remark. The word moved to the manager. The story got mangled. A police car showed up, drove through the parking area, saw nothing and left.

What is significant here, is that, despite a request for police protection made the previous Thursday, there is no indication that the police department had been informed in detail of what was to happen that Monday night at the drive-ins. Thus, when the patrol car did show up, police had no reason to make more than a routine check, for the police on duty did not know about the desegregation.

By morning the story had grown to include reports of guns in a car and an outright assault or serious threat of assault on the Negroes involved.

That story, though false, spread to many other restaurant operators, and doubts rose rapidly.

It was not until later that week, when a member of the mayor's committee took one of the Negroes that had been in the car to talk with the manager of the drive-in, that the record was straightened. Once that happened, the manager agreed to continue to serve Negroes, incidentally.

Meanwhile, more efforts were being made to hold a large meeting of restaurant owners. Invitations went out from the Chamber and the mayor's committee for a major meeting on July 1.

A Meeting

A total of 130 owners were invited. Seven came. Six of these had already desegregated. The seventh man there agreed to.

But it was a session at which some decisions were made by Mayor Brookshire, Dr. Cunningham and other members of his committee.

One participant of that session understood that those present had agreed to draw up a partial list of the desegregated restaurants. It would go in a formal letter to all restaurant owners and operators in the county who would be asked about their policy, asked to change it if they were still segregating, and asked to reply in writing to the committee. That was July 1.

The partial list has been drawn up. It includes:

Babe Maloy Drive-In, two Bailey's cafeterias, Bar-B-Q-King, Barclay Cafeteria, Belk's, two Bell's Hamburgers, Big Chief Drive-In, dime stores, Downtowner, Heart of Charlotte, three Howard Johnsons, Ivey's, Jerry's, McDonald's, Manger Motor Inn, Oriental, Plantation Grill, Queen Charlotte, three S&W cafeterias, Sheraton-Barringer Motor Inn, two Shoneys', three Stork restaurants.

That's the list. The letter to the restaurant owners has not been sent. Checks late last week at the Chamber and with the restaurant association disclosed no plans for a letter there. Cunningham was out of town for two weeks on a previously planned trip.

Thus it is not clear when such a letter may be sent.

Today is the 52nd day since the Chamber resolution. The best estimate of the situation among restaurants available from several sources is this:

Of the 466 licensed food handlers in the county, about 180 should be set aside from consideration because they are in private clubs, businesses or are food handlers who do not serve the public directly. This number also includes an estimate of the Negro restaurants.

This leaves a potential of 286 of what would be regarded as white restaurants that might change their policy.

About 110 restaurants are believed to be serving Negroes, and about 50 of these are believed to have changed their policy during the month of June.

Of the 176 left, about three-fourths have not been contacted in any way by any representative of the association, the mayor's committee or the Chamber.

Why? How?

These things, then, have been done. Eight major motels and hotels, eight major downtown theaters, more than 100 restaurants over town have desegregated. Why were these things done? How was it possible to do them in this town at this time with these people?

Many of the answers are here. Some observations by some more of the participants provide more insight:

"I think our consciences have been pricked," said Mayor Brookshire. "We've been close enough to some of the fires to feel the heat. It gives a sense of urgency. . . . Birmingham, Cambridge, Durham, Greensboro. . . . Are we going to recognize the pressures which are elsewhere and could come here and go do the things we think are just and right?

"The people have a tremendous pride in Charlotte. They believe that our people can do things which really are in the best interests of the city. It gives Charlotte stature and leadership among cities. People just didn't want it (trouble) to happen here. This city has gained. Its image has been developed all over the country . . . all over the world.

"I had no idea of the national significance of the situation here. People called me from Philadelphia, from Texas. I heard from them in California. 'I saw you on TV,' they said.

"Some of my friends just think I've gone overboard. But they accept it as the best alternative.

"But there is danger in moving too fast. Some of the protest leaders sometimes seem to be playing at a game. . . . Education and economic opportunity are next. I don't know whether we can move as fast. But protest leaders could jeopardize peaceful, friendly cooperation in this area."

Brookshire is especially concerned about the possibility of demonstrations and feels strongly that much of what has been done in this fast-paced month of June could be undone by demonstrations.

He hopes they won't come here.

Demonstrations

While possible demonstrations are always in the background, it is clear that the Negro leadership that has emerged in the changes in June is ready and willing to continue for a while to try the methods that apparently have worked peacefully.

Whether the entire Negro community will follow this pattern is, at best, a matter for speculation.

One Negro leader discussed the general situation:

"Without a resolution, it could not have come as fast. Any time the power structure speaks out, these changes can occur. Why did the change come here, now?: Birmingham and the others. Charlotte wants to be recognized as a forward-moving city. They are willing to go ahead. I think they were wise in their decision. Things could have happened here. This could have been another Birmingham. It wasn't. This, to me, is just good, sound leadership.

"Leadership? In Charlotte, the Chamber definitely is it. A good many Negroes regard the Chamber as the power structure. Negroes learn about power fast. White people just don't know where you touch these people who can make a change.

"Negroes have a gap . . . nothing comes next under the leadership. It would make you sick on your stomach to see some of the conditions under which they live.

"These changes aren't helping anybody get a job. But it does make a lot of people who didn't, feel like somebody. They'll try, now. You can't go to the Imperial or the Carolina for the same price you can go to the Grand. A large number of Negroes just don't have the money to attend."

Are these things only status symbols? "Really, I think we are attacking the whole structure. We are going to have to change the whole pattern. But this is motivation for any Negro to do better. . . . To attend a movie, stay in a hotel, you need a better job and you have to prepare for that. You can't live down at the Manger making $30 a week. . . .

"I would like to say that there were moral motives (for the changes). I can't. There is some interested Christian leadership. But for most, I think they were looking at this thing in cold turkey, good business sense.

"Charlotte needs this good image to bring new industry.

". . . And Birmingham is in the back of all this. This is what could happen here. But what did is one of the greatest things that ever happened . . . it all continues to make America great."

There are other retrospective views:

Chamber President Burnside recalls that when the first meeting took place, a prominent minister was taken with surprise that the Chamber directors had already acted, that the question was how or when, not whether. "I was amazed at the national attention this thing got. People called me . . . all the way from Orlando . . . most of them to congratulate. . . . One local minister called. . . ."

C. A. McKnight of The Observer: "Pride in this community and its reputation is important . . . probably the most important single factor . . . as far as the Chamber was concerned. A dominating factor is hard to find. The moral issue . . . well, not lacking, but not dominant. . . . It's important that this community understand that there are Negro leaders, responsible and sober, like James K Polk and Moses Belton, who can do something in this area . . . who can get something done.

Cunningham: "A Miami banker wants to know how our committee is organized, how many employes, where it gets its budget. . . . I'll tell him. . . . There's no budget and it's all volunteer. . . . Why now? Why here? It was happening in Greensboro, Durham, Jackson, Miss., and all up in the East. . . .

"I believe Charlotte businessmen were impressed by the fact that that kind of thing hurts a city. . . . They travel a lot. They see Negroes in restaurants and hotels, eating on airplanes. Charlotte's leadership is big enough to see that it would be cutting off its nose to spite its face to let it happen here. . . . I believe that the moral obligation was stronger (than the economic pressures). . . . When the meetings started, we never had any question of whether, just how."

Why Charlotte? Why June, 1963? Why change?

There were men with moral obligations, the pricked consciences that the mayor mentions. There were men concerned about making a living, the cold turkey, good business sense that Polk, the funeral home president, mentioned. There were men proud of their community, the good reputation that Editor McKnight pointed to.

And together, they decided to see that "it won't happen here."

These men are Charlotte. They chose a different way.

File : Brunswick

November 27, 1964

Mr. Altin Perlmutter
National Education Television
10 Columbus Circle
New York, N. Y.

Dear Al:

I checked with a couple of Brunswick sources on prospects of your getting interviews with industry people; they seemed to think you would have no trouble. But they were short on names. Best suggestion seemed to be to write or call the local managers (or p.r. or personell officials) of:

Thiokol Chemical Corp. Space Booster Plant, 1609 Newcastle St., Brunswick, Phone 265-0180.

Brunswick Pulp and Paper Co. (this is Scott), Southern Docks, Brunswick, Phone Am 5-5780.

Hercules Powder Co., Brunswick, Phone AM 5-3550.

Solvay Process Division of Allied Chemical and Dye Corp., Brunswick, Phone AM 5-8560.

Bestwall Gypsum Co., South Yards, Brunswick, Phone AM 5-1700.

Babcock & Wilcox Co., South Albany St., Brunswick, Phone 265-0510.

One of the two local bankers is Mr. Harrison Aiken Jr., president, American National Bank, 710 Gloucester St., Brunswick, Phone AM 5-4960. The other bank is the First National, 510 Gloucester St., Brunswick, Phone AM 5-02 60. Sources couldn't recollect name of president of this one, but all things considered, he probably should be your first choice.

Sig Kaufman, the defected newspaperman Bob expressed an interest in, would probably best be traced by just calling the Brunswick *News* and ask them where he is. The address I have for Bessie Jones of the Sea Island Singers (authentic slave songs and dances) is Box 22, Harlem Lane, St. Simons Island, Ga. Lois was interested in them.

Looking back over the outline, I was struck by how the Brunswick interviews should cover just about every important aspect of the current, post-civil rights law situation in the South:

1. How big the change it made was for the South-- with the accomplishments everyone down in Brunswick was so proud of achieving through negotiation entirely overshadowed by the gains of the law.

2. How the era of power structure manipulation for civil rights progress is ending, and a new era of decision by the masses of people is upon us, with a great need still to overcome prejudice among many whites, or at least to reconcile them to the coming changes.

3. The emphasis on political action along with, or even supplanting, direct action in the Negro movement.

4. The rise of the radical right as a political force in the South.

5. The emphasis in civil rights now on jobs, education, housing. (On the latter, you might check with Dr. Wilkes and Judge Hartley about the likelihood that the Wilkes home on Jekyll Island will soon have white neighbors.

6. The importance still of realistic negotiations in good faith, with Brunswick a southern small-town pioneer in setting up and using machinery for same.

Among Jekyll Island motels, Stuckey's Carriage Inn is recommended by the sources, particularly if your crew is integrated. Reservations should be made soon as possible. Hope this takes care of all the loose-ends. If not call. I'll be out of town probably through Wednesday, but the others here will be glad to help. Let me know if you want me to come down. Forgive typing, spelling, etc.; I'm rushing to get out of town. My regards to the others.

Yours truly,

P.S. Expense statement attached.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

RALEIGH NEWS AND
OBSERVER (N. C.)
p.3
Date: APR 20 1963

Pub. Accomm
NC

Charlotte Facing Picketing Threat

3

CHARLOTTE (AP) — Proprietors of segregated hostels, restaurants and theaters here have been warned they face mass picketing unless a breakthrough in racial integration comes by 1 p.m. Saturday.

Dr. R. A. Hawkins, Charlotte Negro dentist and a Presbyterian miniser, said the picketing will affect all places of public accomodations that are not open to Negroes, but will be aimed at hotels, motels, restaurants and theaters.

A final decision is to be announced at a news conference Saturday.

The picketing, planned by the coordinating committee of the Mecklenburg (County) Organization on Political Affairs, would be mostly by students. Dr. Hawkins, who heads the committee, said some white adults also have agreed to participate.

Proprietors of the segregated establishments have been informed of the proposed picketing, Dr. Hawkins said. Lettrs also were sent to Gov. Terry Sanford and the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce.

"If we are to really bring an international trade fair to Charlotte," Dr. Hawkins said in a statement Friday, "public accomodations cannot be denied to a segment of the people of the community."

The North Carolina International Trade Fair is scheduled here April 27-May 4.

Dr. Hawkins also said national organizations are being asked to boycott national chain stores with outlets in Charlotte who do not serve Negroes locally.

"We started two years ago when the first trade fair was held here," Dr. Hawkins said. We sent letters to the governor and the Chamber of Commerce, notified hotel and restaurant people that we felt if we were to really bring an international trade fair to Charlotte we cannot deny public accommodations to a segment of the economy.

"We have been in direct contact with these people (the proprietors of the places to be picketed) for a month and a half, but they have issued no policy statement. We hope this action will force a policy statement. We are trying to point up the inequity in this community."

Charlotte police said they had been notified of the demonstration plans but that the department anticipates no activity in connection with it.

MOPA is a Negro organization which has claimed credit for cafeterias in the city's two largest department stores and for bringing about a federal investigation which resulted in the opening of dental and maternity out-patient clinics at city-owned Memorial Hospital.

Microfilm Code No.

Pub. Accomm-NC

SERS Library E

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 2B
Date APR 26 1963

City Takes A Firm Step Forward

The decision by several Charlotte hotels and motels to accept guests without regard to race is an example of what can be accomplished where negotiations are carried out calmly in a community which has made the decision not to cling blindly to tradition.

This step could not have been made without responsible leadership in Charlotte. Nor could it have been made without the citizenry's calm and intelligent acceptance of earlier racial progress. It could not have been made easily by the management of the hotels and motels in the face of extensive racial demonstrations which might only have hardened traditional lines of resistance.

Once again the Mayor's Community Relations Committee headed by Dr. John R. Cunningham has proved its worth, both as a buffer where racial conflict threatens and as an agency of persuasion against the status quo.

Racial discrimination at places of lodging has for many years been an accomodation to the traditions and preferences of a majority of the clientele of these places. A voluntary decision to eliminate racial barriers was difficult for a single establishment, since the attention of those opposed would have polarized at that spot to the probable detriment of business.

But in this instance three factors were present which made the decision possible. One was a growing acceptance in Charlotte of the idea that people, regardless of race, should be treated as individuals. Another was that several of the establishments agreed to act in concert to remove the barriers. A third, of course, was the desire to maintain a favorable image of Charlotte as a place where hospitality is not based on race or national origin, especially with an international trade fair as a local drawing card.

Critics may say that the decision was an expedient because of Charlotte's commercial appetite. There is no doubt this had some influence. But this in itself would not have brought the change if a majority of the people of Charlotte had not accepted other changes gracefully, and if the Negro population had not conducted itself responsibly after other barriers were dropped in the community.

Neither this decision nor preceding ones regarding race in Charlotte mean that a racial utopia has been constructed here. It simply means that we're making an active and honest effort to treat people on the basis of their individual dignity and merit.

It's a highly desirable goal, not easily obtained. But every voluntary decision of the kind reached by the hotels and motels moves us closer. Every success brought about by responsible conduct in both races will make subsequent decisions less painful.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 17A
Date: MAY 1 0 1963

Pub. Accomm
Gen.

Desegregated Hotels, Motels Say New Policy Working Out

Managers of eight recently desegregated hotels and motels in four southern states have told a Charlotte Negro doctor that they are pleased with the results of their change of policy.

The managers reported that in general, there are no noticeable differences in the behavior of white and Negro guests or in their spending habits. One said that Negroes behave better and are better tippers.

Only one hotel — in Atlanta reported any loss of business due to admission of Negroes. The manager there said his hotel's business now is recovering.

Dr. Emery L. Rann, the local doctor, conducted the informal poll in an attempt to show that local motels and hotels have nothing to fear in accepting Negro guests.

Rann wrote to 12 hotels and motels that he knew had recently dropped their "white-only" policies. Eight replied to his questionnaire, including two in Greensboro and one each in High Point, Salisbury, Chapel Hill, Atlanta, Ga., Norfolk, Va., and Louisville, Ky.

The facilities, which ranged in size from 29 to 400 rooms, reported housing from four to 300 Negro guests over the past three months.

Asked about the attitude of white guests, seven managers reported that the Negroes were accepted without comment.

Only the Atlanta manager reported unfavorable reaction from some whites. The same hotel was the only one noting any loss of business since desegregation. Originally, business was off by one-half, but now is returning to normal, according to the manager.

By
James K. Batten
Observer Staff Writer

Seven managers reported no difference in spending habits or conduct of whites and Negroes, while the Norfolk manager said that Negroes ranked better on both counts.

The final question on Rann's questionnaire asked, "Are you pleased, from a business point of view, that the step was taken in admitting Negroes to your facility?"

All eight replied affirmatively, and two wrote in additional comments.

The Atlanta manager, who apparently had more troubles than the others, reported, "Despite immediate loss the patronage is returning. I expected the repercussions but I have no regrets. In fact, I'm proud of it."

The Norfolk manager wrote, "We have never had an unpleasant incident involving any Negro guest. We have had some bad reactions from entertaining groups due to their beatnik dress, actions, etc., (but) this is true of white groups also . . . . People from the north and particularly Washington object more to our policy than Virginians."

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SERS Library

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 7A
Date: MAY 10 1963

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NC

Manger Is Target Of Integrationists

By CHARLES ROBSON
Observer Staff Writer

Charlotte integration leader Dr. R. A. Hawkins and attorney Thomas H. Wyche sought to obtain a warrant Tuesday against Abel M. Girault, manager of the Manger Motor Inn, who they said refused to serve them at the motel's Hearth and Embers restaurant on May 2.

They contended that Girault was in violation of state law requiring that "every innkeeper shall at all times provide suitable food, rooms, beds and bedding for strangers and travelers whom he may accept as guests in his inn or hotel."

Hawkins and Wyche met with City Recorder's Court Solicitor William H. Scarborough Thursday morning, and asked him to decide whether Girault's refusal, as stated by Hawkins, constitues a violation of criminal law.

Scarborough agreed to write to N.C. Attorney General Wade Burton for a ruling in the matter. He sent the letter Thursday afternoon and expects an answer next week.

Scarborough told Hawkins, a Negro dentist who has led the movement to desegregate downtown hotels and restaurants, and Wyche that, in his personal opinion, the law was not a criminal statute.

The law is the first section of Chapter 72 of the N.C. General Statutes. The chapter deals with inns, hotels and restaurants.

Scarborough pointed out that sections of the chapter prohibiting the keeping of dogs in rooms and setting health standards set out specific criminal punishments.

He suggested that the proper remedy to a violation of the law would be a civil injunction, filed in Superior Court, seeking affirmative relief in the form of a court order that the Manger either serve all persons or lose its license as an inn.

But Hawkins said that if he could not get a criminal warrant against Girault his Mecklenburg Organization for Political Affairs would picket the Manger and seek service for Negroes on a mass basis.

He complained that Girault had agreed to a plan for desegregating downtown restaurant and hotel facilities before the N.C. Trade Fair opened and had now backed out of it.

Hawkins and Wyche said that they were told at the Hearth and Embers that all tables were filled and that those that were empty were reserved for guests at the motel, although people were coming in off the streets and being allowed to fill them.

When he tried to register at the motel, Hawkins said, Girault again refused him. "And he knew I had a credit card from Manger Hotels Inc.," Hawkins said.

"They solicited me for the credit card as one of the leading citizens of Charlotte when they built their motel here," he said.

"I've stayed at Manger hotels in other cities, and the card says it entitles me to charge at all Manger hotels and motor inns and even lists the one in Charlotte on it."

Wyche said a civil remedy would not be sought until all other possibilities were exhausted because, "We're trying to speed it up."

He pointed out that another case involving the trespass conviction of a Negro minister in Durham who asked to be served in the white section of an ice cream parlor, was still being contended after more than five years.

Wyche said he, too, had been issued a credit card by Manger Hotels Inc.

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SERS Library

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 11A
Date MAY 15 1963

Pub. Accomm.
NC

Attorney General Thinks Law Not Broken By Motel Boss

11A

By CHARLES ROBSON
Observer Staff Writer

The N.C. attorney general believes that a Charlotte motel manager did not violate the criminal law when he refused to serve local Negroes at the motel restaurant.

On being informed of the opinion Tuesday Dr. R. A. Hawkins, Charlotte integration leader, said that his organization would consider whether to demonstrate at the motel or start a civil suit.

The opinion came in a letter from Assistant Attorney General Ralph Moody to City Recorder's Court Solicitor William H. Scarborough.

Hawkins and attorney Thomas H. Wyche had asked Scarborough to have Abel M. Girault, manager of the Manger Motel Inn, arrested for refusing to let them eat at the motel's Hearth and Embers restaurant on May 2.

Scarborough had written Attorney General Wade Bruton Thursday at the request of Hawkins and Wyche. He said Tuesday that, in view of the reply from Bruton's office, he would inform city police desk sergeants not to issue a warrant

"You can be sure some action will be taken," Hawkins, head of the Mecklenburg Organization for Political Affairs (MOPA), promised.

"We'll have to discuss taking civil court action, but we're certainty considering peaceful demonstrations at these motels and hotels."

He was referring to five motels and hotels he has accused of backing out of a desegregation with them the week before the N.C. Trade Fair opened.

He would not say exactly what form the demonstrations would take nor when they might be expected to begin.

"We have been testing these places to see if they would serve Negroes," he said, "and we've found that they've reneged on the agreement.

"We want to show that they have a moral and legal responsibility to live up to it."

Hawkins said that of the seven hotels and motels participating in the original agreement only two, the Queen Charlotte hotel and the Sheraton-Barringer were accepting Negroes as guests.

Hawkins and Wyche had asked for criminal prosecution of the Manger manager under a state law requiring that, "Every innkeeper shall at all times provide suitable food, rooms, beds and bedding for strangers and travelers whom he may accept as guests in his inn or hotel."

The assisant attorney general's letter said: ". . . this statute in my opinion changes the common law and leaves it up to the judgment of the innkeeper as to whether he will accept any guest or lodger or refuse to do so."

Moody, civil rights specialist for the attorney general, said that he thought the refusal of service was governed by State vs. Avent, a case invotving tespassing at a Kress' store by Negroes in Durham.

The conviction of Avent for trespassing was upheld by the N.C. Supreme Court and is now under consideration by the U.S, Supreme Court.

Hawkins, a dentist, expressed dissatisfaction with Moody's citation of this case.

"It seems like everybody is waiting on the trespass law," he said. "But we're confident we're going to win that case. The attorney general is hiding behind it."

Attorney Wyche said that other cases that might have bearing on the criminal nature of the innkeeper's statute had been referred to the attorney general but that the letter, mailed Friday, apparently had not erached him when he answered Scarborough's original request.

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CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 1 B

Date: MAY 21 1963

Pub. Accomm N.C

Charlotte Negroes March In 1st Protest Since August

By JAMES K. BATTEN
Observer Staff Writer

A spirited but orderly band of singing, hand-clapping Negro students marched through downtown Charlotte Monday afternoon in the first public protest against segregation here since August.

The group about 65 strong and made up largely of Negro students from Johnson C. Smith University, walked the two miles from the campus to the Mecklenburg County Courthouse without incident.

Led by two boys carrying the American and Christian flags, the procession arrived at the steps of the courthouse about 1:45 p.m. and cheered as a Negro leader asserted that the time for action has come.

"We are not going to cooperate any more with segregation," shouted Dr. R. A. Hawkins, the organizer of the march. "Segregation is a sin and we cannot compromise with this sin."

The youngsters and a few adults greeted Hawkins' words with approving choruses of "Yeah!" and "No!"

At one point, the Negro speaker said, "We shall not be pacified with gradualism; we shall not be satisfied with tokenism. We want freedom and we want it now."

The Negroes picked the anniversary of the signing of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in 1775 for their first anti - segregation demonstration since late last summer.

The theme of the 15-minute rally at the courthouse was that Negro citizens had not shared in the freedom demanded from the British by Mecklenburg residents nearly 190 years ago.

Microfilm Code No.

Pub. Accomm - N.C.

SERS Library E

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 1C
Date: MAY 22 1963

Charlotte Needs No 'D-Day' To Combat Discrimination

Charlotte's first anti-segregation demonstration since last summer, a march from Johnson C. Smith University followed by a 15-minute rally at the courthouse on Mecklenburg Independence Day, was concluded by a Negro spokesman's statement that "any day might be D-Day" for an intensified protest movement here.

"They can either make this an open and democratic city or there is going to be a long siege," declared Dr. R. A. Hawkins. "They can choose which way it's going to be."

Let us hope that the kind of experience that has come in recent days to Raleigh and Greensboro, though far less abrasive than that in Birmingham, is not going to be Charlotte's lot.

Now is the time to link reasonable patience to sincere effort by white and Negro leaders to remove sources of racial discrimination to the degree that they can be removed by compliance with law and voluntary action.

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Dr. Hawkins' use of "they" refers, by his own definition, to the political and economic "power structure" in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. This is a force which has had and will continue to have a great amount of influence in shaping community acceptance of change.

There has been a great deal of orderly progress in lowering racial bars here in recent years. More needs to be done, but it will be in the interest of the entire community if further advances are achieved with a minimum of friction and misunderstanding.

The immediate goal of Hawkins and those who support his campaign is the acceptance of Negro patronage in businesses catering to the general public, including theaters, restaurants, hotels and motels. He is also asking non-discriminatory policies of admission and treatment in hospitals, and geographical assignment of children to the public schools.

Some Charlotte eating places have already adopted a policy of serving patrons without regard to race. There appeared to be a breakthrough in the hotel and motel field during the Trade Fair, but this agreement was reported to have collapsed with charges of "bad faith" on both sides. There has been a relaxation of segregation practices at Memorial Hospital and a first step toward school assignments on a geographical basis.

None of these advances satisfy the demand by Monday's marchers for "the elimination of all segregation" in public facilities or places of business serving the public. The political and economic "power structure," even admitting its strength, runs head-long into private property rights in trying to obtain a uniform policy of non-discrimination.

Hawkins would have the city council pass a city ordinance, using its licensing and permit power to forbid racial discrimination in all places of public accommodation. He cites Baltimore and St. Louis as cities among 70 or so in the country adopting such an ordinance, and says Charlotte should do the same.

Here, however, the Supreme Court itself has hesitated to abrogate one traditional right to serve another. The city council has been understandably reluctant to take such action. Such an ordinance would be a poor substitute, at any rate, for voluntary action that would not merely paper over the problem of discrimination, as is the case in most cities with such a law on the books.

★ ★ ★

Certainly, resolutions from the Chamber of Commerce, the Charlotte Merchants Association and other civic groups would be helpful, as in Raleigh and Greensboro, in setting the general tone of the anti-discrimination movement. Meanwhile, the Mayor's Community Relations Committee must use all of its persuasive power to gain agreements that will maintain this community's progress and equilibrium.

Charlotte has managed, peaceably, to be a leader in this part of the country in desegregating schools, libraries, and recreational and other public facilities.

Our people have accepted and followed wise and moderate leadership. There is no evidence that they are any less ready to follow it now.

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Pub. Accomm. N.C.

SERS Library

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
P 2A
Date: MAY 24 1963

3-YEAR HISTORY

2A

Chamber's Action A Significant One

By DOUGLAS CONNAH Jr.
Observer Staff Writer

The resolution adopted by the Chamber of Commerce directors Thursday was one of the more significant events since pressure to desegregate public business establishments began here more than three years ago.

The chamber's resolution is not in any way binding on local businessmen who operate restaurants, hotels and motels, theaters and other businesses serving the general public.

But the chamber has widespread influence in Charlotte that has been used many times in the past.

The Negro protest movement began here on Feb. 9, 1960, when more than 200 Johnson C. Smith University students opened sit-in demonstrations at the lunch counters of eight downtown stores.

They were using a technique first employed in Greensboro a week earlier.

Students demonstrated against Belk's, Ivey's, Liggett's Drug Co., S. H. Krss Co., F. W. Woolworth Co., W. T. Grant Co., McLellan's and Sears, Roebuck.

Rather than desegregate, store managers closed the lunch counters.

The sit-ins continuedoff and on until that April, when Mayor James S. Smith announced that he would form a biracial Friendly Relations Committee to mediate a settlement as well as work on other continuing racial problems.

On June 22 the students reopened the demonstrations because, they said, the merchants had refused invitations to appear before the mayor's committee.

The sit-ins and picketings lasted until July 9, when seven of the stores — all but Sears — desegregated their lunch counters after negotiations with the mayor's committee. Several months later Sears desegregated its lunchroom.

For more than a year the direct - action movement lay dormant, with only occasional, isolated demonstrations. Some of the downtown stores extended desegregation to their suburban branches.

Then, on Nov. 30, 1961, the students returned to downtown, seeking service in a hotel and motel, two theaters and some restaurants.

Mayor Stan R. Brookshire's Community Relations Committee, a new version of the old Friendly Relations Committee, was called into action, and Belk's basement cafeteria and Ivey's Tulip Terrace soon were opened to Negroes.

Some other desegregation efforts have failed — demonstrations have been directed unsuccessfully at the S & W Cafeterias, at theaters, the Manger Motor Inn and elsewhere.

Last summer the Congress of Racial Equality sponsored a massive "Freedom Highways" movement throughout the South, with Negroes seeking service at branches of Howard Johnson's, the Holiday Inn and other chains.

Locally, the "Freedom Highways" protests had little effect — Charlotte's three Howard Johnson's restaurants still are segregated. More than 40 Negroes were arrested for trespassing and the movement petered out when the school year began.

Just last month the mayor's committee announced that several unnamed hotels and motels would desegregate.

Negro leaders have since charged, however, that only two hotels lived up to the bargain.

In the past few weeks it appeared likely that Charlotte would be in for renewed large-scale demonstrations unless somebody did something.

Events in Birmingham, Nashville, Greensboro, Durham and Raleigh intensified this feeling.

Thursday the Chamber of Commerce did something.

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Pub. Accomm. N.C.

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CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p 2C
Date: MAY 24 1963

A Handhold On Civic Greatness 2C

Thursday, May 23, 1963, could be the day leading to a major breakthrough in human relationships for the Queen City and the Carolinas. A failure to follow through on the resolution adopted without dissent by the Chamber of Commerce board of directors would mark it just as distinctly as the date on which we momentarily had an opportunity in our grasp, and muffed it.

The Chamber directors were not merely being economically pragmatic when they asked all businesses soliciting the patronage of the general public to adopt a policy of color blindness.

There was enlightened self-interest to be sure. But it goes deeper than that.

These men want a policy of openness for Charlotte because they believe it to be the right, the humane, the sensible, the religious and the American thing to do. They reason rightly that the city, the region and the nation move now with halting steps when steady cadence is needed to drown the sounds of racial discord in our land.

There is moral force in this resolution. It is a simple, clear statement of conviction that has ever been the forte of strong and enlightened leadership.

There is also much economic common sense.

To be implemented, this resolution must have the understanding of all who come within its reach.

There must be an answer in kind from those who have been discriminated against. They must help by their understanding and patience if every obstacle is not moved overnight. They must be sensible as well as sensitive in the knowledge that once the leadership of this community has set its course, regardless of the individual problems encountered, it will not swerve from it until all citizens can breathe free in the public ways.

There must be a response of support from the white community as individual judgment moves into the area where group decision once held sway. Every influence must be brought to bear on the people of Charlotte and our visitors to evolve a pattern of tolerance and understanding.

Charlotte must set its sights on becoming a city of good human relations, not mere race relations. The human aspect must not be lost sight of, for in its potential of sincerity and spontaneity lie the seeds which distinguish a great community from one which deals in expediency.

To change long established customs and respond to all citizens as individuals will not be easy, but it can be done with the effort required for any significant human accomplishment.

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Pub. Accomm. N.C.

SERS Library

RALEIGH NEWS AND
OBSERVER (N. C.)
Date: MAY 24 1963 p. 1

arlotte Acts to Lift Racial Ban

CHARLOTTE (AP) — The Chamber of Commerce recommended Thursday the immediate integration of all business firms in Charlotte, largest city in North Carolina.

"We are facing a fact we have known," Mayor Stan Brookshire said after the meeting. "Without pressure, we are taking this step." The chamber apparently was not aware a Negro integrationist leader Thursday promised massive Charlotte demonstrations.

Elsewhere in North Carolina:

The acting president of North Carolina Agricultural & Technical College at Greensboro warned all A&T students to remain on campus because "serious negotiations are under way at this moment." A&T students have comprised the bulk of demonstrators who have marched for 12 consecutive nights through downtown Greensboro.

A mass march protesting segregation was called for Friday night in High Point, furniture-making city near Greensboro. John W. Langford of the High Point chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) said James Farmer of New York, national CORE director, will speak at a meeting preceding the demonstration.

In Durham, where a truce prevails while a bi-racial committee named by Mayor R. Wense Grabarek seeks a solution, Negro leaders thanked Grabarek for his "diligent efforts"—but said demonstrations may resume at any time unless there is "noticeable progress."

The Charlotte Chamber of Commerce resolution, which followed similar action by business groups in Greensboro, was adopted by the Board of Directors without a dissenting vote.

There have been only intermittent demonstrations in Charlotte. But Dr. R. A. Hawkins, Negro integration leader, said Thursday mass demonstrations will come "very soon" unless public facilities are integrated.

"The broadside attack of the demonstrations will be patterned after the recent demonstrations in Birmingham, Greensboro, Raleigh and Durham," Dr. Hawkins said. "These others will be small by comparison."

A&T students at Greensboro were told they will be dismissed from college if they do not remain on campus.

Dr. L. C. Dowdy, acting president of the state-supported college for Negroes, said in a letter to the students:

"Serious negotiations are under way at this moment. It is requested and urged that all students remain on the college campus nuitl further notice. Violation of this request will result in the dismissal from college."

James Farmer, the CORE director, declined to comment on the letter, but he said downtown demonstrations wil be continued.

"We expect a full following," Farmer said.

More than 1,000 A&T College students were arrested in previous demonstrations. About 900 were released from jail Wednesday morning in custody of Dr. Dowdy.

Meanwhile, Greensboro Mayor David Schenck said at a news conference that he believes complete integration of restaurants and theaters will be required before the racial unrest here can be ended.

Pattern Established.

Schenck said, "I think the pattern is well established. The trend is toward integration, and I think it will continue."

He warned that any action taken by a special Human Relations Committee studying the problem must be approved by individual merchants before it can be effective. Managers of the four biggest targets of recent integration attempts have stated they will not serve Negroes.

After the Charlotte chamber adopted its integrate-now resolution, Chamber president J. Ed Burnside said:

"We do not want to tell any man what to do or what not to do. We only wish to state what we think is the right principle." He emphasized the action was "at the request of no organization and entirely of our own volition."

Mayor Brookshire, saying the chamber represents Charlotte's business, church and civic leadership, declared, "I feel the total city will follow this leadership." He expressed hope the move will ensure harmony in Charlotte and "be an example for other cities."

Meanwhile, Negro students continued demonstrations against segregation policies of local businesses Thursday for the fourth consecutive day. An estimated 500 marched through the downtown section, singing and clapping hands. No attempts to enter segregated theaters and restaurants were made. Several businesses continued their policy of closing their doors during the demonstration.

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CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p 38
Date: MAY 28 1963

Board Backs Integration Resolution

3"

A Chamber of Commerce resolution that asks local business establishments to serve people of all races was endorsed Monday by the Board of County Commissioners.

Chairman Charles M. Lowe said Monday he felt the commissioners should take note of and approve the chamber's action of Thursday.

Commissioner Henry B. Wilmer made the motion, saying "that we are appreciative and glad to see the action they have taken . . . and that we are happy to endorse their thinking."

Commissioner J. Frank Blythe asked what was included in the chamber's resolution. Lowe said it would affect primarily hotels, motels, restaurants and theaters.

"And the thinking was that this be done on a voluntary basis," he said, "without sit-ins, parades, economic boycotts and the like on the part of Negroes."

Blythe seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

In other action, Monday the commissioners appointed J. B. Watts of York Road to the City-County Planning Commission. He is vice president of Winchester Surgical Supply Co.

Pub. Accomm. N.C.

SERS Library

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 1
Date: MAY 30 1963

8 Hotels, Motels Will Desegregate

By JAMES K. BATTEN
Observer Staff Writer

Small groups of prominent white and Negro leaders lunched together at five leading Charlotte hotels and motels Wednesday as a prelude to complete desegregation of these and other establishments this weekend.

Wednesday's development, announced at a 4 p.m. press conference at City Hall, climaxed six days of intensive negotiations between white leaders and representatives of at least eight hotels and motels.

According to the terms of the agreement the identity of the establishments involved will not be announced until Friday.

Mayor Stan R. Brookshire, who made the announcement along with Dr. John R. Cunningham who heads the Mayor's Community Relations Committee, had this to say:

"This community is voluntarily facing up to what it thinks is right and in the best interest of continued progress, prosperity and racial harmony. This action represents acceptance of the principle that discrimination based on the color of a man's skin is legally and morally wrong and economically unsound."

As Brookshire and Cunningham explained it, the agreement would work this way:

Negro and white citizens, in groups of two to six, were to lunch together on Wednesday, today and Friday at five unnamed hotels and motels that have restaurants on their premises.

On Friday three other motels that operate no dining facilities will join with the orginal five in declaring publicly that, beginning Saturday, they will be open to all persons regardless of race.

Both Cunningham and Brookshire said they hoped that more motels and hotels would add their names to the desegregated list before publication Friday.

The new agreement came less than a week after the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution last Thursday urging managers of places of public accommodation to open their doors to Negroes.

Meetings between White leaders and the hotel and motel managers have been held almost daily since Thursday.

Among those involved in the bargaining, in addition to the mayor and Cunningham, was J. Ed Burnside, president of the Chamber of Commerce.

While Wednesday's announcement stressed the voluntary nature of the desegregation move, it was no secret that community leaders had been gravely concerned by the prospect of Negro demonstrations in Charlotte.

While other cities in North Carolina and the South have been plagued this spring by demonstrations and racial violence, Charlotte has had only one indication of impatience by local Negroes.

That came on May 20, when Negro leader Dr. R. A. Hawkins led a youthful crowd of about 65 Negroes on a two-mile march from Johnson C. Smith University to the Mecklenburg County Courthouse.

Hawkins praised Wednesday's announcements as "a step in the direction we have been asking for," and said that demontrations planned for Friday had een canceled.

While talks have been in progress with restaurant and theater wners, there apparently has een no agreement. Cunningham aid in his prepared statement, however, that "progress seems likely" in both areas "in the near future."

Dr. Rufus P. Perry, the president of Johnson C. Smith University, was one of the Negroes who lunched Wednesday in a local hotel with three clergymen.

"I don't think anybody even looked at us," Perry said. "Nobody paid any attention; I imagine some people never saw us."

The college president said his nch of shrimp and crab in eam sauce was "very good."

"It would compare favorably ith those I've had at the Walorf-Astoria and the Hilton ain," he said.

Both Brookshire and Cunningam, a noted Southern Presbyrian leader, joined mixed oups for lunch Wednesday. nningham estimated that out 30 whites and 20 Negroes ould be involved over the threey period.

The text of the mayor's statement follows:

"This community is voluntarily facing up to what it thinks is right and in the best interest of continued progress, prosperity and racial harmony.

"This action represents acceptance of the principle that discrimination based on the color of a man's skin is legally and morally wrong and economically unsound.

"I commend the earnest and effective efforts of the mayor's biracial Community Relations Committee, under the able guidance of Dr. John Cunningham, for establishing a climate of understanding and good will which makes this progressive step possible. I am appreciative of the efforts and patience of our Negro leaders and the splendid manner in which they have cooperated. I applaud the wisdom and courage of those business firms in their actions in dropping the bars of discrimination among our citizens.

"I am also appreciative of the splendid support of business, civic, and church leadership of our city as represented by recent action of the Chamber of Commerce board.

"I sincerely hope and believe that our community will accept and support the measures that have been taken here to provide equal rights and opportunities for all of our citizens.

"I urge all citizens to accept individual responsibility as the price that must be paid for the benefits of a free society."

Dr. Cunningham's statement:

"As of today a group of five of the leading hotels and motels of Charlotte began a program of desegregating both their rooms and dining rooms according to a plan which had previously been agreed upon by the managements of these establishments and the Mayor's Committee on Community Relations and the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce. These groups represent a broad cross section of the businesses, educational groups and churches of the city.

"In addition, three leading motels which do not have restaurants are opening their facilities along with the other establishments to the patrons of both races after the conclusion which is to terminate on Friday, May 31st. During this three-day period white and Negro business and Church leaders are lunching together at the five establishments.

"These developments have had the cooperation and leadership of the Mayor's Committee for the past three years. This is the latest in a series of steps which have led to the desegregation of buses, public libraries, public parks, swimming pools, lunch counters, public hospitals, the police force and a number of churches in the community.

"Talks are continuing at the present time with the restaurant picture shows. Progress seems likely in both of these fields in the near future.

"Special credit is due Mayor Stanford Brookshire who has given sincere and constructive leadership to these efforts at every level for the past two years during which he has been in office. Action taken last week by the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce, under the leadership of the President, Mr. J. E. Burnside, was also a major factor."

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WINSTON - SALEM
JOURNAL (N.C.)
p. 1

Date: MAY 30 1963

Pub. Accomm. N.C.

Biracial Groups Eat Together At Five Charlotte Hostelries

CHARLOTTE, N. C. (AP)—Negroes and whites for the first time sat down to lunch together Wednesday in five leading Charlotte hotels and motels.

The five hostelries also are beginning a program of opening their sleeping accommodations to both races, announced Dr. John R. Cunningham, chairman of a biracial committee named by Mayor Stan Brookshire.

Dr. Cunningham did not identify the five establishments. He said selected groups of whites and Negroes will patronize the five places for three days of "adjustment" and they will be identified Friday.

The committee chairman said three additional motels which do not have restaurants also are beginning a program of opening their rooms to both races. He did not name them.

Dr. Cunningham said the desegregation program began after having been "previously agreed upon by the managements of these establishments and the mayor's committee on community relations and the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce."

The integration came only six days after chamber directors unanimously recommended that businesses serving the general public serve "all customers without regard to race, creed or color."

After Wednesday's visit to the hotels and motels by the biracial group, Mayor Brookshire said:

"This community is voluntarily facing up to what it thinks is right, and in the best interests of continued progress, prosperity and racial harmony. This action represents acceptance of the principle that discrimination based on the color of a man's skin is legally and morally wrong, and economically unsound."

Charlotte has had only intermittent integration demonstrations. But a Negro spokesman recently promised massive demonstrations unless establishments serving the public lower racial bars.

Asked how the Negroes were received in Wednesday's integration moves, Dr. Cunningham quoted one of them as saying, "Not a soul seemed to pay any attention." Dr. Cunningham said management personnel "met us at the door" and there was no adverse reaction from other patrons.

Waitresses, he added, were "very nice."

Dr. Cunningham, former president of Davidson College near Charlotte, said "this is the latest in a series of steps which have led to the desegregation of buses, public libraries, public parks, swimming pools, lunch counters, public hospitals, the police force and a number of churches in the community."

He said talks are continuing with operators of theaters in this largest city in North Carolina and "progress seems likely."

No cafeteries or restaurants, except those in the five hotels and motels, were involved in Wednesday's announcement. Dr. Cunningham said efforts were being made to work out a desegregation program within the Charlotte restaurant association.

About 50 persons, including about 20 Negroes, will participate in the series of visits through Friday to the five establishments involved in the agreement. The mayor and Dr. Cunningham would not name the persons involved, but said they were leaders in the community.

Both spokesmen said they hoped there would be no incidents during the three-day period. Brookshire said, "There is general agreement among the Negro leadership" to try to avoid any incidents.

They said Dr. R. A. Hawkins, a Charlotte Negro integration leader, was "filled in" on the developments. Dr. Hawkins is not a member of the biracial committee. Last week Dr. Hawkins said massive demonstrations would be launched unless public facilities were desegregated.

Brookshire commended Dr. Cunningham's biracial committee. He said the committee had established "a climate of understanding and goodwill which makes this progressive step possible."

"I am appreciative of the efforts and patience of our Negro leaders and the splendid manner in which they have cooperated. I applaud the wisdom and courage of those business firms in their actions in dropping the bars of discrimination among our citizens," the mayor continued.

"I sincerely hope and believe our community will accept and support the measures that have been taken," Brookshire continued. "I urge all citizens to accept individual responsibility as the price that must be paid for the benefits of a free society."

Before meeting with newsmen, Brookshire said, "Today is a very significant day in the history of Charlotte." He added, "I would say the Chamber of Commerce meeting last Thursday (which called for integration of public establishments) was responsible for a great deal of thought and consideration" in the community.

SERS Library

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CHARLESTON NEWS
AND COURIER (S.C.)
p1
Date: MAY 31 1963

#1

Pub Accom - NC

Racial Woes Plague Ten N.C. Cities

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Racial unrest is beginning to become evident in South Carolina's sister state to the North. To cover the changing pattern of race relations there, The News and Courier has sent one of its top reporters, Leverne Prosser, a native of South Carolina and a graduate of the University of South Carolina, to give a report in depth on the situation. This is the first of these reports.)

By LEVERNE PROSSER
Roving Reporter

CHARLOTTE — An uneasy mixture of fear and resentment — spawned by ominous threats of massive demonstrations by thousands of impatient Negroes — haunted 10 North Carolina cities Thursday.

The uneasiness has spread through High Point, Wilmington, Fayetteville, Raleigh, Durham, Thomasville, Edenton, Greensboro, Winston Salem and Charlotte.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) have stepped up calculated efforts to force reluctant white North Carolinians to completely swallow what a Charlotte Negro calls "the integration pill they've only been nibbling at."

The middle-aged Negro, operator of a cafe within the shadow of Charlotte's Tryon Street skyscrapers, contends government and business officials throughout the state "have plenty to be scared about." He said Negroes "have passed the state of caring whether or not white people resent integration moves."

After getting assurances his request for anonymity would be honored, he boasted: "The odds are all in the favor of the Negro. He has the federal court, President Kennedy and his brother Robert and responsible North Carolina leaders on his side when he warns of demonstrations if racial barriers are not "completely erased."

There is apparently a high degree of truth in the businessman's comment. He has to look no further than the Charlotte City Hall and Chamber of Commerce to support his theory "Threats of demonstrations may be all that's needed to wipe out segregation in North Carolina."

Ironically, threats of freedom marches, sit-ins and boycotts seem out of place when considering the almost frantic efforts being made by Charlotte Mayor Stan R. Brookshire and Chamber of Commerce President J. E. Burnside to integrate all lodging, dining and shopping facilities in the Carolinas' biggest city.

Charlotte's public schools and other governmental facilities were desegregated in 1957. Since that time, city officials have pressed for removal of all racial bars throughout Mecklenburg County.

City and business officials made it no secret here yesterday — in spite of what Mayor Brookshire regards "outstanding progress made in racial relations"—they are gravely concerned over the prospect of NAACP and CORE-inspired demonstrations in Charlotte.

Negro Leader Dr. R. A. Hawkins and about 70 young marchers sparked the concern May 20 when they trekked two miles from Johnson C. Smith University to the Mecklenburg Courthouse and promised "bigger marches involving hundreds and thousands" if the city's motels, hotels and restaurants failed to desegregate their facilities.

Demonstrations set for this week by Dr. Hawkins were delayed when Mayor Brookshire announced five restaurants operated by motels and hotels would be used in a program to integrate all such facilities

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Public Accom - N.C

SERS Library E

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 2C

Date: JUN 2 1963

2-C

The Dialogue Must Be Continued

Charlotte has taken another firm step toward achieving equality of treatment for its citizens and its visitors, regardless of race, in an unusual approach to the desegregation of eight hotels and motels.

During a three-day trial period ending Friday, without an adverse incident of any description, white and Negro leaders of this community went to lunch together in the dining rooms of five of these establishments. There were approximately 50 persons involved.

This quiet affirmation of Charlotte's determination to create an atmosphere in which the individual ranks first in importance could have an influence for good over a span of many generations. The climate in which "beginnings" are made can spell the difference between triumph and tragedy.

And this was a "beginning" of the highest importance. This plan brought about an entirely new experience for many men who had lived together in this community all their lives, but who had never really enjoyed fellowship or communicated effectively. The sole barrier had been public opinion derived from a prejudice against skin color.

There may have been a collective sigh of relief as the first stage plan ended uneventfully with desegregation for lodging and meals at five establishments, and for lodging at three others which do not operate their own restaurants. But no one could truthfully say that there has been any more than a beginning.

The real test of the success of this venture lies ahead of us. If this mutually beneficial contact is categorized only as a three-day wonder, if it merely becomes window dressing to distract the community's attention at a crucial moment, it will have failed.

Only the first words have been spoken in a dialogue that must continue. Three months from now and six months from now, if there is to be effective communication between the races and individuals, white and Negro business and professional men should still be talking together over lunch about the things which concern all residents of Charlotte.

We commend all those men who pushed the bugaboo of race behind them in helping this community to find its way in human relations. They have sounded a sane and calming note which rings clearly over the discord in much of the land.

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CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
p. 17 A

Date: JUN 12 1963

Theaters To Admit Negroes

Charlotte took another major step to eliminate sources of racial unrest Tuesday when its indoor movie theaters began a desegregation plan worked out by the Mayor's Community Relations Committee.

Under the plan, Negro patrons designated by members of the committee will attend the local theaters in limited numbers during an interim period.

•

Full desegregation is expected "in the near future," Dr. John R. Cunningham, chairman of the committee, said.

The step was announced Tuesday night in this formal statement by Cunningham:

"Effective yesterday, a number of indoor theaters in Charlotte began admitting Negro patrons under a plan worked out by the managers and the Mayor's Community Relations Committee.

"In the near future, we will survey the results. If there have been no problems . . . and I anticipate none . . . the theaters will then be opened to the general patronage of our Negro citizens.

"I am gratified that the theater owners, like the hotel and motel operators, have been so cooperative in working with our committee. I know that the citizens of our community will accept this plan with tolerance and good will."

Cunningham's statement did not identify the theaters.

He explained that representatives of his committee had held several meetings with the theater owners and managers since the Chamber of Commerce board of directors adopted on May 23 a resolution recommending the desegregation of business establishments catering to the general public.

He added that the plan did not include outdoor drive-in theaters at this time.

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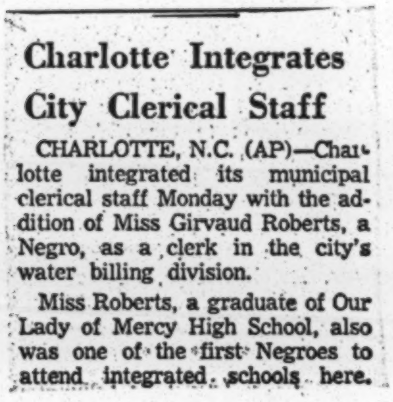
THE STATE
(Columbia, S.C.)
P 3A

Date: JUL 23 1963



Charlotte Integrates City Clerical Staff

CHARLOTTE, N.C. (AP)—Charlotte integrated its municipal clerical staff Monday with the addition of Miss Girvaud Roberts, a Negro, as a clerk in the city's water billing division.

Miss Roberts, a graduate of Our Lady of Mercy High School, also was one of the first Negroes to attend integrated schools here.

Microfilm Code No.
~~Reapportionment - State~~

SERS Library Pub Accom - N.C.

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N.C.) p. 1C

Date OCT 6 1963

Public Hearings Set On Three S.C. Issues

1c

By AL LANIER

COLUMBIA, S.C.—(AP)—Three South Carolina legislative committees will crowd into the State House Wednesday for important public hearings on three touchy issues.

Interested persons will have an opportunity to give their views on controversies ranging from integration of state parks reshuffling of congressional districts and operations of the State Tax Commission.

The separate hearings will climax weeks of open meetings and behind-the-scenes investigative work by the three legislative groups.

A six-member House committee looking into allegations involving the integrity of the tax commission officials begins its hearing during the morning.

Rep. Wade Weatherford

The committee, headed by Rep. Wade Weatherford of Cherokee, will listen to scheduled witnesses in the morning session and will hear any others wishing to testify during the afternoon.

Afternoon sessions only will be conducted by the state parks group and the congressional redistricting committee.

Thus far the Weatherford committee has heard testimony that a few tax commission agents have accepted gifts of liquor from persons whose business operations they check.

However, the committee was told such incidents were isolated and did not sway the tax officials in performance of their duty.

The state parks committee, headed by Rep. J. C. Arrants of Kershaw, has held a series of public hearings throughout the state to sound out public sentiment. The assembly, which meets in January, will decide if the parks will be kept closed or if they will be integrated to conform with a federal court order.

Sentiment expressed at the previous hearings has been mostly for reopening the parks on at least a limited basis for sight-seeing only, despite integration. Swimming and other close-contact activities would be banned under the limited plan.

The congressional redistricting committee has before it a controversial reshuffling plan proposed by its chairman, Rep. B. W. Baker of Aiken.

Under Baker's plan, counties within all six congressional districts would be rearranged to even out population within each district and thus give individual voters more equal representation in the U. S. House of Representatives.

Microfilm Code No.
Pub Accom-NC

SERS Library L

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N.C.) P.2B

Date: OCT 16 1963

THE OBSERVER FORUM

Contest Setback For City

VB

The writer is a dramatics instructor in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System.

RECENTLY, several Charlotte teen-age girls were sadly deluded of the American dream.

The Miss Teen-Age Charlotte contest sponsored by WSOC-TV was a striking setback for the city of Charlotte, now recognized as a leader in the cause for human dignity and equal liberties.

We cannot afford to pay the price for the remnants of natural and belated rights while the threads go lacking and overlooked. It is these threads that piece together the quilt of society.

JUST AS SPORTS in Negro high schools are deprived of equal, not just adequate news and photographic coverage in the local newspapers, so the Negro teen-age girls were deprived of the right to be in the Miss Teen-Age Charlotte contest.

The preliminary procedures leading up to the event were even more tragic. Application blanks were sent to Negro high schools inviting participation. Some of the girls even obtained blanks in person from WSOC-TV.

Under the illusion that they had been formally invited as "Charlotteens" to participate in what would eventually lead to the Miss Teen-Age "America" contest, the anxious youth began to work fervently on their talent presentation numbers to be done on TV.

PREREQUISITE to being accepted was a personality test of which the applicants were to be informed of the time of administration. None of the Negro girls was informed and much to their dismay, after hours of rehearsals, they became aware of the obvious fact that they were being excluded.

Call it a mistake, misinformation, or "technical difficulties," but the coaxial cable of communication has been irreparably damaged and the engineers are at fault in the human equation.

H. B. CAPLE
Charlotte

Promotion Manager Jon Caudle of WSOC-TV, upon notification of Mr. Caple's complaint, denied emphatically that there was any discrimination intended against Negro contestants. He pointed out, first, that Negro students would not have been asked to participate if the station had intended to attach racial limitations to the contest.

Mr. Caudle explained that this was a promotion of Teen-age Associates, Inc., of Dallas, Texas, with local rights to the contest purchased by WSOC-TV. The entry blank was furnished by Teen-Age Associates. It provided for information about the individual contestant, including a resume of current high school grades, and a photo was to accompany each application.

Personal interviews and talent tests were accorded only if contestants survived preliminary judging, which was based on the application blank data and photos of the applicants. Some 150 entries were received and 30 girls were selected from that group.

"We have no doubt," he said, "that talented white girls with attractive personalities were eliminated along with Negro girls in preliminary judging. It is not entirely satisfactory to use applications and photos in preliminary eliminations. But we endeavored to be just as fair as it was humanly possible to be."

Mr. Caudle added that the station management has made every effort, through its "Hour of Opportunity" program and other means, to serve its Negro viewers and build better race relations in the Charlotte area. The station will, he said, stand on its over-all record of performance as a defense against charges that it was not sincere in inviting Negro participation in the Miss Teen-Age Charlotte contest. Editors, The Observer.

GREENSBORO (N.C.)
DAILY NEWS p. 1B
Date NOV 16 1963

SERS Library Pub Accom - N.C.

Integration Of Business Evaluated

16

Reports Made By Committees

Leaders of bi-racial committees in Charlotte, Durham and Winston-Salem said yesterday that hotels, motels, restaurants and theaters in those cities have not lost business as a result of integrating.

Dr. John R. Cunningham, J. Ed Burnside and Mayor Stan Brookshire, all of Charlotte, and George Watts Hill Sr. of Durham and P. T. Melitas of Winston-Salem described what their cities have done in the way of public accommodations for Negroes. They spoke at a meeting of the Greensboro Commission on Human Relations in the Municipal Building.

All five speakers said that desegregation of public accomodations has to be done voluntarily if it is to work. They emphasized the necessity of cooperation between the power elite of both races and said newspaper and television publicity just aggravates the situation and makes it harder to negotiate.

About 50 Greensboro operators of eating places, hotels, motels and theaters attended the meeting. None of them asked any questions of the visiting speakers, although questions from the audience were permitted.

Claim Wide Open Towns

According to the speakers, public accommodations are wide open to Negroes in Charlotte, Durham and Winston-Salem as compared with Greensboro.

Dr. Cunningham, chairman of the Charlotte Bi-Racial Committee and a former president of Davidson College, said Charlotte is "completely" integrated as to lunch counters, public libraries, Chamber of Commerce membership, hospitals, schools, police force, hotels, motels, restaurants and most theaters.

Hill, a Durham banker, reported that city's leading hotel, all 11 of its motels and 95 per cent of the eating places have integrated since last May, when over 1,400 persons were arrested during Negro demonstrations.

"Those who desegregated have not suffered," Hill said. "There's always a big hullabaloo for three or four days after a place integrates, but then the customers begin to drift back."

Forsyth Situation

Melitas, a member of the Winston-Salem Bi-Racial Committee and president of the Forsyth County Innkeepers Association, said "a majority" of public accommodations have integrated in Winston-Salem without any serious fracases or mass demonstrations.

Melitas said about 45 eating places in the city are integrated and said motels with a total of 800 rooms now accept Negroes. He said several hundred Negroes in Winston-Salem recently for the Winston-Salem Teachers College Home-coming stayed in motels and ate in downtown restaurants without incident.

In Durham and Winston-Salem there was no public announcement about the places that were preparing to integrate. Hill said Durham has found the "voluntary approach without publication of names" is the best way to meet the problem.

W. O. Conrad, chairman of the Greensboro commission, asked Hill about rumors that former patrons of Durham hotels and motels now drive on to Raleigh.

"Nothing to it; our motels are full," Hill said.

Warns Of Demonstrations

Hill said the public in Durham has accepted desegregation in public accommodations, but he warned a resumption of demonstrations may change all that.

"I feel that if we have another outbreak of demonstrations, we will lose most of the progress we've made," he said.

Charlotteans also have accepted desegregated public accommodations, Mayor Brookshire said.

"Our experience in dropping discrimination has not produced any incidents," Brookshire said.

The procedure for desegregat- the public accommodations in the three cities, as outlined by the speakers, went about like this:

Appoint a committee to negotiate with the more militant Negroes on one hand and with the innkeepers, restaurateurs and movie operators on the other. Then try to persuade the demonstrators to tone down their demands and simultaneously try to convince the operators of public accommodation places that integration won't bankrupt them.

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CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N.C.) p. 1D
Date: MAR 15 1964

File Charlotte

IN CHARLOTTE

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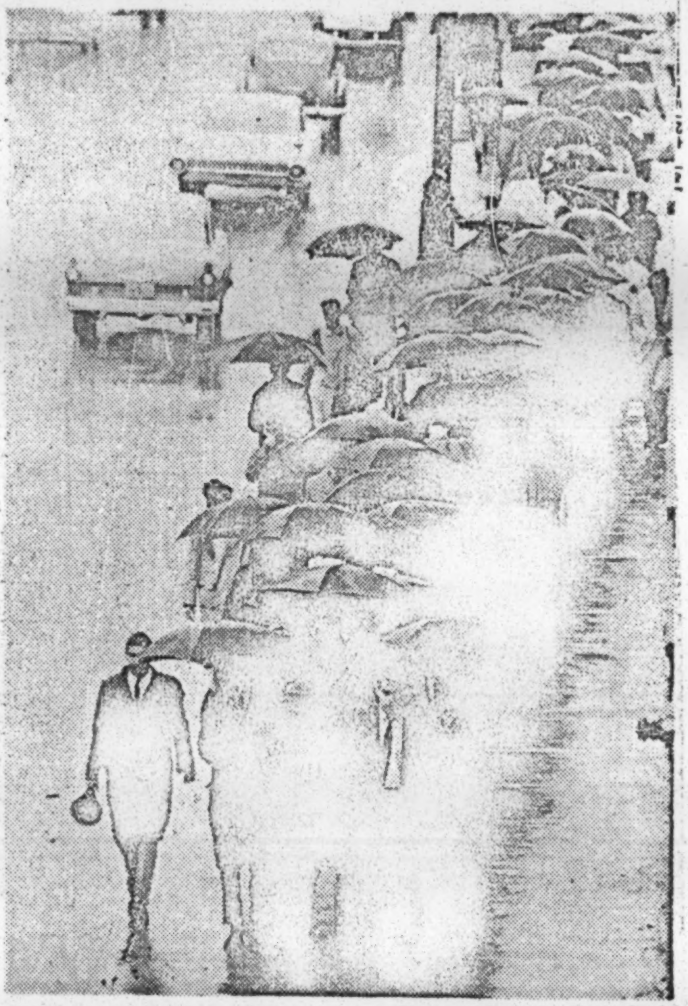


Observer Photo by Hank Daniel

Civil Rights marchers as they neared Charlotte Post Offic

Petitions Mailed To LBJ

By JAMES K. BATTEN
Observer Staff Writer

Five hundred fired-up college students, many of them white, marched a mile through a steady downpour Saturday afternoon to affirm to the world their belief in equality for the Negro.

The singing, sodden cavalcade wound its way down West Trade Street from the Johnson C. Smith University campus to the Main Post Office, where the marchers formed a big semicircle.

Then, at about 4:30 p.m., representatives of the nine participating colleges filed up to a red, white and blue mail box and dropped in petitions addressed to President Johnson urging him to push for a strong civil rights bill.

Joe Howell, a Davidson College senior from Nashville, Tenn. and organizer of the march, said that 2,300 students and faculty members had signed the petitions.

In addition to Davidson and Johnson C. Smith, colleges represented were Catawba, Livingston, Queens, Belmont Abbey, Charlotte College, Lenoir Rhyne and Pfeiffer. About 200 of the 500 marchers were white.

The march from the campus and back, which took nearly two hours, was watched by curious but generally silent onlookers.

About 10 city policemen were assigned to the march, mostly to handle traffic at intersections. No extra men were used.

There were a few taunts from white bystanders, but one elated Davidson student reported: "One white fellow came out of a slum house and congratulated us."

The day's events began at 3 p.m. with a high-spirited rally in Biddle Hall on the Johnson C. Smith campus. Each college's delegation stood to be recognized and was greeted by thunderous applause.

Pillars in the old, high-ceilinged auditorium had huge cardboard signs bearing civil rights slogans: "First Class Citizenship Now," "Liberty and Justice for All," and "FK's Dream Come True . . . Freedom."

A White Lawyer's Intimate Story

'My People Is The Enemy'

BY WILLIAM STRINGFELLOW

For a reconciliation between the races, white people "must give up the idea that they have and should continue indefinitely to have the prerogatives of white supremacy"

(From *My People Is The Enemy*, by William Stringfellow, Copyright © 1964 by William Stringfellow, and reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.)

On one of those steaming, stinking, stifling nights that each summer brings to Harlem tenements, I had a dream:

> ***In the dream, I was walking in Harlem on 125th Street, in broad daylight. I seemed to be the only white man in sight. The passers-by stared at me, ruefully. Then two Negroes stopped me and asked for a light. While I searched my pockets for a match, one of them sank a knife into my belly. I fell. I bled. After a while, I died.***

I woke quickly.

I felt my stomach; there wasn't any blood.
I smoked a cigarette and thought about the dream:

> ***The assault in the dream seemed unprovoked and vicious. The death in the dream seemed useless and, therefore, all the more expensive. The victim in the dream seemed innocent of offense against those who murdered him. Except, the victim was a white man. The victim was murdered by the black men because he was a white man. The murder was retribution. The motive was revenge.***
> ***No white man is innocent.***
> ***I am not innocent.***

Then I cried.

DECEPTION is more humiliating than rejection. Exploitation is more inhuman than exclusion. Indifference is more embittering than open hostility. Condescension is more provocative than hate.

The estrangement of the races in the North is more volatile, more apt to explode into violence, as far as I can discern, than is the segregation of the races in the South. The alienation of the races in New York City or Chicago may turn out to be more calamitous than whatever happens in Jackson or Birmingham. For Negroes in the urban North, revenge may seem sweeter than equality, and violence more decisive than patience, and both more honorable than the tolerance of further appeasements and postponements.

Of course, I say this out of my own experience in New York—in Harlem—and from a good deal of contact with the people of the ghettos of some of the other Northern cities—Chicago, Boston, and Detroit, especially. But I assert it also in the perspective of some exposure to and experience in the South. During the years I lived and worked in Harlem I had occasion to visit the South a good many times. Sometimes, in Mississippi and in Louisiana, the Southern visits involved legal cases, but there were also trips to Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, Florida, and Arkansas, to lecture at law schools and colleges and to visit some of the churches of the South. There were opportunities to give legal counsel to those involved in the sit-ins and Freedom Rides and other demonstrations, both in the South and the North.

Indeed, I myself was involved in what must have been one of the original sit-ins—back in 1943—when I was in college in Maine. Some of us had observed that Negroes were not served at a certain hotel and that discrimination existed and was practiced in some other public accommodations, although it must be said that the issue was hardly noticed publicly in Maine because there were comparatively few Negroes in the state. There was, however, discrimination in some places against French Canadians who had migrated to Maine. A bill was introduced into the legislature that condemned racial or ethnic discrimination, and sought to establish a commission against discrimination. Several of us were working for the bill's enactment. One day the legislator who had sponsored the measure, a man of French extraction, came to see us to report that the legislation had almost no chance to pass, since there was so little public interest in the issue. After long discussion, it was decided that three of us would go with a Negro to the hotel which barred Negroes and ask to be served. It was arranged in advance that the legislator would be dining in the same hotel that evening and would have with him a newspaperman. The expectation was that we would ask to be served, and, as had been the custom in the hotel, be refused. We would protest, and the legislator, having noticed the incident, would intervene in our behalf while the newspaperman took photographs and got a story. The publicity of the incident was supposed to enhance the prospects for the passage of the bill. At the appointed hour, our party arrived at the hotel and went into the dining room. The senator and the reporter were halfway through their entrées. After we had been sitting at the table for several minutes, we noticed that the waiter had gone to speak to the manager. We could not hear their conversation, but soon the waiter came and asked to take our order. We had to order something of course. Ironically, we had already eaten at the college, so sure we were that the hotel would not serve us. Among the four of us we had only about five dollars, so the unfortunate senator ended up paying the check—for our second dinner of the evening! That was the result achieved in this pioneer sit-in.

It is against the background not only of Harlem, but of a bit broader involvement than that, that I conclude that the decisive front in the racial crisis in America is the urban North, and not the South. I have immense admiration for the restraint, dignity, and resourcefulness of the civil rights movement in the South, but the case remains that the immediate and stated objectives of that movement in the Southern jurisdictions are goals that have already been substantially achieved in the Northern cities, at least so far as court decisions and legislation are concerned, and also, to a significant degree, so far as integration in public transportation, hotels, restaurants, and the like are concerned. These things were attained in the North for the most part in the years after the Second World War, and what is to be seen, when one looks now at the Northern city, is what happens after these legal rights and remedies, which the Southern demonstrations seek to win, have been won. The Northern city, in other words, is setting the precedent for what is in store for the Southern cities, once the legal struggle to vindicate the civil rights of Negroes has been concluded. And if, in the days that lie immediately ahead, the relations between the races are not somehow resolved peacefully, then the whole nation is in for an ominous and dreadful holocaust.

Let no man take comfort in the racial troubles of the Northern cities, least of all any white man from the South, any more than any white Northerner can appease his conscience or rationalize his indifference by the racial strife in the South. No man is made innocent by the mere culpability of another man.

The Lost Frontier

Harlem had considered itself for a long time to be the pioneer Negro community, not only in the United States, but in the world. That seems a not unjustified pride. After all, New York City had been the place where the great succession of peoples of different tongues, nations, religions, and customs had come and found, albeit after patience and travail, mutual accommodation, a general acceptance, and a share in the prosperity, culture, political power, and common life of the city. New York City represented the hospitality of American democracy to each man and to all men. Surely the American Negro migrating from the South, and the West Indian Negro immigrating to the continent could find here, if anywhere, welcome, opportunity, dignity, and hope. Surely the Negroes of New York would become and be here the pioneers of their race, an example and encouragement and enhancement to all Negroes everywhere.

This pioneer psychology in Harlem was fed for years by the accumulation of civil rights laws and statutory disclaimers of racial discrimination, by the ceremonial use of Negroes in public affairs, by the praise of social equality for Negroes heard in the churches downtown, by the integration—although here it was from the outset the most obvious economic necessity—of public transportation and accommodations, by the gradual, if begrudged, inroads of Negroes into the lower echelons of public and quasi-public employment, by the notoriety that some few Negroes achieved in white society, particularly in athletics and entertainment.

Harlem was the leader, so long as the African nations remained largely colonial. Harlem was the pioneer, so long as the South remained segregated.

But now, under the impact of the events in Africa—the emergence of the new nations there and the increasingly decisive power of Africans in the United Nations—and with the disruption and accelerating disintegration of Southern segregation, Harlem frets over its destiny. Harlem wonders whether it has lost its pioneer initiative, and suspects that every achievement of Negroes in New York City and every opportunity of Negroes in New York City is illusory or fraudulent or guileful.

No wonder.

A few years ago, legislation was enacted in New York City barring discrimination in private multiple-dwelling units, a law much celebrated by the local politicians as a milestone for Negroes and other so-called minority groups in the city. Yet, few Negroes look for housing outside of Harlem without encountering discrimination, in one guise or another. And even where the discriminating circumstances are such as to legally justify filing a complaint, the procedure for administration of the law is so cumbersome as to be of practical consequence in only a handful of cases.

The new construction and renovation of housing in New York have been an efficient instrument of segregation. The East Side of Manhattan, for instance, from Yorkville to Gramercy Park, is more effectually segregated today than it was fifteen years ago because the vast reconstruction of that sector of the city has made the rental or purchase of housing beyond the means of most Harlem Negroes. Yet, at the same time, I have been offered an apartment in Yorkville "for pretty much whatever you want to pay" by a landlord who "wants to keep the building white."

And if a Negro family wants to move out of Harlem and to Queens, say, and purchase a house there, they will find that the banks are helping to resist such moves by charging both the seller and the buyer "placing fees" in order to merely receive a mortgage application. Insofar as Negroes disperse in the city, both the Negroes and those willing to sell housing to Negroes have to pay a penalty for it.

The effect of factors such as these, despite the legislative denunciations of discrimination, is to induce the formation of new ghettos for Negroes in the places in the Bronx or Queens or Brooklyn or Beacon or Newburgh to which Negroes move from the Harlem ghetto. As the Negro population increases, new Harlems are spawned, which suffer the same isolation from the rest of the city that the old Harlem has known for more than a half a century.

Housing is crucial, of course, because of the vicinity of neighborhood life and the importance of neighborhood institutions in the city. If housing is segregated, then there will also be, and is, *de facto* segregation of schools, hospitals, political clubs, taverns, stores, and churches, even without other considerations that favor segregation in education, religion, politics, and the like.

Where slums have been displaced by public housing projects in areas like Harlem, the people have often been exploited by private businessmen to take advantage of the ignorance of people with regard to their rights. One of the common frauds is the furniture dealer who visits a family which has been accepted for public housing, to inform them that a prerequisite for moving into their new apartment is that they have new furniture. Such transactions typically result in the commitment of the family to a heavily mortgaged purchase of furniture of indifferent or inferior quality, with such small installment payments that they pay many times over the true value of the goods and are lucky if the furniture lasts as long as the payments. Of course, default in the payments entitles the seller to repossess the property.

Ironically, many of these sales based upon misrepresentation are foisted on families who have been admitted to public housing because they are "good rent risks," that is, because they have a stable (if low) and steady (if insufficient) income. Some could, in fact, qualify for credit in reputable downtown department stores, but, as in the case of shopping for food, are reluctant to leave the neighborhood, feeling that their business is unwelcome in the "white" stores, and fearing rejection, because they are Negroes, if they apply for credit.

Negroes have too much and too long been not only the victims of such charlatan businessmen, but also have suffered exclusion both from employment in and ownership of business enterprises even within the ghetto. This is the situation which gives rise to efforts to boycott liquor stores, furniture stores, and other businesses in Harlem itself, and to campaigns to "buy black."

During the demonstrations of the summer of 1963 in one section of the city protesting discriminatory hiring practices of a certain restaurant chain, in which scores of arrests were made, it turned out that the strongest opposition to the demonstrations within the business community of that section was the crime syndicate. The businessmen of organized crime were distressed by the demonstrations because they caused a substantial increase in the numbers of policemen assigned to the area and thus made it more dangerous and difficult for drugs to be peddled and for the numbers racket to operate. It is also likely that the syndicate fears integration in business because it might eventually require admitting Negroes to the rackets as well as to legitimate businesses. The sanction invoked by the syndicate to line up the opposition of businessmen and others in the area was to threaten to call in and collect loans made by the syndicate to otherwise legitimate businessmen who might be ready to go along with integration in public accommodations, stores, and the like.

Or take hospitals. Not long ago I had a Negro client who had taken her child one Sunday to a public playground. The child, who was five years old, fell at the playground, hitting his head on the concrete surface. A few blocks away there is a private hospital, related, by the way, to one of the churches. The mother took her child there, and after waiting nearly an hour in the so-called emergency reception section, was finally interviewed by a doctor who explained that the mother would have to take the child to a public hospital, since she could not afford care at this institution and since that's what the public hospitals are for. Actually, of course, the private hospital could have been reimbursed by public welfare for any care given to the child, although at rates set by the welfare authorities rather than by the hospital administration. The nearest public hospital was four miles away, so, after having been turned away, the mother took the child there, walking part of the way, and going by bus part of the way, since she had no money for a taxi. After a further wait at the public hospital, the child was examined and it was found that he had suffered a serious injury which might permanently disable him. The doctors say that if the child had received prompt attention, the consequences of the injury would likely have been much less serious.

The mother in the case worked as a domestic. She told her employer about the matter, and he in turn reported it to me. It seemed likely that the reason the child had not been admitted to the private hospital was either because the family was poor or Negro, or, most likely, both. The mother, however, refused to make any formal complaint against the doctor and private hospital because, as she explained, she had no hope whatever that she could prevail. After all, why should she, a Negro, expect to be treated fairly or humanely by the law, any more than she had been by the private hospital, and, besides, the prosecution of the complaint would not heal her child. While the matter was being discussed, I called a friend of mine who is a reporter on one of the major New York newspapers, one which professes a great concern for human rights. I told him what had happened and suggested that it might be worthwhile publicizing this incident to call attention to discrimination in the private hospitals of the city. But he said that the incident was not newsworthy and that his paper received as many as a dozen reports a day of similar cases. "It's only a story for us," he said, "if the kid dies or if the injury is really grotesque!"

One of the uglier incidents, which *was* thought to be newsworthy, happened a few years ago in Harlem. A baby—just over two years old—developed a high fever, and his mother, a Negro, took him to a public hospital. The interne who examined the child told the mother that it was a minor respiratory infection, and prescribed some medicine. The mother took the child home, administered the medicine, but found in the next day or two that the fever did not abate. They returned to the hospital. This time a different interne was on duty, and he sent the mother and baby to the tuberculosis ward, saying that he suspected that this was the ailment. Testing there indicated that it was not, and again the mother and baby were discharged, after having been given some additional medicine. Three days later, when the baby's fever and discomfort persisted, the mother for the third time went to the hospital, waited her turn and, while the child was being examined by the doctor, it died. An autopsy subsequently established that the child had died, not from a respiratory infection, not from incipient tuberculosis, but from an infection caused by the bite of a rat. That's the sort of story that makes the newspapers. And that is the sort of incident—along with the playground case—that causes many Negroes to conclude that they can expect little care from hospitals or at least little competent care.

In short, in virtually every sector of the city's life—housing, education, and medical care, in business, politics, and employment, in the welfare administration and the enforcement of the law—Negroes still suffer discrimination and segregation, despite the legislative disclaimers of discrimination and the public promises of the politicians.

The tragedy and irony of Harlem is that while Negroes have been lost in fondness for the image of Harlem as the pioneer for all Negroes, Harlem has remained the place and symbol of persistent, if sometimes subtle, discrimination: excluded from the housing, politics, lawful protection, commercial enterprise, common culture, education, economic opportunity, sanitation, and free access characteristic of the rest of the city and taken for granted by the white people downtown.

The great affront to Harlem's pioneer destiny is that Harlem still exists.

The Passion for Revenge

This is no report, by the way, about the extreme racists within the Negro community, about the Black Muslims or the Black Nationalists, although both exist and increasingly thrive in Harlem and in the other great urban ghettos of the North, and they are by no means to be discounted or underestimated.

Indeed, as far as the Muslims are concerned, they are well financed—some say with funds from the Arab sources—and apparently they are congenial with the white racists of the American Nazi Party; at least I myself have seen some proof of their association with the American Nazi. But these extremists—the Muslims—seem to have made a fatal tactical mistake in their attempts to exploit the unrest and frustration and sentiment for revenge among American Negroes, especially in the

North. They have required their adherents, not just to hate white men, though that is their central doctrine and essential appeal; they also require that their members renounce their religious inheritance—which in Harlem is either the Gospel tradition in Protestantism or, in the case of West Indian immigrants, Roman Catholicism—and embrace the indoctrination of a new and strange and unfamiliar religion (which, incidentally, bears little truthful resemblance to historic Islam), and to further submit to the discipline and rigorous piety of the new faith with respect to practical behavior from day to day. The Muslims have made hate too complicated and difficult and much too contingent upon a peculiar moralism to become a movement that receives mass support. Or so it seems to me, simply as an observer. Yet there is no doubt that the central emphasis of the extremists—like the Muslims—in the Negro communities of the North upon the simple hatred and rejection of white men because they are white men has enormous and increasing appeal among the Negroes of the city ghettos.

The great danger, for both Negroes and whites, is that some leader will emerge who will turn to his people and preach a blunt doctrine of hate and revenge. Because the ground has been so well prepared by extremists of both races, it will be difficult to organize long-suppressed emotion and legitimate grievances into a powerful movement. If that comes to pass, the peaceful demonstrations in the streets will cease and the revolution will become an insurrection.

If that does happen, if there is a violent and bloody calamity, perhaps white men will then recognize that the incumbent leadership of the Negro revolt—notably Martin Luther King, with his great dignity and discipline and restraint—has been the best friend of white Americans, both in the North and the South.

Each day of die-hard indifference of white people in the North, each day of die-hard segregation in the South, invites disaster by making it more difficult for the Negro leadership favoring and practicing nonviolent protest to maintain its leadership. The nonviolent demonstrations have, after all, been going on for about five years on a significant scale, and reached a climax in the March on Washington in August of 1963. If from these demonstrations there is not some tangible result to which the present Negro leadership can point, it may be expected with certainty that the patience of Negroes will be exhausted and they will turn to other leaders and to other tactics, and turn from seeking redress of their grievances to taking revenge for the indignities they have suffered through three hundred years of slavery and segregation.

No account is given here of the extremists in Harlem, but the danger is that Harlem—along with each of the little Harlems of the nation—is driven to extremity.

One sign of how much racism tempts Negroes is the degree to which some leaders among them, who are not Muslims or Nationalists, feel constrained to imitate and recite racist doctrines. Some of the statements of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell reflect this change in the mood and militancy of Harlem. I recall, for another instance, attending a rally in Harlem some time ago, protesting police brutality. One of the speakers was a certain Negro minister whom I know well and who has been very moderate. It happens that this man is of very fair complexion and could easily "pass" for a white man. When he began his speech he apologized for his light color, whereupon he was booed by the crowd. He persisted in his apology and said that though he was light he knew the full burden of being a Negro in America. More booing. He changed his tactic and launched into the most provocative and virulent racist speech I think I have ever heard, advocating, among other things, black supremacy and resort to violence to oppose the violence of the police. This time the crowd was with him. He had sensed the depth of their hostility and had appeased it.

But there is a sequel to the incident. After the rally I went to Greenwich Village where I had a date to have a drink with a white student who had just returned to the city from a Freedom Ride in Mississippi. As we sat in the restaurant, who should come in but the minister who had given the racist address at the rally. And guess who was with him? A white girl.

The important thing, so far as I am concerned, is not the duplicity of the minister—that is a problem he must live with all alone—but, rather, that he had felt that black supremacy and revenge had become so much the spirit of Harlem that he had to identify with it. He tried, first of all, to do that in his pitiful apology for his light skin, and, when that failed, he succeeded in gaining the crowd by outdoing even the professional racists in Harlem.

A particularly ominous sign of the extremisties of Negro animosity is the emergence in the open of Negro anti-Semitism. It is a complex phenomenon, and one which has, as far as I can observe, been spawned over a very long time. Part of the picture is a sense of the uniqueness of the Negro cause as such, and a reluctance among Negroes to identify their cause with that of other minorities, not only the Jews, but also, for example, Puerto Ricans. This sentiment much prevails, in spite of the historic interest of the Jews in America in the civil rights of all citizens; and, in the case of the Puerto Ricans, in spite of their common problems. Negroes do not want to be lumped together with other minorities, but there is evidence of particular resentment at being associated with the Jews.

One reason for this is the direct competition now between Negroes and Jews in politics. In New York, in the succession of migrations and immigrations of the different ethnic groups, there has been a succession to political power that roughly parallels the order of the immigrations. For a while the Germans were politically powerful, but they were displaced by the Irish, and the Irish in time, by the Italians as the dominant group. But in this succession, the Jews did not receive their turn. They were not welcome in politics, although their numbers justified political recognition. It is only comparatively recently, through the device of a third party with preponderantly Jewish leadership and membership and through the so-called reform movement in the Democratic Party, that the Jews have received something like the political recognition and patronage status that their numbers and social and economic influence would have brought to other groups long since. The problem is that the Jews have belatedly emerged in great strength in city politics at just the time when the Negro demand for political power and patronage has become insistent. Consequently, the two minorities which have suffered the most harsh discrimination in city politics are now in the position of competing with each other for political power and patronage rather than being united in a common political cause.

But politics is not the only cause of Negro anti-Semitism. There are unfortunate instances in which Negroes have endured ill-treatment at the hands of individual Jews. A typical instance is when tenants live in slums where the landlord happens to be Jewish. I have had two cases where the landlords of abominable slums were rabbis—which hardly improves the image of the Jews in the eyes of Negroes. The fact is, too, that some of the furniture dealers who have victimized Negroes moving into new housing have been Jewish, and this further feeds anti-Semitism.

Even the substantial philanthropy of Jews for the civil rights struggle and their sincere sympathy for the plight of the Negroes are greeted with suspicion and resentment. "Who are they to speak for us?" is a common form which this hostility takes. "Nobody but a Negro can know what it means to be a Negro" is the sentiment which rejects identification on the part of Jews with the Negro cause.

Yet, the overriding reason for Negro anti-Semitism, as far as I can discern, is that it is some awful emulation of the anti-Semitism so long prevalent and so unyielding among middle- and upper-class white Protestants and Catholics. For generations, these citizens, who have been ascendant in American society, have made anti-Semitism a mark of social and political status, something which, while it seldom took the form of open persecution, was, and still too much remains, an accepted attitude and practice.

Insofar as this is the basis of Negro anti-Semitism, it places white

Christians in an excruciating position. On one hand, they must now stand beside the Jews and share with the Jews the hostility of Negroes toward all white people, but, at the same time, they themselves are authors of one form of that very hostility—the anti-Semitism of Negroes which imitates the anti-Semitism of white Protestants and Catholics. Such is the economy of judgment.

In any event, now it is at least in the open, no longer latent and snide and festering, but brought into the open by the boycotts of Jewish merchants in Harlem, the rent strikes against some Jewish landlords, and the attempts to integrate some unions and industries that have heretofore been predominantly white and Jewish. Now that it is in the open, perhaps it can and will be dealt with in a way which both affirms the uniqueness of the Negro and the grandeur of the Negro's struggle, and also in some way works a reconciliation among Negroes and Jews and white Christians.

The spirit of revenge which stalks the streets of Harlem and the other urban ghettos is one which increasingly regards any association in public between Negro and white as suspect as a guilty association, one which calls into question the loyalty and racial pride of the Negro, one in which the Negro is thought to be tempted or intimidated or cajoled or purchased into some compromise of his integrity and identity as a Negro.

An event like the censure of A. Philip Randolph, the distinguished leader of the American Negro Labor Council, and virtually the patriarch of Harlem, by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO for his exposure of racial discrimination in the unions—the proof of which has been amply documented—abets the suspicion that when a Negro tries to negotiate or collaborate with whites—even those who protest most that they are liberals—he must either betray himself and his people or suffer humiliation.

Even the word "Negro" is dropping from usage, in favor of the term "black man," in order to express the pride a man who is black should have in being black, and the disdain that black men should have toward white men.

There was a time, for example, when prostitution in New York involved supplying Negro girls to white patrons from downtown, and when some brothels in Harlem catered largely to white customers. Those days are gone. A Negro prostitute does not have white customers any more, no matter what the price, because to associate with white people is a disloyalty to her race and people and their cause, just as much for a prostitute as for any Uncle Tom in politics or the churches.

The intensity of the rejection of association with white people apparent among Negroes should be enough to put to rest the red herring in the civil rights crisis regarding intermarriage. The fact is, bluntly, that most Negroes hate white people. When there is, as there will surely be, integration in public life in America—housing and education and politics and jobs and public accommodations—there will not suddenly be a great increase in marriages between the races. At least I have detected no greater interest in the subject among Negroes than among whites. And why should there be much interest in the subject? Nobody is interested in marriage in the abstract. Marriage is a personal issue and decision, and it remains that with respect to marriages between the races, if marriage in a serious and responsible sense is being contemplated. The intermarriage issue is empirically baseless and, where advanced as an obstacle to the right of Negroes to be received and welcomed as citizens in public life, represents a gross, irrational, and stupid vanity on the part of white people.

And it is, aptly, the subject of ridicule.

I know a seminary professor, a native white Southerner, who is a strong advocate of the Negro cause. Long before the present crisis, he was an eloquent and effective witness in the South for civil rights. He has a very attractive daughter, eligible for marriage. He tells me that he is invariably asked, after giving a speech in support of civil rights, what he himself would do if a Negro proposed to his daughter. His stock answer to this query is to say: "First of all I would ask him whether he was a Protestant, a Catholic, or a Jew!"

Or, to show how ridiculous this intermarriage issue is from another point of view, I recollect recently being in the South and meeting an elderly Negro gentleman. He, as it happens—and as is the case with many Negroes of slave ancestry in this country—had a white father. Asked one day by a white Southerner about this, he replied that he indeed had a white father. The conversation was overheard by another Negro, who, after the white Southerner had departed, approached my friend and said: "Tom, don't you ever, ever do that again. Don't you ever admit to a white Southerner that your father was a white man—you tell 'em that it was your mother who was white!"

In other words, intermarriage, when posed as an abstract and impersonal issue, is irrelevant to the civil rights of Negro citizens. There is no serious evidence of any significant interest, abstractly and impersonally, in intermarriage among either whites or Negroes, whereas there is plenty of evidence of the slavery era having fostered many, many interracial liaisons, and later on, evidence of Negro prostitution for white customers. So let the specter of intermarriage be put to rest. The issue it really raises is the sexual ethics of white men outside of marriage, both in the days of slavery and in the days of the traveling salesman. And let two people fall in love and marry if they are given the gift of love, even though they be of different races, though they be different in any other way. They will have, and probably will continue to have for a long time, more difficulties than most marriages in this society. But the issue, then, is not so much society's as theirs, and if under the burdens which this society adds to any interracial marriage, they survive and prosper as man and wife and as a family, that only enhances the dignity and maturity of their love. It is, in any case, no reason to oppose or deny any Negro his place and his prerogatives as an American citizen.

Ironically, though the passion for revenge is active and, I fear, increasing within the Negro community, especially in the urban North, that which has subdued and controlled this passion is the same thing which, in the end, may be the proximate cause of vengeance and violence. What has mainly quieted the advocates of violence and counseled extraordinary restraint in the Negro revolution has been the leadership crisis within the Negro community itself. If any proof were needed—which none is—of the profound humanity of Negroes, it is supplied by the infighting and pettiness and personality conflicts, the competitiveness an throat-cutting within the Negro "establishment" itself. They are just like white people: scrapping and fighting and destroying each other. In all this maneuvering and internal struggle for leadership of the Negro revolution, the rest of the nation has gained some time to acknowledge and respond to the revolution. But now, that time is running out, and if the Negro leadership crisis (among CORE, NAACP, SCLC, the Urban League, the student movements, the black racists, and the remaining Uncle Toms) is not resolved, then racial chaos is urely in store for America. The masses of Negro people have, at last, been moved. They will not wait long for a leader, nor dally about who the leader is; they will move by themselves, if need be, without a leader, and the revolution will become an insurrection. They are tired, they are frustrated, they are angry, they are impatient, they are aggressive, they are ready for a leader, but—I think—they are also ready to go into the streets without a leader, all by themselves, as other men have had to do from time to time to defend and vindicate their own humanity.

The Depths of Estrangement

If one looks today at the cities of the North, where the decisive struggle in the Negro revolution is taking shape, the conclusion is inescapable that the estrangement between the races in the North is virtually complete. Despite the Northern civil rights legislation, despite the commissions on human rights, despite the ceremonial presence of Negroes in public life, despite the liberalism of many white Northerns, despite good intentions and naïve sincerity, racism has not been exorcised; indeed, racism increases. It not only becomes more evident and intransigent among white people, as Negroes press their claims with greater vigor and determination, but, latent in Negroes, it begins to emerge and flourish among them.

The truth is that in the years since the beginning of substantial migration of Negroes from the South to the northern cities, and of the immigration of Negroes from the West Indies to the Northern cities, there has been precious little honest, honorable, or significant communication between the races. The platitudes of tolerance, it turns out, conceal the practice of discrimination, for the American idea of tolerance—though it be less vehement than South Africa's apartheid—is, after all, a generically similar doctrine of racial coexistence. The promises of acceptance, freedom, and society in the Northern city have not been validated in education, jobs, housing, politics, or the equal protection of the law. Everything seemed fine for many years, but the condition of that tranquillity was the acquiescence of Negro citizens in a second-class status and a ghetto existence, separated from the comforts, mobility, and opportunities of life in the outer city.

The platitudes and promises, the liberalism and benign intentions of Northern white society during the last fifty years in which the Negro migration to the cities has taken place mean little when it remains true to this day that eighty-five per cent of all Negroes in metropolitan New York, for example, live in one or another of five neighborhoods which are virtually entirely black, and, in consequence, send their children to black schools, worship in black churches, dine at black restaurants, attend black movies theaters, and, in all the ordinary facets of community life, associate almost entirely with their fellow Negroes. The main contact with the white people for the multitude of Northern Negroes has been when some Negro has left Harlem to go to work—as a domestic in an East Side penthouse, as a Sanitation Department employee to collect the waste of the rest of the city, or to wait on tables in a downtown restaurant which seldom has a Negro customer, to scrub the floors of empty offices late at night, to sell body and dignity to a white businessman for a night, or to entertain white people in a club or bar.

Of course, in all this time, some Negroes have made the grade and have achieved a certain acceptance in and access to white society. Some have made it, as has been earlier mentioned, by becoming quislings. Only a few have made it without that humiliation. One is Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman. Despite the eminence she achieved, it is constructive to see how she constantly had to resist being "used" by white society.

Dr. Hedgeman began her professional career as a school teacher in the dark regions of Mississippi, but later, after some years of community work in the Midwest, moved to New York, where she was an executive with the Harlem Y.W.C.A., engaged in a multitude of efforts to raise the educational, occupational, and cultural level of Harlem. Long before the present sit-ins, and demonstrations—indeed before some of the leaders of the present Negro revolution were born—she and others, including A. Philip Randolph, were engaged in trying to qualify Negroes for jobs in urban society and then in trying to secure jobs for them. The reason the major department stores in New York have Negro salespeople today is a credit to Anna Hedgeman's pioneering work twenty years ago. From her baptism in teaching and community work, she went to Washington as the Executive Director of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. She led the effort to enact legislation to make the wartime FEPC permanent. President Truman's support of this legislation motivated Mrs. Hedgeman to campaign and to raise funds from Negroes across the country for Truman's re-election in 1948. As a result she was appointed Assistant to Oscar Ewing, the head of the Federal Security Agency.

Mrs. Hedgeman later returned to New York City, was an assistant manager in the first campaign of Robert Wagner for Mayor of New York, and after his election, was invited to join his administration. It soon developed that this was an invitation to become an Uncle Tom. It was an invitation to have a Negro presence adorn the city administration but not engage in any serious work or exercise any significant influence on the policies of the administration.

Three different jobs were offered to Mrs. Hedgeman. One was a post already held by a Negro. She refused this on the grounds that it represented no gain for her people or recognition for her if she simply replaced another Negro in a position that had already been allocated to Negroes, in accordance with the *de facto* ethnic quota system which prevails in so much of New York politics.

Then she was asked if she would become a seventh deputy police commissioner, again replacing a Negro. Mrs. Hedgeman had no specific qualifications for such a position and would have been consigned there to a merely ceremonial role. She would have no part of that, in spite of the salary, prestige, and publicity to be gained by accepting.

Finally, she was tendered an office in the Mayor's Cabinet, which she did accept. In the Mayor's Cabinet in New York, there are several positions of ministers without portfolio, often acting as trouble shooters in city affairs, reporting and directly responsible to the Mayor without going through departmental channels. In practice, these offices are dispensed in a way that insures the ethnic balance the Mayor's administration needs to attract and hold support from the various ethnic blocs in the city's voting population. In appointing Mrs. Hedgeman, Mayor Wagner may have felt especially inspired, for here he had a representative of three of the city's neglected minorities: Mrs. Hedgeman was not only a Negro, but a woman and a Protestant!

The day of the inauguration came and, with suitable fanfare, the Cabinet was sworn in. It was not long before Mrs. Hedgeman discovered that she was not expected to show up at City Hall or to maintain an office there. Her function was to decorate occasions when it seemed important for the image of the administration to have a Negro or a woman or a Protestant, or some combination thereof, on the scene. Even after being sworn in as Assistant to the Mayor, she was again unsuccessfully offiered the police assignment—an inept attempt to relegate her to a nominal and vassal role. There was some consternation at City Hall in the davs and weeks that followed, because of Mrs. Hedgeman's insistence that she wanted to be a functioning, working member of the administration, not a ceremonial, occasional officer. It became clear that she was not interested in patronage for herself, but in accomplishing something for her people.

Eventually, as might have been predicted, Anna Hedgeman resigned from the Wagner administration. Her life of authentic concern shows her to have been a pioneer in the present civil rights demonstrations which have now forever established that Negroes will no longer be appeased by promises, platitudes, and nominal recognition.

It was Anna Hedgeman who, years ago had foreseen, before almost anyone else, either black or white, the gravity of the estrangement between Negroes and whites in American society, especially in the urban North. One afternoon she said to me: "Very few Negroes and white people are in real communication with each other. Those of us who can and do speak honestly, as you and I do, must keep in touch and help others to learn the quality of communication necessary if the races are to be reconciled. This will be very hard and will become more difficult as the crisis deepens, but that just makes it all the more important that we keep in touch."

I remember, not long ago, spending hours on the telephone receiving calls, in turn, from some of the Negro leaders in the civil rights struggle, and then from some of the white church leaders who had, somewhat belatedly and somewhat suddenly, become committed to direct action in the struggle. The calls were distressing because they showed how radical the estrangement of the races is, even (perchance especially) in the churches. There were two sorts of calls, on the occasion that I recollect: One kind came from white ecclesiastical officers who reported that the churches had decided to enter into direct action in support of the civil rights of Negroes, but they wanted to know whether this or that Negro was the one with whom to discuss the matter. The other kind of call came from Negroes who, having received inquiries from the white ecclesiastics, wanted to know if they should bother to meet with them, because they were not really sure that those who had called them could be trusted, and they wanted to know if I trusted the white people who had been involved in such overtures. This is not only proof of how wide the alienation between the races has become—it is not even widely known who to begin to try to talk with—but it is also evidence of how fragile and inadequate the avenues of tolerance and humanism are for serious and candid communication between the races.

I remember, also (this is another type of example), being invited more than two years ago to lecture at Columbia Law School on the racial crisis in the city, especially as it pertained to politics. I spoke before an audience of bright, young, white law students. They listened to the lecture, I thought, in a rather sullen way. The burden of the lecture is the burden of this chapter of my book—that one who becomes somehow immersed in some of the visceral and brutal realities of the racial crisis cannot escape a premonition of chaos and imminent disaster.

What I had to report that night was later to become the substance of an article "Race, Religion and Revenge," published by *The Christian Century* in their issue of February 14, 1962, pages 192 to 194. I gave the speech and said, I trust, what, as nearly as I could figure out as a white man, was and is the truth about the relations between races in the Northern cities. When I finished, there were a lot of comments from the law students. They fell, roughly, into two categories. The first alleged that I had been too harsh and "pessimistic" about the relations between the races in America, and these assertions were documented by the experiences of some of the students themselves, such as the fact that several of them had been exposed to Negroes in New York—taxi drivers and waiters and the like—and had been treated by them, in these situations, with civility and courtesy. After further discussion, it soon became apparent to the students that the casual contacts they had experienced with taxi drivers, elevator operators, waiters, and so on, did not constitute significant, nor even honest and honorable, communication with Negroes in the city. So that line of attack on my paper was abandoned. The line which took its place was much more revealing. They said, in effect, "Well, the trouble with you, Stringfellow, is that you have lived so long among *them* that you have begun to think like *they* do!" Their objection, finally, as far as I could comprehend it, was that I, by living and working those years in Harlem, had somehow ceased to be a white man, or at least had lost the capacity and authority to speak as a white man—through, I suppose, overexposure to Negroes.

If that be the case, let it be.

All this time I had thought that there is something unique about being a human being, something which transcends all of our human differences and diversities, whether of race or age or class or profession or sex or wealth or whatever. And if it must come to pass, in the agonizing tensions and fears which characterize the racial crisis, that any white man regards me—or any one of a number of other white men—as traitors to our race and heritage, *then let that be*. It can only prove how deep and pathetic the estrangement of the races has become in this society, so fond of boasting of its democracy and regard for humanity.

The estrangement *is* almost complete. The proof of that is in the so-called white liberals of the North, as much as, or perhaps more than, in the white segregationists of the South. For these white Northerners, in the professions of liberalism toward the Negroes, suffer from a mentality which still assumes that white men retain the initiative in the racial crisis and that white men have, and should continue to have, the prerogative of determining the pace of the Negro's emancipation and the terms of his reception into full citizenship. "What do the Negroes want?" they ask, not discerning that this very question embodies the essence of white supremacy, even though perhaps it be a more subtle and more genteel white supremacy than that characteristic of the irrational and crude segregationists of the Deep South.

That question—"What do the Negroes want?"—presupposes that what the Negroes want is for the whites to give, as if, in this society, the whites retain some right to dispense to the Negroes or to anybody else what is theirs by birthright and citizenship and, in truth, by their common humanity. White men have no authority—legally or morally—to rule upon any demands of Negroes. White men have only to acknowledge and honor at last the same civil and human rights for Negroes that they treasure for themselves.

Yet, the condescension among Northern whites is still conspicuous and, one might add, obnoxious. It is, in its own fashion, much more embittering and provocative, much more incitive and die-hard than the rabid, traditional, and sometimes pathological racism of the South. It not only assumes that whites hold the initiative in the resolution of the racial crisis, which is a fantasy, since the initiative has now conclusively passed into the hands of the Negroes, as the past few years attest; but it also still treats participation by white citizens in the civil rights struggle as a "good cause"—as a cause that ought to be supported by people of principle and conscience, just as aid to refugees might also be supported with time and money, or just as the work of the United Nations might be upheld with words and occasional actions.

The only thing is that this is no "good cause." Not at least in the sense that refugee assistance or apologetics for the United Nations may be. The Negro revolution is no ordinary charity to which enlightened whites should give their donations and their names. The Negro revolution is, rather, an authentic *revolution,* in which the whole prevailing social order of the nation is being overturned in the face of three hundred years of slavery, segregation, discrimination, and *de facto* racism throughout the country. Every important institution in the public life of the nation—education, employment, unions, churches, entertainment, housing, politics, commerce, investment, welfare, transportation, public accommodations—is immediately affected by this revolution, and this revolution will not spend its course until every such institution surrenders to its objectives. The only real question is the means by which the inevitable integration of American public life will take place peaceably or violently, realistically or obstinately, today or tomorrow.

This is no "good cause," in the conventional sense of the term. And to treat it as such—as so many Northern liberals still do—is in itself condescending and stupid. How, then, should white people, especially those in the North, treat this issue?

First of all, they must surrender their prerogative of decision. *First of all,* they must face the fact that the real decisions determining how the racial crisis will be resolved are for the Negroes to make. *First of all,* they must give up the idea that they have and should continue indefinitely to have the prerogatives of white supremacy. *First,* white people must die to that mentality by suffering the hostility and rejection of Negroes and by risking their lives and the future of this society in the hands of the Negroes.

That is the preface to reconciliation between black men and white men.

* * *

William Stringfellow, a New York lawyer and Episcopal layman, spent seven years as a Harlem resident, living among the slum-and-shanty-bred people whom he wanted to serve. It was a long way—socially and economically—from Northampton, Massachusetts, the middle-class suburb where he grew up. The essay published here is a chapter from his book, *My People Is The Enemy,* published in May by Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Subtitled, "An Autobiographical Polemic," the book is Mr. Stringfellow's account of his personal experiences among the poor and alienated of New York, but it is much more than that: it is a passionate plea for a rich and fortunate nation to seize its opportunities for human enrichment before it is too late.

The hypocrital judge
in Miss. Like Pilate he
will wash his hands
! Remember man
Thou art dust

Mike Royko

A Lot of Garbage Today, but It's Time for Cleanup

Letters, phone calls, complaints, threats and great thoughts from readers:

"Note from our stationery that we also are in the fertilizer business.

"Having read your column steadily for the past year, I feel that I must bring certain things to your attention.

"Before subscribing to The Chicago Daily News, we wrapped our fertilizer in a variety of newspapers. Business was bad. In fact, it stunk.

"Presently we are wrapping our product in The Chicago Daily News with your column on the outside.

"Business has never been better. It created an interest. People thought that we were having your column written especially to cover our product.

"Continue your good work. Your column may not increase the circulation of your newspaper, but it does wonders for the growth of plants, flowers and various hard grains.

"I am afraid to sign my name, so you can know me only as Constant Reader."

COMMENT: I am glad to help. Write again, next time you wash your hands.

MIKE ROYKO

ROBERT GRAHAM, Liberty, Miss. — "A friend of mine send me a column you wrote about Mississippi.

"I am a retired corn products worker from Argo and I love Illinois but chose to retire in Mississippi due to the weather.

"I deem it a privilege to live in Mississippi and one thing I can say is, these people have guts.

"If the overeducated Goof Balls got a job and stayed at home, a lot of trouble would never be started.

"Lazy, irresponsible people love to be told how badly they are treated. I guess that is natural.

"I am not about to apologize for some of the bad things that has happened in Miss but it all goes back to the old saying, if you hunt trouble, it is bound to show its head.

"If you can get down our way, stop over with us. We have lots of room and you will be welcomed by us and other good people."

COMMENT: Thank you, but I prefer to vacation where people sleep on sheets instead of wearing them.

ANONYMOUS—"Some day you will regret writing the way you did about Elijah Muhammad. If you were not already afraid of him, you and the other reporters would not have come from all over the world to hear him speak."

COMMENT: It is true that the press came from nearly everywhere for Elijah's meeting. But not because they were interested in hearing his inside stories on nine-foot men running around Mars. This kind of information is readily available behind the fences of many state institutions. Frankly, most of us were there because of the possibility that someone would try to turn the Coliseum into a shooting range. As it turned out, the only shooting that occurred was of the well-known bull.

FRD & FAMILY—"After reading your column for some time, we are curious about your politics. Are you a Republican or a Democrat? Or an independent?"

COMMENT: It depends. Sometimes I vote for one party. Sometimes for the other. It all depends on which precinct captain hands me a pint of wine.

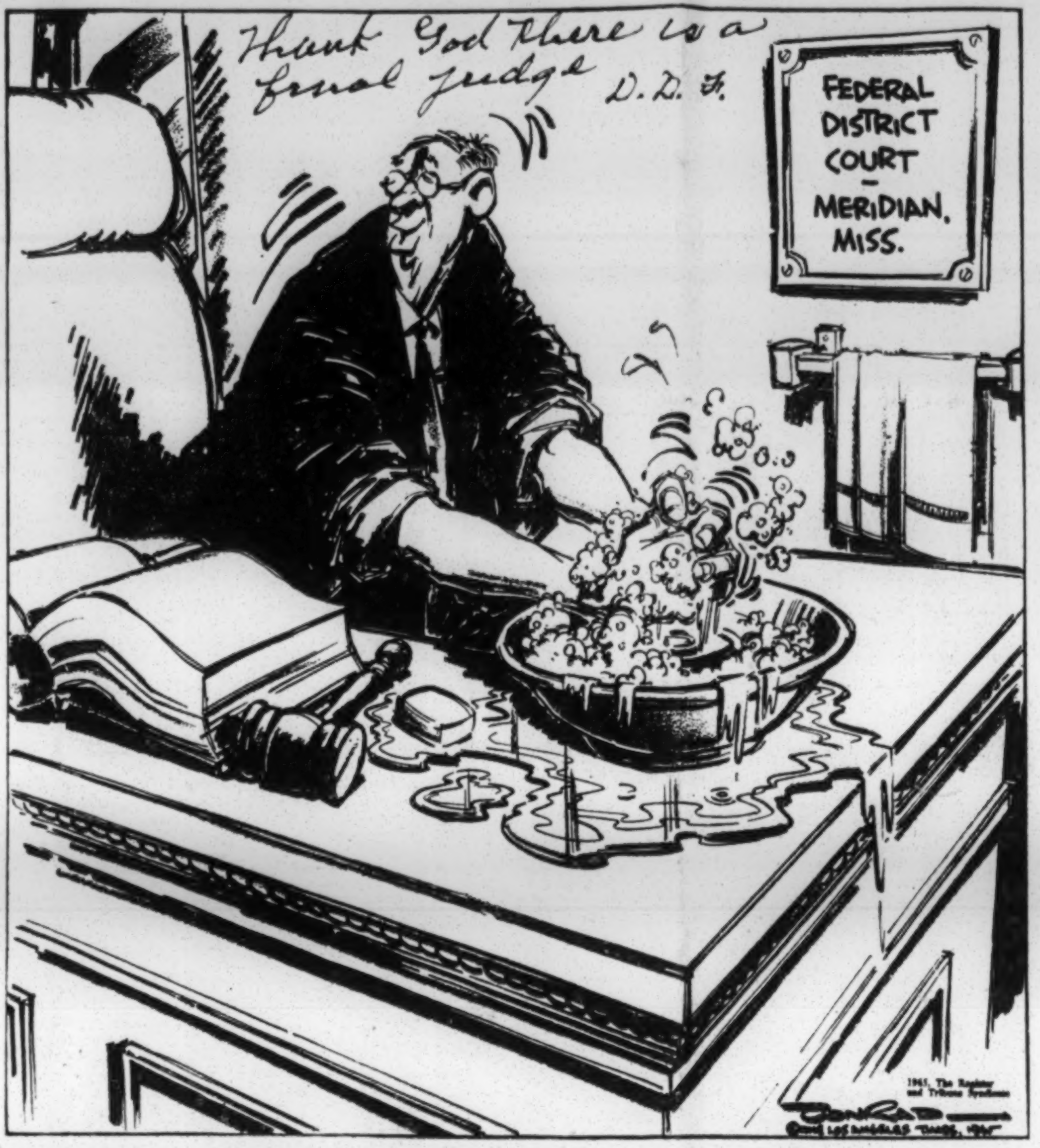
PAUL EGAN, AURORA—"Dear Mika: Frsh norghs abd wrnks withnrb. Brnti wisherf neber hrts anbdyl griezek. Right? Etc."

COMMENT: You still have my endorsement for mayor of Aurora, but you have the worst handwriting in the world. I would be grateful if you would call and tell me what your recent letters are supposed to say, or else stop writing with your toes. The only thing I understood was the printing on the envelope which clearly said: "Postage Due."

MRS. C. K.: "Why do you always take the side of drunken husbands in your stories? You don't come right out and say that you are on their side, but the impression comes through."

COMMENT: In the future I'll try to be impartial. I will take the side of drunken wives.

"The Indictment Surely States a Heinous Crime Against the State of Mississippi, But Not Against the United States"


FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT — MERIDIAN, MISS.
CONRAD
© 1965 LOS ANGELES TIMES

Thank God there is a final judge D.D.F.

1965, The Register and Tribune Syndicate

Norman Ross

Accomplishments of Negroes Get Spotlight at Rockford

"I read your column on Malcolm X and the Muslims the other day," the cab driver said. Because he was Negro, I thought perhaps he was going to tell me that it was white intolerance not Negro resentment that had spawned this movement whose members are "spooky with hate" as one of Malcolm X's followers put it in the wake of his assassination.

Or that Malcolm X had indeed been a racist but that there were signs his trip to Islam had induced a change of heart in him which in time might have brought him into the mainstream of Negro thinking and maybe justified Negro actor Ossie Davis' funeral oration in which it was claimed that Malcolm X "represented the living black manhood of the Negro."

Instead the driver said: "Doesn't the press exaggerate the importance of these extremist splinter groups, and make them stronger by publicizing them so that many Negroes who otherwise would never have heard of them are enticed into joining?"

He pointed to one of the press's eternal dilemmas, of course.

It was a two-part TV documentary that first launched Malcolm into notoriety, and all media amply covered each subsequent anti-white tirade of his sensational career.

PERHAPS, unpublicized, Elijah would not have attracted the thousands he did attract, or Malcolm the hundreds, and the words spoken by one Harlem resident after Malcolm's death might have come true without widespread public notice. "I would say these cats are going to be scratching until there's not but one of them left," he said.

On the other hand, publicity about Elijah's shadowy connections with the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazis, the seven collections he took up at meetings until security needs prevented him from doing so at last weekend's sparsely attended convention, and the paternity suits in which he has become involved has doubtless been a factor in the sizable defections from his movement.

And whites, it may be hoped, have been given new insight into the extent of the alienation felt by many among the 20,000,000 Negroes in our country, and a new sense of urgency about the need to assimilate them into the mainstream of our common culture.

One excellent way to accelerate this would be for more whites to realize how vast has been the contribution of the Negro to our country already.

NEGROES fought at Bunker Hill and were with Washington as he crossed the Delaware. A Negro was the first man to be killed in the American Revolution.

The second book published by an American woman was that of Phyllis Wheatley, who came to our country in a slave ship, learned English in 12 months, and 12 years later wrote a book of poetry that was to be distributed internationally.

There's an interesting parallel in her career to that of Chicago's Pulitzer Prize winning poet, Gwendolyn Brooks, who wrote an indelible poem on the death of President Kennedy. Phyllis Wheatley wrote a poem about George Washington, and he sent her a long, gracious reply.

In this same period lived Benjamin Banneker, a free Negro of Maryland, who was an astronomer, zoologist, botanist and surveyor and helped lay out the city of Washington.

Lerone Bennett Jr., senior editor of Ebony magazine, and an author, poet and social historian of note, reminds us that perhaps the first surgery on the human heart was done before the turn of the century in the old Provident Hospital in Chicago by Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a Negro surgeon.

AND THERE are so many more contributions. A Negro chemist was a pioneer in the development of cortisone. A Negro doctor organized the first blood bank. And on this eve of Chicago's 128th birthday, we would be remiss if we failed to recall that Chicago's founder and first permanent settler was a Negro, Jean Baptiste du Sable.

Rockford College begins today a unique five day festival entitled "Creativity and the Negro" to which the public is invited. Among the participants are some 40 Negroes who have distinguished themselves in the various arts and sciences. They include William Warfield, Josh White, and the cast of "In White America." This weekend in Rockford should be a most effective antidote to last weekend's Muslim convention in Chicago.

Listen to the Norman Ross commentary on WLS radio (890 on your dial) each weekday, 6:45 p.m.

KENISTON'S COUNTDOWN

BY DAVE KENISTON

Safety experts who say women are good drivers should see them steering supermarket carts.

◆

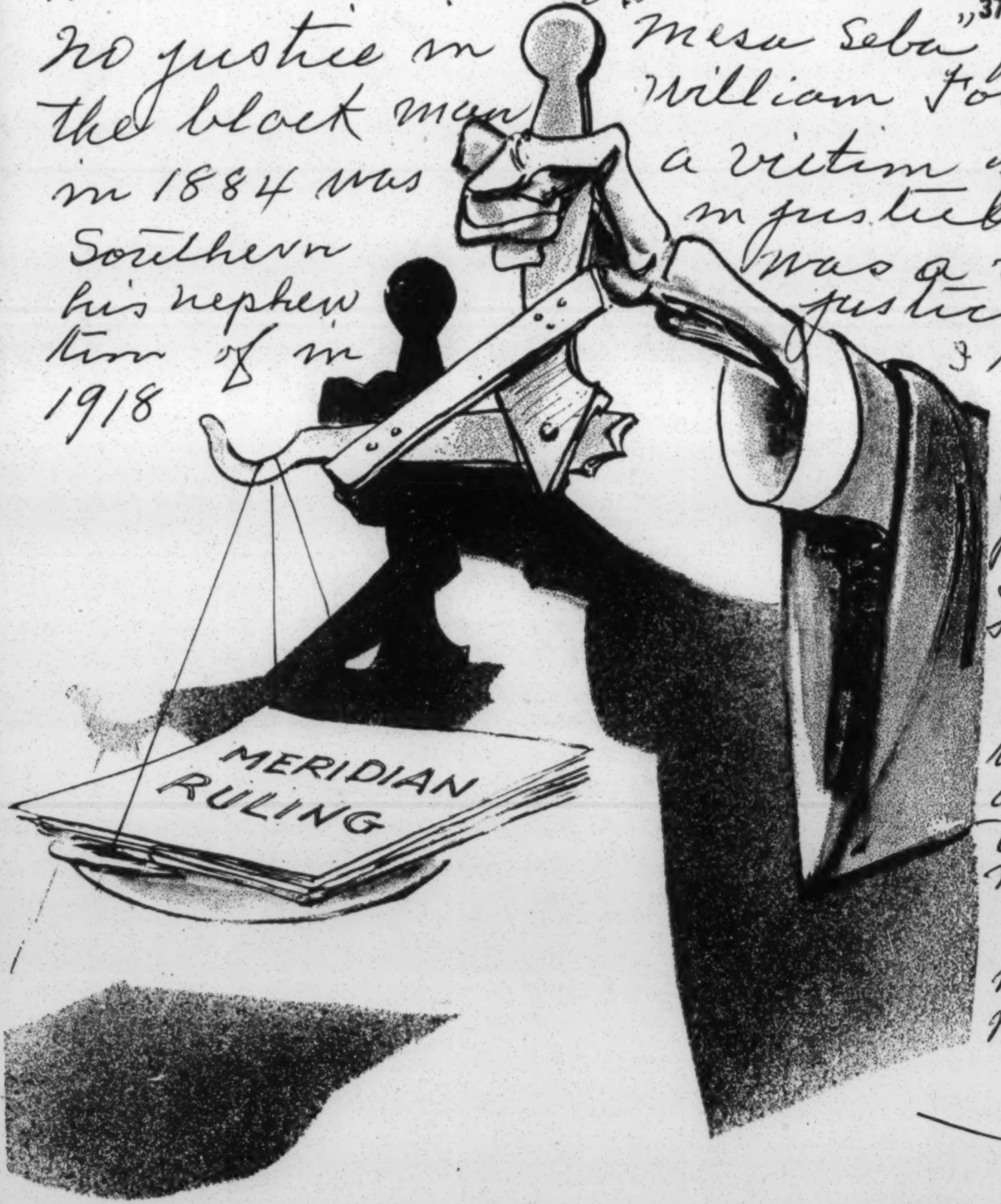
The way international crises develop, you might think the safety valve had never been invented.

◆

The guitar has become the nation's most popular instrument. Everything worthwhile these days has strings attached.

The scales are fixed - there is no justice in "Mesa Seba" for the black man William Foote in 1884 was a victim of Southern injustice and his nephew was a viction of injustice in 1918

I was not a bit surprised in Judge Cox's ruling on the murder case in Meridian



3/4 1965, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES Burck

Mississippi Justice

WEDNESDAY CHICAGO SUN-TIMES MARCH 10, 1965

Naziism In Alabama

The sickening and shocking brutality that erupted in Selma, Ala., was like a nightmare scene from a different world and a different time from the United States of 1965. The mass attack by heavily armed state troopers on citizens gathered to meet in peaceful protest to denial of their rights as Americans must be compared with the actions of Hitler's storm troopers.

In Germany, Nazi racist theories ultimately resulted in bestial treatment of fellow humans, and the degradation of those who believed they were of a superior strain. In Alabama, the theory that Negroes are unworthy of participating in the working of government through the ballot box was at the root of the inhumanity that wounded all America last Sunday.

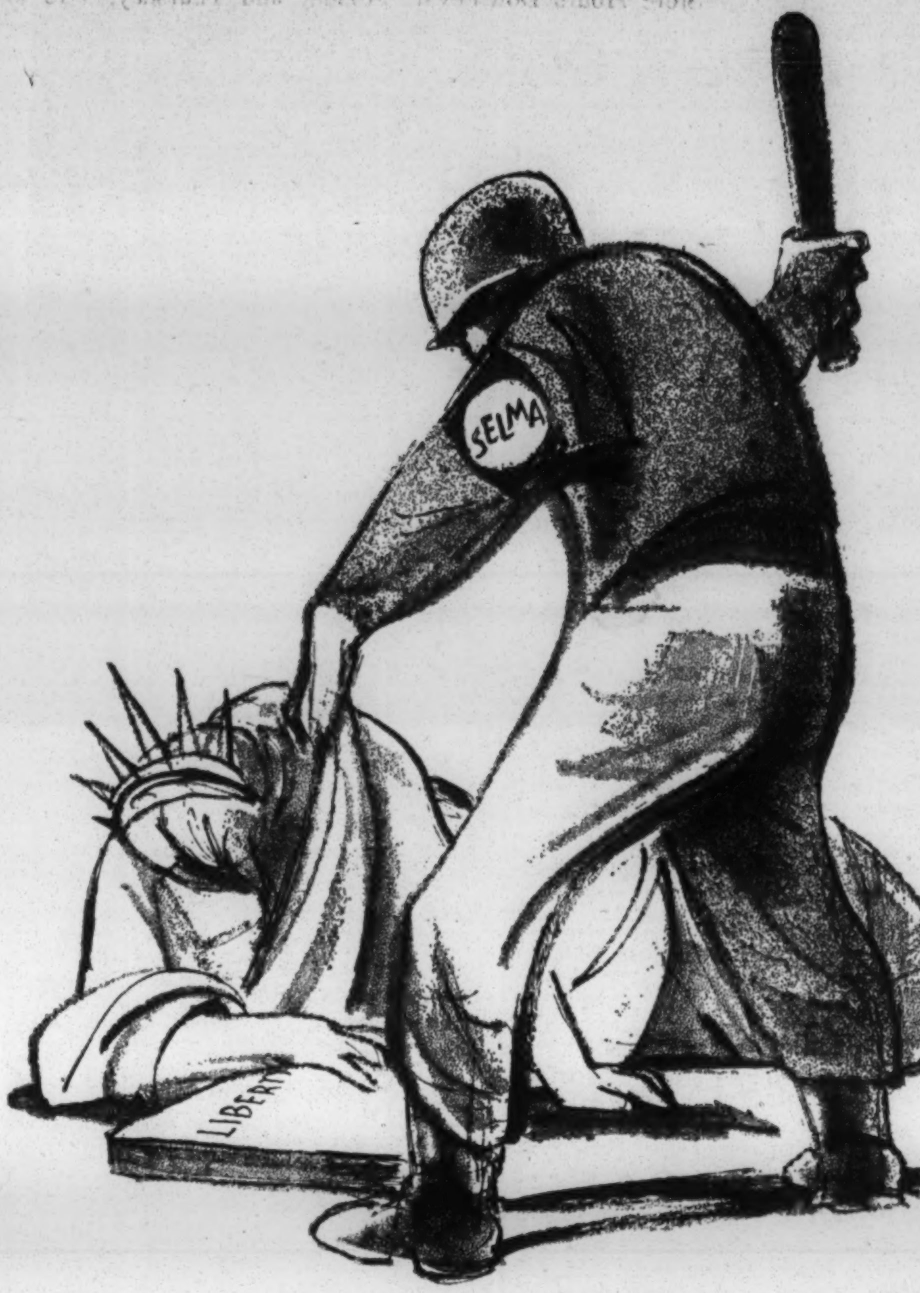
Peace of sorts has returned to bloody Selma and a federal judge has ordered the protesters to refrain from trying to march the 50 miles to Montgomery, the state capital. The judge had been asked to bar police interference with the right of citizens peaceably to assemble as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. He banned the march temporarily so as to have "a reasonable opportunity to make a judicial determination as to the respective rights of the parties in this case." His reason was different from that of Gov. Wallace.

It would be useful to have a judicial decision on the right of the citizens of Selma, Negro or white, to assemble peaceably and to march down a highway to signal their protest against the denial by public officials of the right to vote. It is pertinent to raise the question whether a march by white persons would have been forbidden by the governor and would have evoked such an outburst of malicious bloodletting as the Negro march brought on. As hundreds of white ministers from around the nation were preparing to join the Negroes in a new march, it was rumored that Gov. George Wallace had issued new orders to troopers to refrain from clubbing citizens. Late yesterday marchers were turned back without violence.

Gov. Wallace had forbidden the three-day hike to Montgomery on the ground that it would interfere with highway traffic. This conclusion is open to argument. Properly arranged and *protected* by state police, the march could have been staged without interfering with traffic.

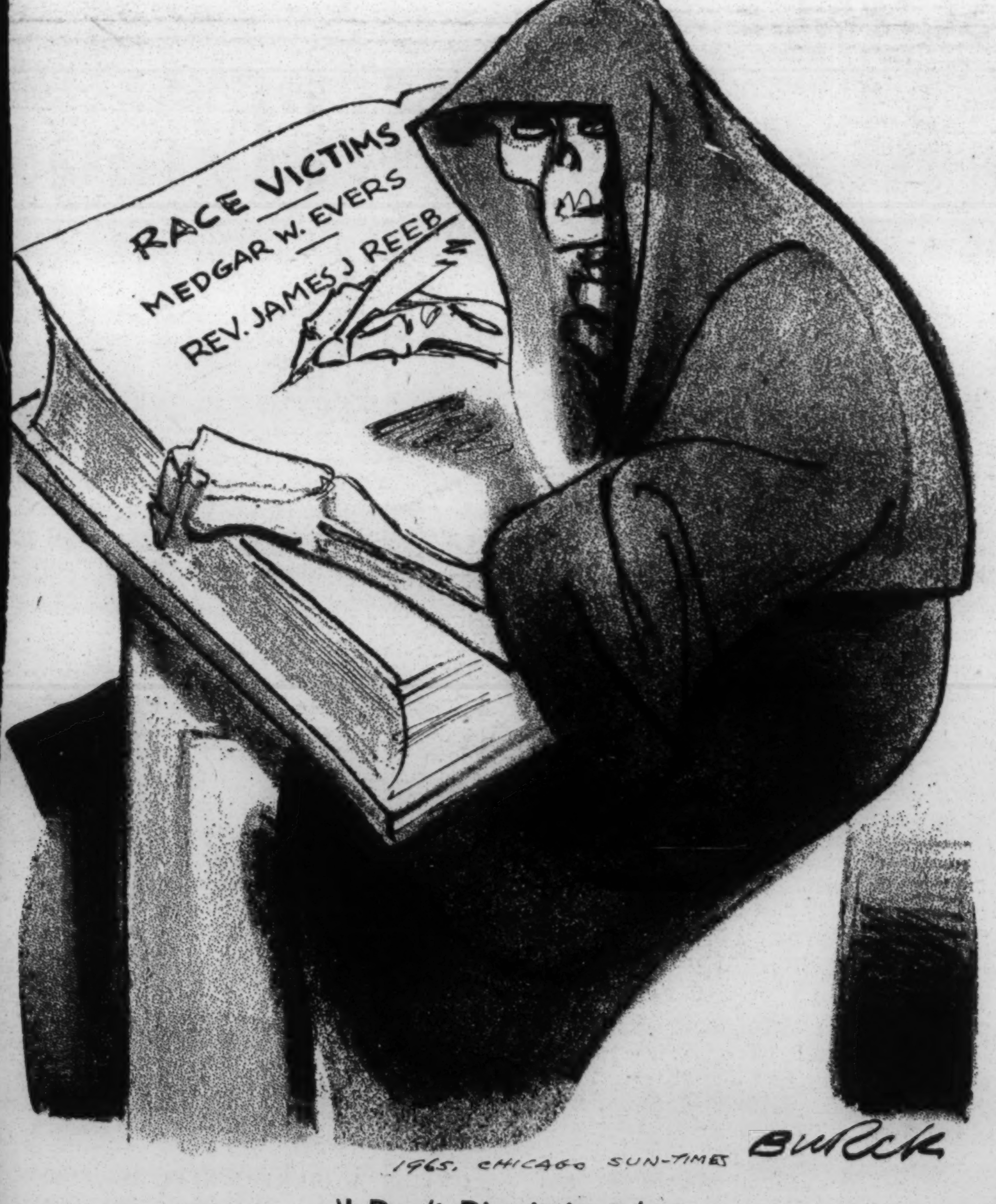
No, it must be assumed Gov. Wallace was motivated by his zeal to put Negroes in their place. There would be no need for the march of protest if Negroes were accorded their right to register and to vote as citizens in the first place.

Thus the awful consequences of racism in public office are brought home to a shocked nation. The denial of the right to vote leads to denial of the right to peaceable assembly. Next comes bloody, physical repression. What happened in Selma has outraged the rest of America, particularly those decent, God-fearing Southerners who have some knowledge of history and human affairs. They realize the degrading consequences of an un-Christian official state policy based on racial discrimination, or, in the case of the Nazis, religious discrimination.



1965, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES BURCK

It CAN Happen Here



1965. CHICAGO SUN-TIMES BURCK

'I Don't Discriminate'

Chicago's AMERICAN
Always On Top Of The News
EDITORIAL PAGE
STUART LIST, *Publisher*
LLOYD WENDT, *Editor*
Largest Evening Home Delivered
Circulation in Chicago and Suburbs
8 TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1965

The Third Milestone

THE TWO GREAT MILESTONES in the Negro rights movement so far have been the Supreme court's school desegregation decision of 1954 and the passage of last year's civil rights act. The third was announced to the nation last night by President Johnson. It is the voting-rights bill which he is sending to Congress tomorrow, and its effects—at least as far as the south is concerned—could well be the most far-reaching of all.

The bill would attempt what neither of the previous great decisions could do: Give the Negro an active part of the south's political life, and make it impossible for Dixie's state governments, legislators, and courts to act as tho they had only white constituents.

And what a turnabout that would be! Officeholders and candidates would have to make some appeal to the Negro voter, instead of scrambling for white-supremacy support. Programs and platforms would have to take into account what Negro citizens actually want, not what substitutes can be devised to keep them quiet. The bill would reaffirm and enforce a basic constitutional idea—that all citizens are entitled to a voice in the political decisions that affect them. Basic or not, that idea has never been put into effect in the deep south; and putting it into effect will work some mighty changes.

In its present form, the administration's bill would take effect in all states and counties where less than 50 per cent of the voting-age population has been registered. Specifically, that would mean Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, plus a number of counties in other states. It would abolish all bars to voting except those based on age, residence requirements, felony convictions or mental disorder, and would apply to all elections for federal, state, or local offices. Federal registrars would register citizens wrongly turned away by state officers, and broader criminal penalties would be provided for interfering with voting rights.

The bill will undoubtedly set off a new marathon wrangle and possibly another filibuster [which may cause some senators to regret that they didn't change the filibuster rules when they had a chance]. But we can imagine no convincing argument against it. With the example of Selma before us, who can honestly contend that the bill isn't needed, or that Negroes' voting rights should not be protected, or that the right to vote is not a federal concern?

The President said last night that the "oldest and most basic mission" of this country is to right wrong. We have lived with this wrong for too many years; we can live with it no longer.

MILBURN P. AKERS

A Difficult Road —Right To Vote

THE 50 MILES between Selma and Montgomery are but a section of a road over which the American people have been traveling since the American Revolution. For the white man, no less than the Negro, has had to overcome restrictions on his right to vote.

Universal manhood suffrage was not the order of the day when the colonies, emerging from the Revolution, bound themselves together in the Articles of Confederation. Neither was it when they cast aside the Articles and substituted the Constitution. Property qualifications prevented many from taking part in elections. Nearly 50 years elapsed before most states had removed such restrictive measures.

KING

The efforts to win the ballot for white men not possessed of property (the amount required varied by states) culminated in what historian refer to as the Jacksonian revolution. The property qualification crumbled in state after state along the Atlantic seaboard as new states to the west of the Alleghenies were admitted.

EARLY SETTLERS IN SUCH states, having been largely deprived of the ballot in their former homes, saw to it that such prohibitions were not contained in the constitutions they wrote in their new homes. It was the use they made of their ballots which resulted in the election of Andrew Jackson as President.

The founding fathers, who had accepted the principle of Negro slavery in the Constitution, are widely credited with democratic concepts they did not possess. They contemplated a government by the elite; a republic in the classical definition of the term. U.S. senators were to be elected by state legislatures, members of which had been elected by men of property. The Electoral College, as originally conceived, was another of their efforts to achieve government by the elite. The founding fathers did not have the veneration for the common man many ascribe to them today.

THE 14TH AMENDMENT, adopted in the wake of the Civil War, was intended to extend the franchise to Negro men. But it wasn't until 1920, when the 19th Amendment was adopted, that the right to vote was extended to women, white or black. It was seven years earlier, 1913, when the 17th Amendment, which provided for the election of U.S. senators by the people, was adopted.

The Jacksonian revolution, as the struggle for universal suffrage for the white man came to be known, was only the beginning of a long struggle for universal suffrage.

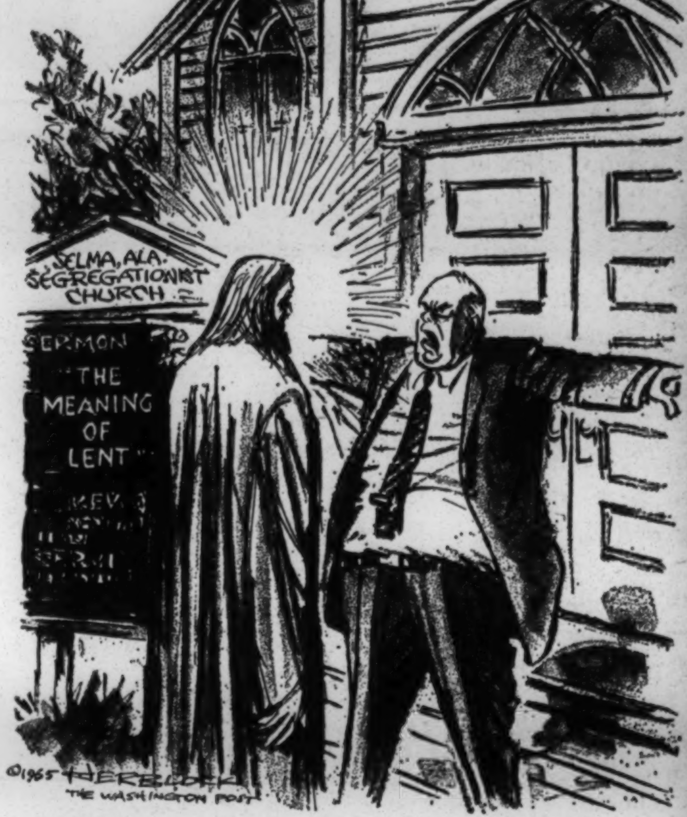
The efforts to restrict suffrage have been many. They do not all have to do directly with the right to cast a ballot. Equally involved is the right to have ballots counted exactly as cast. So is the principle of equal representation, a principle many times frustrated by gerrymanders.

THE RECENT ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE decision of the U.S. Supreme Court was intended to prevent disenfranchisement, in effect, of some sections of the voting public in election of legislators.

AKERS

Supposedly basic in the American democracy are the right to vote, the right to have that vote counted exactly as cast, and the right to have that vote possess a weight equal to that of any other vote. The struggle to achieve these rights has been going on since the Union was established. The march of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his followers from Selma to Montgomery reflects one facet of that struggle; a facet in which abuse of the right to vote has been especially glaring. Pending legislation may correct that abuse.

But there are many other areas in which correction is needed if universal suffrage, in the fullest meaning of the term, is to become a reality.


SELMA, ALA. SEGREGATIONIST CHURCH
SERMON "THE MEANING OF LENT"
©1965 HERBLOCK THE WASHINGTON POST

"We don't want any outside agitators"

OPLE •

words. Give full names
e for letters is obviously
to condense letters is
THE TRIBUNE.

'THE WRONG WAY'

Chicago, March 23—So adroit a summary of the whole "go slow" argument as the David Lawrence piece on the civil rights situation, reprinted in THE TRIBUNE March 19, cries for critical comment.

Law

Unfortunately, the superficial plausibility of this line still has the power to deceive too many and sets up a sort of rallying cry for the forces which still want to extend, indefinitely, a century of things as they were.

Lawrence presents the civil rights activities in the south as "troublemaking, trumped-up" acts of irresponsible leaders. But surely he himself must know that these acts are an effect and not a cause.

The heart of the matter is that Selma and similar points in recent history must be recognized as the inevitable product of long provocation, and highly preferable to other possible reactions. On that basis, they deserve the highest praise. This is exactly what the President of the United States told the nation the other day.

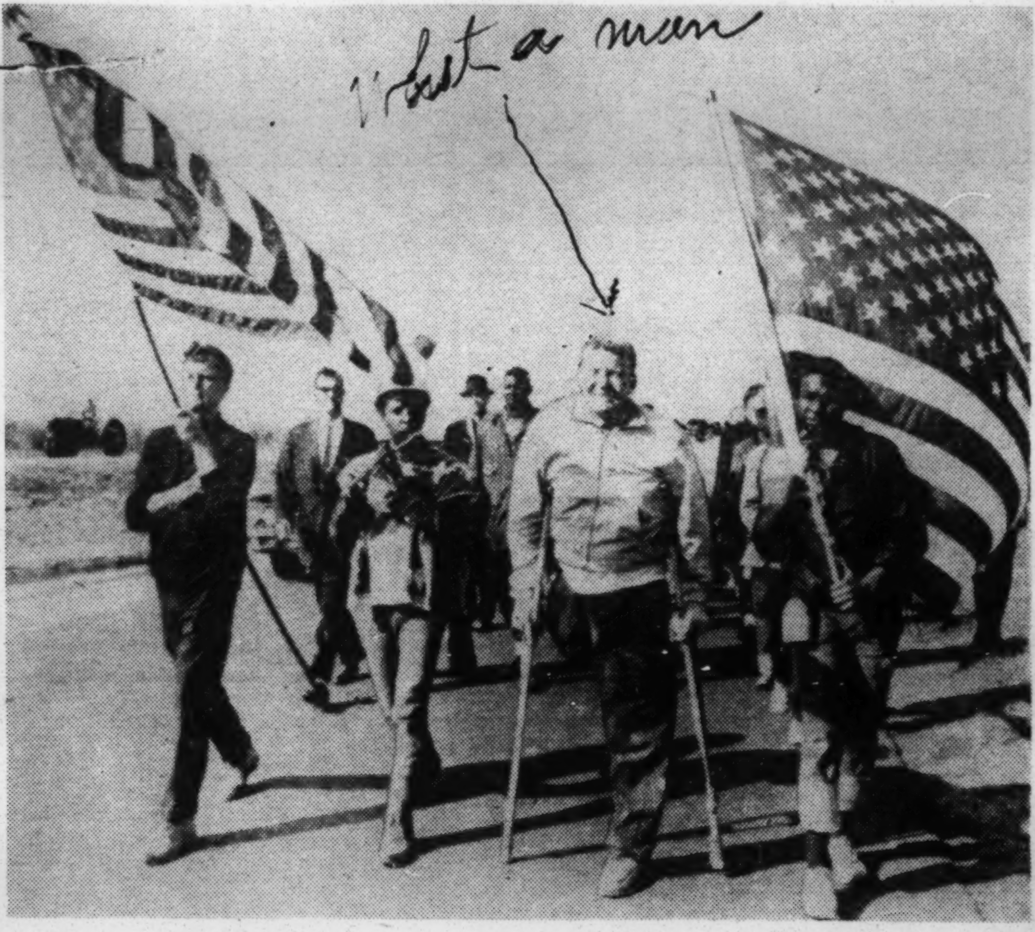
Lawrence reveals the fallacy of his attack on the Alabama demonstrators when he talks about violence. Disregarding the facts, he presents the club-swinging troopers, the teargassers, and the murdering bombers not as the violent ones, but as the victims. He speaks of amazingly controled nonviolent action as "mobs in the street." In his effort to avoid the fact that the violence has been perpetrated by those he paints as victims, he sprinkles his writing with loaded words such as "intimidation," "mobocracy," "passion," "bitterness," "threats of physical force," "fanatics," "defiance of the law," etc.

The remedy which Lawrence offers doesn't do him much credit. He demands that the civil rights effort be limited to channels which he specifies as "the public forum, the printed word, dispassionate discussion," etc. Just where has Mr. Lawrence been all these years? The methods he calls for are exactly those which a great number of people like me have been working with for decades. We've been reasonable. We have educated, printed, broadcast, taught, persuaded, coöperated — and worked our hearts out at it. But it took Birmingham, Jackson, and Selma to make enough people respond to our more "respectable" presentation.

It's true that the methods of the Urban league and like-minded groups are now producing remarkably accelerated results. Why? Chiefly because it took more spectacular methods to bring about the great awakening. The nation had to have the manifestations in the streets. People had to have the TV screen confront them with Alabama "police work." So it took Martin Luther King's demonstrations to produce the necessary rate of progress.

Let's see these southern manifestations in their true light. Mr. Lawrence, after all, is another Gov. Wallace in better dress. He needs to be seen that way.

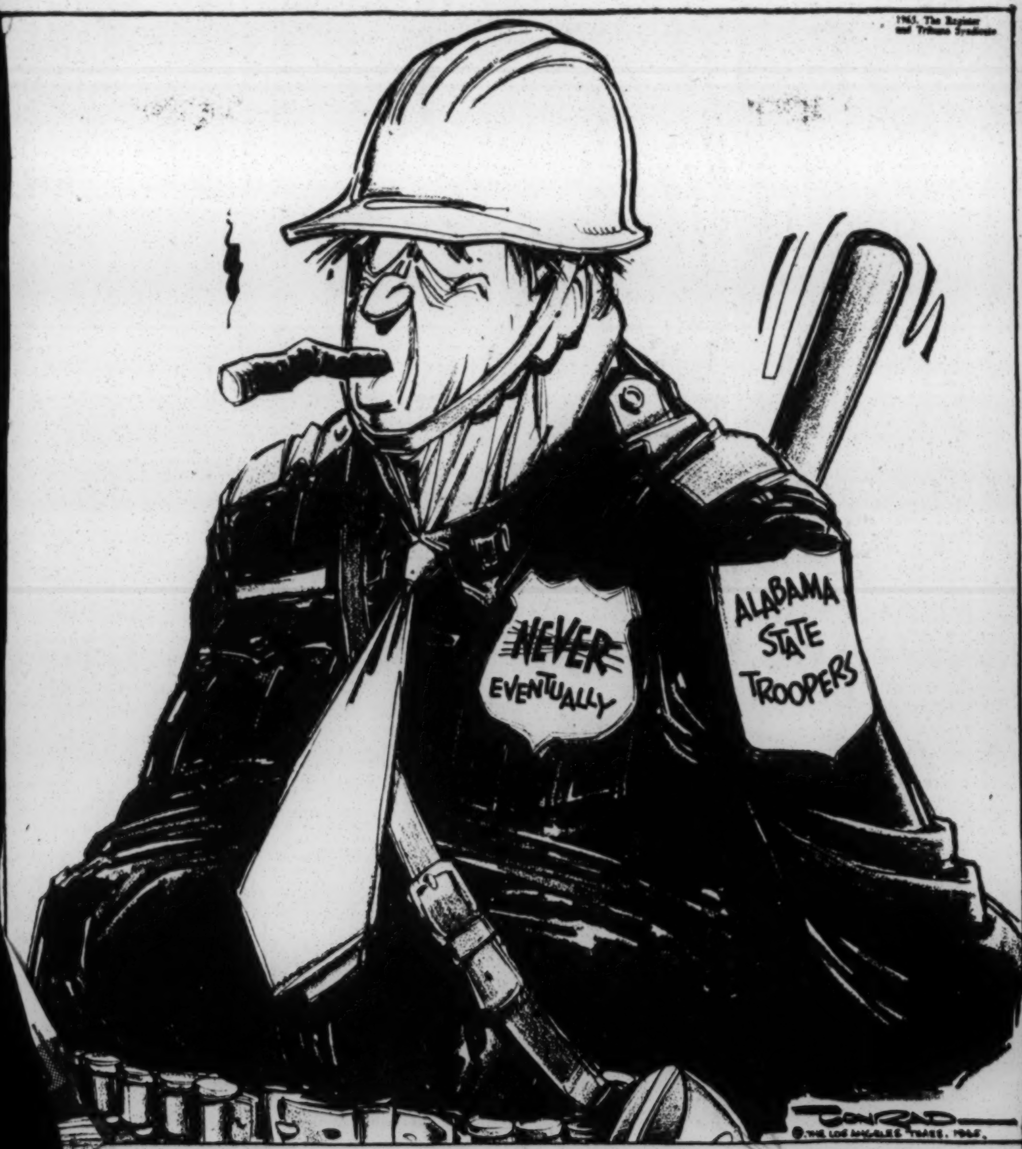
H. B. LAW
Chairman, executive committee,
Chicago Urban league



What a man

In a scene reminiscent of the American Revolution's spirit of '76, civil rights marchers play flute and carry flags Wednesday as they approach their goal of Montgomery, Ala. They are (l. to r.) Dick Jackman of New York; Len Chandler of New York, playing the flute; Jim Leatherer on crutches, of Saginaw, Mich., and Louis Marshall of Selma, Ala. (AP)

EWS, Friday, March 26, 1965


~~NEVER~~
EVENTUALLY
ALABAMA
STATE
TROOPERS

1965, The Register and Tribune Syndicate

CONRAD

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Feminine Angle

Society Fashion Ann Landers Your Home

CHICAGO SUNDAY
SUN-TIMES
MAY 16, 1965
Section Five

A LITTLE BOY ASKS:

'WHY AM I DIFFERENT?'

By Nina Flemister Jones

ONE OF THE most difficult tasks in the world is to be a "good parent." There are no hard and fast rules of parenthood; the psychologists do not agree, child-guidance experts express differences of opinion, and there is no second chance with the same child. Parenthood can be compared to composing a song with a limited knowledge of music. As one looks at his offspring at adulthood and attempts to evaluate the job that has been done, too often mistakes that have been made are remembered, and alas, it is too late — the damage is irrevocable.

We are a middle class family with a better than average income (over $20,000 a year), a better than average education (both have master's degrees and he is earning his Ph.D.), and perhaps too much love for our two sons who are two years apart in age. Perhaps we love and appreciate them just a little bit more than many parents would because a physician had told us that we would never have children. They have been considered a special blessing. They have brought much joy—and heartache—to us.

FROM THE MOMENT that the boys began to talk, the questions tumbled forth. Sometimes they were satisfied with a simple answer, sometimes the answers have been so very difficult.

"Mommy, where is God?"

"Where does the rain come from?"

"Who made me?"

"Where do babies come from?"

These are questions that most parents hear. Parents give an answer that pacifies momentarily, and the child will quickly scurry off to play.

Then there are the really tough queestions—the ones for which you can find NO answer. How can a mother answer some questions? What are the answers to some questions?

"Mommy, why don't they like me? Why can't I go to Johnny's party? Why can't I call Mary? Why am I different?"

These questions may not seem so difficult to you, but for me they have been devastating because the correct answer would destroy the child's feeling of self-worth.

BILL WAS 4 when he came home from nursery school and said in his sweet innocence, "Mommy, a new girl came to nursery school today. She's colored. She's the first colored person in our school."

Before I thought, I blurted, "But, darling, you're colored."

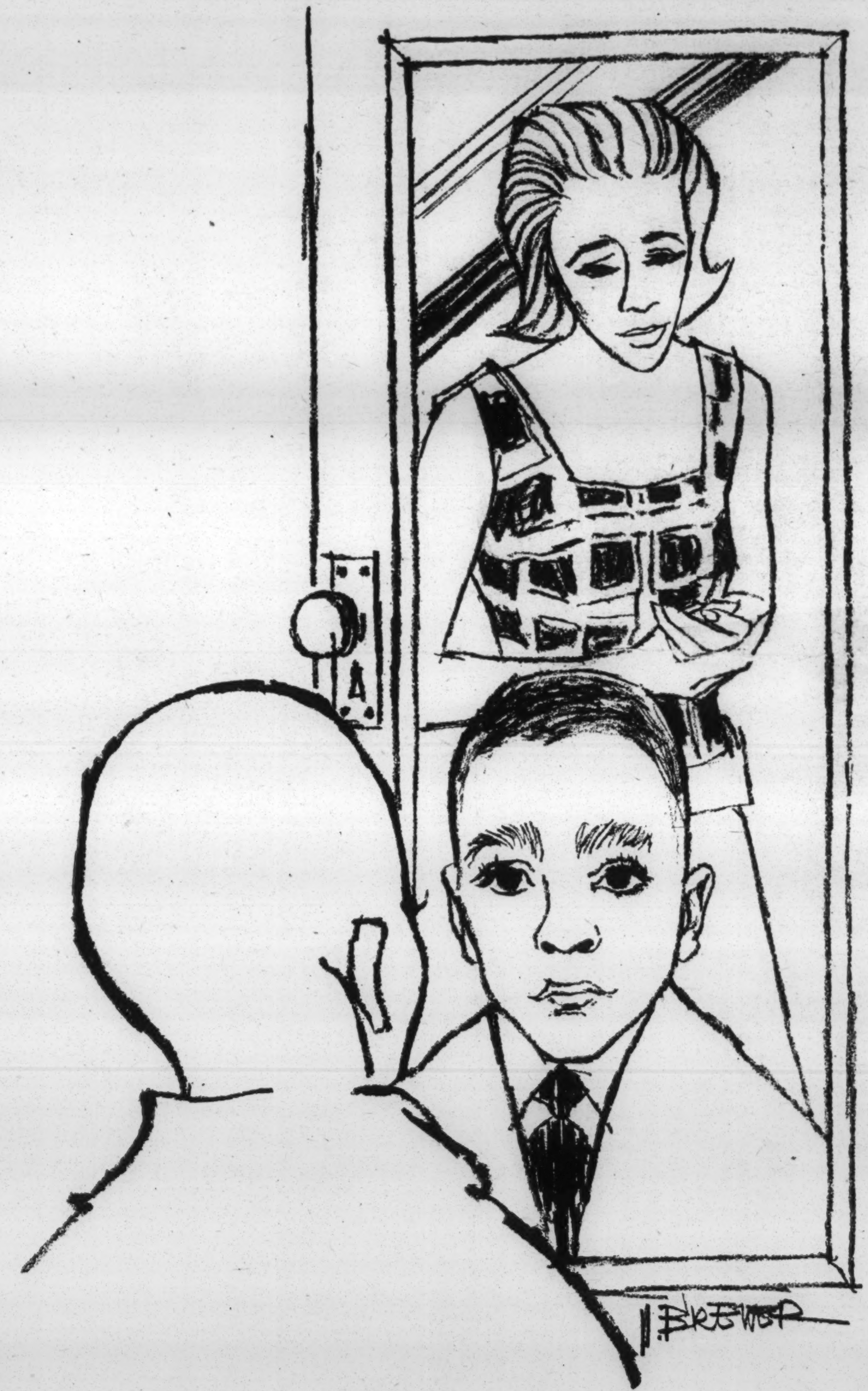
He looked at me and shook his head, "I'm not colored."

For a moment I held my breath as the shocking realization struck me that my son did not realize that he was a Negro. Quickly recovering my composure, I marched him gently over to the long glass mirror on the closet door.

"Bill, who is that in the mirror?"

"Mommy, you know that's me," he answered as if he

Turn to Page 15, This Section



Ways To Finance College Education

See Your Purse Strings,
Page 26, This Section

Boy Hears 'Southern Facts Of Life'

**Continued from Page 15,
This section**

difference had not been clarified to his satisfaction.

"Doesn't the water come from the same place?" he kept repeating.

On the return trip home, a filling station had three signs on the rest rooms: LADIES, GENTLEMEN, COLORED.

"Mommy, aren't you a lady? Why can't you go into the one that says 'Ladies'?"

OR TAKE that experience in a Southern state on the way home from Mexico by auto. We were so tired by 9 o'clock, we decided to see if one of the motels would take us in. I experienced much anxiety while my husband went into the office. Both boys were dozing on the back seat. I was so relieved when my husband returned to the car and held up a key. He drove the car into the proper place. Bill, our older boy, jumped out and started undressing as soon as he got into his room. He was always the first one into the shower. We had just gotten the last bags inside when there came a knock on the door. The wife of the motel owner had decided that she had a reservation for this unit and asked us to leave. Yet, there seemed to be at least ten other vacant units.

"Why do we have to leave, Daddy?"

"Can't we pay? I saw some traveler's checks in your pocket."

"Can't I take my shower, Mommy? I'm already undressed."

That night we were hard pressed to explain the "Southern facts of life" as we locked our car on a dim street and tried to sleep.

Very early the next morning we started home and took turns behind the wheel and only stopped for gas until we reached our own garage. We tried to explain without too much bitterness.

OR TAKE the time when Bill asked, "Mom, why didn't Tommy invite me to his party? I thought that we were friends."

It is difficult to explain that now that the children are at the dancing age, or "post office" age, he won't be welcome at Tommy's parties. You watch with fear the look on his face and wish that you could make it easier for him to accept—that he is different. You grope for the right words and sometimes they do not come. You do not want your children to suffer, to hate, to feel reviled. Yet, they cannot escape.

Our 10-year-old son, Steve came to us looking very serious. "Mom and Dad, Mr. Sanders, the principal, called me into his office today."

"Steve, what have you done?" I injected hastily.

"Nothing, but make a phone call," he answered with his head down.

"Who did you call son?" his father asked calmly.

"I called Nancy Olson yesterday afternoon. She's a girl in my class. I forgot the homework assignment. I just wanted to check with her. Her father answered because Nancy wasn't at home. I told her father my name. Today, he came to school and talked to Mr. Sanders."

I TRIED to interrupt, but my husband restrained me.

"Go on, Steve," he said.

"Mr. Sanders told me that I shouldn't have called Nancy. He said that I should call my own kind of girls. Dad, why doesn't Mr. Sanders like me? What did I do wrong? All I wanted was the homework assignment."

"Steve, you must ask permission before you make any more phone calls," his father said as he put his arm around the boy's shoulder. "Mr. Sanders doesn't dislike you." He was making an extreme effort to remain calm.

WE BOTH TRIED to maintain a calm facade in front of the boy, but we seethed. We were tempted to commit a number of rash acts. We talked about it until early in the morning and finally decided that we would do nothing—except to continue to try to help our boys grow up to be good citizens of our country.

Are we good parents? Am I a good mother? I don't know. I am trying to be a good mother. I work at it. I love my sons. I want them to grow up to be fine men..

Do you think that it is difficult to be a good parent? It is even more difficult to be a good Negro parent. Ask one.

Boy Comes Home Sobbing

**Continued From Page 1,
This Section**

wondered why I didn't know him.

"Darling, look at your face. It's brown. Look at your hands. They're brown. Look at me. I'm brown. Daddy's brown. We're all Negroes—and colored. You are a Negro—and colored."

"But I don't want to be colored," he countered vehemently. "I want to be white."

After Bill had gone to bed, we joked over the fact that Bill didn't want to be what he was. We also realized that we should have prepared him. We had taken for granted that he understood.

We have a very comfortable home ($35,000 class) in an integrated (that time between the time that the first nonwhite family moves into a community and the last white family moves out) community. We go to the community Presbyterian Church, keep our lawn well clipped, cook out on our patio, and claim as "friends" people of all races, religions and creeds.

From that day forward, my husband and I made it our business in many ways, subtle and direct, to have our boys understand that they were Negroes. We talked about their grandparents as we went through the family picture album. We taught them honesty, the value of work, and respect for authority. We tried to help them feel a sense of accomplishment when they have done worth, pride, and love of God, love of country, and love for all of their fellow men.

Where does the heartbreak come? The years bring experiences that tear down so much of what you try to build. One day Steve came home sobbing hysterically He had been called a string of vile racial epithets by other children.

ON AN AUTO trip to Atlanta to visit the boys' great-grandmother who had never seen them, Bill jumped out of the car and ran to the water fountains. He started to drink from the "wrong" fountain. As I reached him, I guided him to the "right" fountain. Thirty minutes and 30 miles later the

**Turn to Page 20,
This section**

A Solomon of to day

Dr. King Upholds Code Of Nonviolent Resistance Here

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speaks at Palmer House.

By Dolores McCahill

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. reaffirmed his conviction Tuesday night that nonviolent resistance is the most potent instrument the Negro can use to win total emancipation.

Addressing 2,000 persons at the fifth general synod of the United Church of Christ at the Palmer House, Dr. King said:

"The challenge that faces the church is to lead men along the path of true integration, something the law cannot do. We will not have true integration until men are obedient to that which cannot be enforced by laws.

"Man-made laws assure justice but a higher law produces love.

'Mighty Struggle'

"Today a mighty struggle is taking place to conquer the reign of an evil monster called segregation and its inseparable twin called discrimination.

"This monster has stripped millions of Negro people of their sense of dignity and robbed them of their birthright of freedom."

Dr. King said again and again that legislation and judicial decrees can play only a minor role in solving the problems of the Negro.

"Morality cannot be legislated," he said, "but behavior can be regulated. Judicial rulings may not change the heart but they can restrain the heartless.

Ultimate Solution

"Let us not be mislead by those who argue that segregation cannot be ended by the force of law, but let us realize that the ultimate solution to the race problem lies in the willingness of men to obey the unenforceable.

"True integration will be achieved by men who are willingly obedient to unenforceable obligations."

Earlier the synod adopted a resolution that started in part:

"We declare ourselves committed to integrated quality education in all public schools both North and South.

"We declare that de facto segregation by custom, intention, chance or community acquiescence is undesirable, unfair and unacceptable to American ideals and goals.

Affects All Society

"We further declare that such de facto segregation affects not only our Negro brethren but also other economically and culturally deprived members of our society and all the rest of society."

The general synod also adopted a mildly worded resolution supporting "only political and diplomatic methods of negotiations" to solve Viet Nam turmoil.

The resolution said:

"The general synod rejoices in President Johnson's oft-repeated willingness to take the Viet Nam problem to the conference table without precondi-

Turn to Page 36

STAY HILTON

Bond's

7/13/65

No more shall the war
cry sever,
Or the winding rivers
be red;
They banish our
anger forever
When they laurel the
graves of our dead;
Under the sod and
the dew,
Waiting the judgement
day; +
Love and tears for the
Blue
Tears and love for
the Gray

Francis M. Finch

The spirit that should
prevail to day-
not the spirit of
the K.K.K.

WALTER LIPPMANN

Selma—A Showing Of Contempt Of U.S.

WASHINGTON—The state of Alabama as ruled by Gov. George Wallace is in open defiance and contempt of the United States. There is no possible doubt that a very large part of the Negro citizens of Alabama are deliberately denied the right to vote.

In Selma, with the connivance of the governor and by the brutal actions of state troopers, American citizens have been denied their constitutional right to assemble and their constitutional right to petition and protest against the denial of the right to vote.

The issue between the state of Alabama and the United States is clearly and sharply drawn. Shall the law be defied?

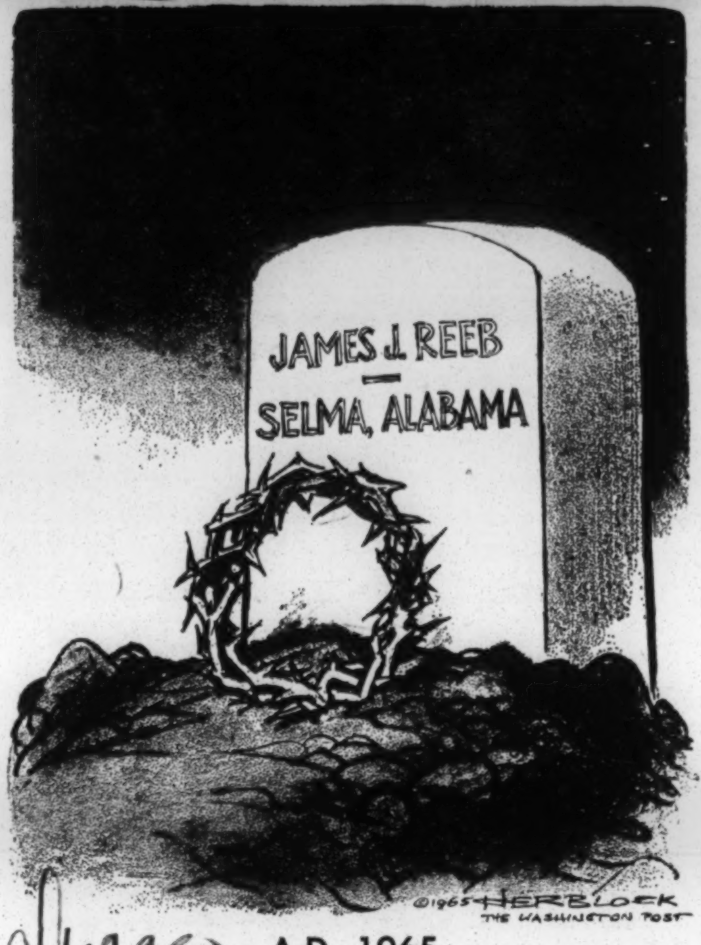
No one, no leader of either political party, is raising the question of whether the decision to compel the state of Alabama to obey the law is an invasion of the rights of the state. It is evident and obvious to all that there can be no right of any state to nullify the Constitution of the Union to which it belongs, or to abrogate the Bill of Rights.

THERE IS NO DOUBT that the Congress will support overwhelmingly President Johnson's call for legislation to put an end to the widespread disfranchisement of Negro citizens.

What is more, the country will support overwhelmingly the enforcement of that law. For the enforcement of that law will be equivalent to putting down a rebellion against the United States.

This time and in this case the issue of civil rights is clear as crystal. There are no fuzzy edges as there were and are on the problem of the desegregation of the schools and of public accommodations. On the question of the right to vote, all the leading Republicans, including Former Sen. Barry Goldwater, are against Gov. Wallace. Today he stands alone. Only the unabashed white supremacists even profess to support him.

BECAUSE THE BASIC ISSUE is so clear-cut, the human reaction of the American people to the outrage in Selma is not sicklied o'er with any pale cast of intellectual doubt.



Chicago A.D. 1965

Selma is not only an American tragedy. It is an American disgrace and a profound humiliation.

Selma is what happened in a country which is engaged in defending freedom throughout the world! Selma is what has happened in a country which is talking about freedom in Asia and Africa and the Americas!

Unless Selma is expunged by a mighty national act of repentance and reparation, how shall Americans look themselves in the face when they get up in the morning?

JOSEPH ALSOP

Sacrifice At Selma Will Bring Results

WASHINGTON—No verse written in this country has been more often or more fatuously quoted than "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." But in memory of James Reeb, the young clergyman murdered in Selma, Ala., it is entirely appropriate to recall the lines:

> As He died to make men holy,
> Let us die to make men free!

For James Reeb did die to make men free, much more consciously indeed than most of those who fell to the Union at Bull Run and Gettysburg, at Cold Harbor and the Wilderness. He joins the Union dead and, like the Union dead, thank God, he has not fallen in vain.

His martyrdom—for that is the right word—was not, of course, anything more than the climactic episode. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the others who have been symbolically hammering on the closed doors of the Selma registrar's office had their own major role to play, and they played it to the hilt.

THE RESULT HAS BEEN one of the most rapid, hopeful chains of cause and effect that has been seen in American public life for a great many years. Until the events in Selma pricked the conscience of political Washington, it was by no means clear that a Negro registration bill would be given a high priority this year.

Then came the events in Selma. By midweek, the wise old bellwether, Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) was telling his Republican flock about Negro voting rights: "We cannot have this problem coming before us year after year; we must now pass a law that is easily enforceable and will get results."

On Friday, President Johnson, Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach and most of the important White House staff members spent the day canvassing possible courses of action.

The right course is clearly indicated by Dirksen's phrase —"a law that is easily enforceable and will get results." Each of the civil rights bills has had something to say about voting rights, but in practice none of the voting provisions has been enforceable. Hence they have got almost no results.

THE LOCAL ALABAMA CLIMATE is reflected by the argument that has been made by Dallas County's Circuit Court judge, James Hare, to show why the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments should not apply in his county. The judge alleges the slave traders were scraping the bottom of the barrel by the time they got around to supply the county's needs. Therefore, according to the judge, "the blue-gummed Ibos" who were supplied to Dallas County are not a tribe for whom the Constitution's writ should run.

If the temper of this city means anything, however, Judge Hare's hour has struck. Patience is exhausted. One may now predict with confidence that an effective voting-rights bill will be passed this year. The details of the bill are secondary. Dirksen has summed up what needs doing. One way or another, it will almost certainly be done.

The Ku Klux Klan and other racist groups which would trample upon the rights of their fellow men deserve the contempt of every American.

Do not be taken in by their emotional appeals. Instead, take a long, hard look at the terrible acts of violence which have occurred in certain of our Southern states in recent months and know them for what they really are.

There is nothing honorable or patriotic about any organization which condones lawlessness and intimidation. The law is above any individual or group of individuals and we must be constantly on guard against those who would shortcut or use the law to achieve their own ends.

America's young people are its future, the key to continued greatness. The extremists know this, and they also believe that youth is America's Achilles' heel through which they can effectively strike at our unity.

Their campaigns to divide and subvert are in full swing. But this duplicity will surely fail if our young citizens stand up to be counted for the future, if they articulate their pride in our traditions and ideals and shoulder the responsibilities of their heritage.

J. Edgar Hoover

A current major program which the Communist Party is directing against young people is the W.E.B. Dubois Clubs of America. This party-oriented youth organization, founded in June 1964, at a convention in California dominated and controlled by the Communists, has as its basic aim the promotion of Marxism-Leninism. Centered on college campuses, the Dubois Clubs represent a soft-sell approach which the Marxists believe has great promise in reaching American youth.

The party is also trying to contact young people through a massive campus speech program. This is a propaganda campaign concerned with attempting to influence student opinion at American colleges and universities to accept the party as a legitimate organization within our democratic tradition—which it is not.

Zealots of the extreme right are no less eager to win the support of young people than those on the left. Lacking the subtlety of the Communist approach, these radicals have nevertheless enjoyed considerable recent success in their efforts to broaden their influence.

J. Edgar Hoover

Patriotic disguise

Emotion, not reason, controls the fanatical right and it is on this level that they make their pitch. They may clothe their rantings in patriotic garb, passing themselves off as defenders of the Constitution or protectors of religion. They know such devices have much appeal for impressionable youths.

But look behind this thin disguise and their true character can clearly be seen. Terrorism and violence mark the activities of these groups, and it is a tenet of their cowardly philosophy that they attack only the weak and outnumbered.

J. Edgar Hoover

LAST STAND FOR OLD SOUTH

Selma—the Perfect Place

Last of Two Articles

BY LLOYD WENDT

Editor, CHICAGO'S AMERICAN

SELMA, Ala. — "Selma is the place where there had to be a showdown ultimately," said Elbert Jean, a white churchman. "Both sides agree it is the perfect place, the toughest place, the last stand of the Old South."

Jean describes himself as a consultant of the Methodist church. He spent his adult life traveling thru 17 southern states. Spokesmen on both sides of the civil rights and race controversy agree that what Jean says it true—Selma is the "perfect" place.

"Where could you find a better spot," demanded a Negro writer who supports the demonstration here. "The Rev. Martin Luther King had to have action to keep control of his nonviolence movement, to keep it together. Where but in Selma could he find a perfect villain like Sheriff James Clark? Where could he find a governor like George Wallace, who also has a boss of troopers like Col. Al Lingo?

"We couldn't have found a better setting or written a better script ourselves — Lingo and his men did exactly what was needed.

"WHEN THE troopers trampled and clubbed our people it aroused the whole nation. It brought in the white ministers and one of them was killed.

"I am sorry for him. I am sorry for his family. But he is dead and I must state a fact. His death has aroused the whole world. He has moved our cause months, and maybe even years, nearer to victory.

"We couldn't have done it by ourselves. It took a Clark, a Lingo, a Wallace, and finally a martyr, the Rev. James Reeb, to do it for us."

A southern newsman agreed wryly. "It looks like the script for Selma, Alabama, was written by Harriet Beecher Stowe," he commented. "King knew just where to go for a public official who would play Simon Legree to his Liza."

Why was Selma picked? The white people of Selma who will talk say that the Selma Negroes had little to do with launching the demonstration. They point out that Alabama does better than many other southern states in the registration of Negroes. Alabama has registered 26.2 per cent, Texas only 11.7 per cent, they noted. "Why not a demonstration in Texas, the President's state," they asked.

"DON'T Be deceived," King followers reply. "Some more 'liberal' cities of Alabama may register more than 26 per cent, but not Selma. A Negro school teacher here tried to vote for 9 years, but they said she couldn't pass

[Continued on page 6, col. 7]

The Road Beyond Montgomery

When the civil rights demonstrators crossed into Montgomery Wednesday afternoon, the marchers sang "We *Have* Overcome." This would have been a good ending if the event were a drama, but it is life, and life goes on. Always there is tomorrow. President Johnson knows this. Asking Congress to insure the right to vote—the objective of the Selma march—he said, "We must remember that . . . after the police and the marshals have gone—after this bill is passed—the people of Selma must still live and work together."

Some of the marchers wanted to march around the Montgomery Capitol grounds, like Joshua's Israelites around Jericho. Dr. Martin Luther King decided no, and wisely, for the walls that must now be removed will not fall to the sound of trumpets. They are in the hearts of men and women and children of all races in all parts of the country.

Leslie Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, said that demonstrations "seek, above all, to produce national action and they certainly have done so. . . . But these demonstrations do seem to deeply wound the localities in which they occur." As it was in 1865, so is it in 1965: Not malice but only charity can heal the wounds of the nation and give strength to carry on the work it is in.

The aftermath of the 1963 civil rights victories in Birmingham revealed another limitation to demonstrations. When certain employment opportunities finally opened to Negroes in that city, none were found who were qualified or willing to take them.

Kipling's prayer might well apply to all Americans today:

The tumult and the shouting dies—
The Captains and the Kings depart—
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.

Humility and contrition and education —above all, education that gives needed skills as well as human values—these are the requirements, not just in Selma but in Chicago and elsewhere also, to cope with what President Johnson correctly called an American problem.

Selma—the Perfect Place for Last Stand by Southern Whites

[Continued from page 1]

the literacy test. I defy anyone to pass it if they don't want you to."

Regardless of why the Rev. Martin Luther King picked Selma, the whites here who will comment at all to an outsider agreed that he chose well.

"I think that everyone thruout the south knows how this must end," said a white citizen who preferred anonymity. "The young black man here refuses any longer to be a 'nigger.' He rejects paternalism. He wants freedom more than security. There are some whites that don't believe this but most are coming to realize it.

"I think most whites in the south are now ready to give up what they must to the nigger—as little as we can. The sooner we give up something, the better off we'll be."

"We could have settled this without trouble and without bloodshed," said another white man bitterly. "We know how to deal with our niggers. They weren't complaining until King and you northerners came in to stir up trouble."

"NOT complaining?" asked a young Selma Negro who is equally bitter. "We complained all right. It is true we didn't do anything. We didn't dare."

It is obvious to the observer that most Selma demonstrators are not now Selma citizens, whatever they may have been at the start.

Probably every white beyond the police barricade is from outside Alabama. Many white demonstrators agree. None denied it.

Neither did they know whether the Negroes are from Selma. Ask many Negroes directions about Selma and you get no answer. Maybe they don't know or they just aren't talking. But it is equally clear that many of the Negroes are Selma residents.

So the confusion goes. Yet

newspaper, the Birmingham News, in a front page editorial, says it's up to Alabama to do something now.

"Alabama is in gravest danger of being 'blackmailed' by thinking, responsible citizens and leadership thruout the nation," said the News. "This grows out of two things . . . repetitive violence . . . and the present situation that in numerous cases Alabama white officials have not made good enough effort to deal fairly with Negroes seeking to vote. We have voter tests behind closed doors. We have prepared VERY hard questions [emphasis theirs] for anyone, white or Negro, to try to answer.

"THE NEWS understands the concern of whites in Negro-heavy counties. BUT NEGROES ARE CITIZENS [capitals theirs] . . . It is because Negroes know the Alabama record of hold-back on the voter better than any whites that BOTH [capitals theirs] local and so-called "outside" Negroes have mounted public demonstration campaigns. . . .

"This may be the greatest crisis Alabama has ever faced. . . . We Alabamans are part of the reason, and we must therefore be part of the solution."

That was one of Alabama's most powerful newspapers speaking under this page one headline: "Alabama—Look in the Mirror."

Whatever Selma citizens may think of the editorial, they're not talking about it to strangers. It seems clear that right now the north is hated here probably as much as the day in 1865 when downtown Selma was burned to the ground by federal troops.

"I wish I could hope that you would tell the truth," said a Selma business man candidly. "But I know you won't. Nobody from the northern cities will tell the truth about us."

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So the confusion goes. Yet the Rev. C. T. Vivian, the Rev. James Bevel, and Andy Young, King's first assistants here, are praised as tough, efficient, dedicated organizers, and the demonstrations go on 24 hours a day.

HUNDREDS of young people, and a few old, pour in from all parts of the country. Pale nuns, priests, and ministers are recruited, or volunteer—there can be no doubt of their dedication.

The people of Selma insist their own Negroes are really not "to blame" for all the trouble. They are sure outsiders contrived it all.

"We are sick and tired of all this," a housewife told a southern reporter. "We feel awful about the beating of Rev. Reeb. We can talk of nothing but our troubles. We were such a quiet little town. Why don't the outsiders leave us alone?"

But a leading Alabama

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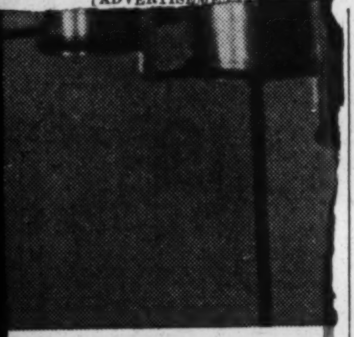

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IT IS pointless to tell this hospitable, coöperative, but bitter business man, that a visiting reporter finds few sources of exact, clear truth, and almost no one locally who will be quoted by name on anything, outside officialdom.

The reporter can look at a most attractive and progressive white section of Selma and at the wholesome appearing people, and agree it will match a progressive town or suburb anywhere in the north.

He also can see the vast underprivileged Negro section spreading beyond the railway yards, factory areas, and river lowlands. There are many reasons why most of the Negroes live in unpainted shacks, just as there are reasons why Negroes live in ghettoes in Chicago.

The point now appears to be that thousands of young Negroes are determined to change many things, and in Selma today they are beginning by demanding their rights under the federal laws.

King, after all, got his start in nearby Montgomery. His Southern Christian Leadership conference was founded there and Mrs. King was born in the Selma area.

WHETHER OR NOT King and his chiefs are alien to Selma, they are definitely alien to its ideas and few here contemplate an early peace. New, tough talk at the city hall on Sunday was met by tougher talk in a late rally at Brown's chapel A. M. E. church.

The outlook ahead seems as mixed as the people involved.

"A Negro spokesman told me that it is too bad about the Rev. Reeb, but his death did advance the cause by months or years," I told a white demonstrator from Boston.

The young man, son of a noted church administrator, took it in stride. "When you are a general and call out your troops, you know someone may be killed. If it happens you make best possible use of the sacrifice."

Not all demonstrators are this tough. "I couldn't stand to march to Montgomery—50 miles," a white youth said. "But I'll be there to help with the demonstration when they finish." While other demonstrators sleep in the streets of Selma, he commutes to a hotel in Montgomery.

HOKE NORRIS

Critic At-Large

ON WILLARD MOTLEY

Willard Motley died in Mexico City the other day, and a friend, feeling an understandable compulsion to write about him, wonders what to say, and how to say it. Eulogies almost always obey so strictly the injunction that one must speak no evil of the dead that they often defeat their very purpose: No man, the reader knows, could be so good, so kind, so sweet. One reads such praise without believing, and the man we would remember is dulled and diminished.

Well, I know of no evil any man could speak of Willard Motley. He was a gentleman, he was a writer, he was a humanitarian, he was a small neat man with a small neat moustache and a soft voice, and he was a sweet guy. He wrote three big books and could have written more—was in fact writing them—and he was only 52 years old. It's always the wrong one. But what else to say?

Willard wrote about himself, occasionally, in his modest, innocent fashion. Let us, today, see what he said about himself. He said it better than anybody could say it for him.

It was Christmas, 1944, and Willard was working on his first novel, "Knock on Any Door," which would be published in 1947. He was living on a fellowship from Newberry Library, and wandering the streets of home. "My neighborhood, Halsted St. near Maxwell," he wrote in The Sun during that December, "is a little different—not much—but a little different on Christmas Eve from what it is during the rest of the year. As usual, people come on the street, a formless, rabble rank of shapeless bodies, hunched shoulders. . . . Christmas Eve. . . . In a basement window a vigil candle burns in a blessed cup, a little hand of light before a plaster Christ. . . . A little boy comes to the street. He looks up at the sky. It is black, very black. A few snowflakes start now. And more and more, swirling through the sky until soon whiteness will cover the neighborhood. Will hide the grim little houses. The boy looks up."

He Watched The Lives Of Men . . .

WILLARD MOTLEY heard the voices and saw the lives of human beings without ever seeing the color of their faces. "My friends," he wrote, in The Sun-Times of Aug. 11, 1963, "have been of every color and temperament, of every religion and no religion (I have found the last the least prejudiced on all scores). Born in Chicago—and my experiences therefore somewhat different from that of the average Negro—I have never lived in a Negro neighborhood, though I have lived in four Chicago neighborhoods. My family came to Chicago something like 60 years ago and have lived in the same house there for almost as long. They came to a white neighborhood and lived in an apartment building, my mother on Saturdays lighting the fire for the Jewish woman who lived upstairs; then, in another neighborhood they found the home my father, a Pullman porter, bought out of nickel-and-dime-and-quarter tips and where the family still lives. . . . I was born in a private white hospital and two weeks later baptized in the cathedral. . . . The only Negro boy in my grammar school to graduate the year before I did was cast in the school play as George Washington. The next year I, then the only Negro in the graduation class, was somewhat a 'teacher's pet.' She knew I was reading Dickens in a seat near the back of the room and, surrounded by girls, was writing short stories."

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. . . Without Seeing Their Color . . .

WILLARD was never—and in his home neighborhoods seldom had reason to become—bitter as some Negroes understandably are. "I never think of color until the subject is forced upon me," he wrote in that 1963 article, "never think of the man sitting across from me—he's white! He's a Negro just like me! He's Japanese!—but think of his personality and what he has to say. Nor will I ever be able to understand how the color of a man's skin is any more important than the color of his eyes or hair. . . . If there is such a thing as 'my people' and 'your people'—which is one of our greatest myths, whether it apply to race or religion —I think it is high time that all men sat down together and talked, rising up hands clasped."

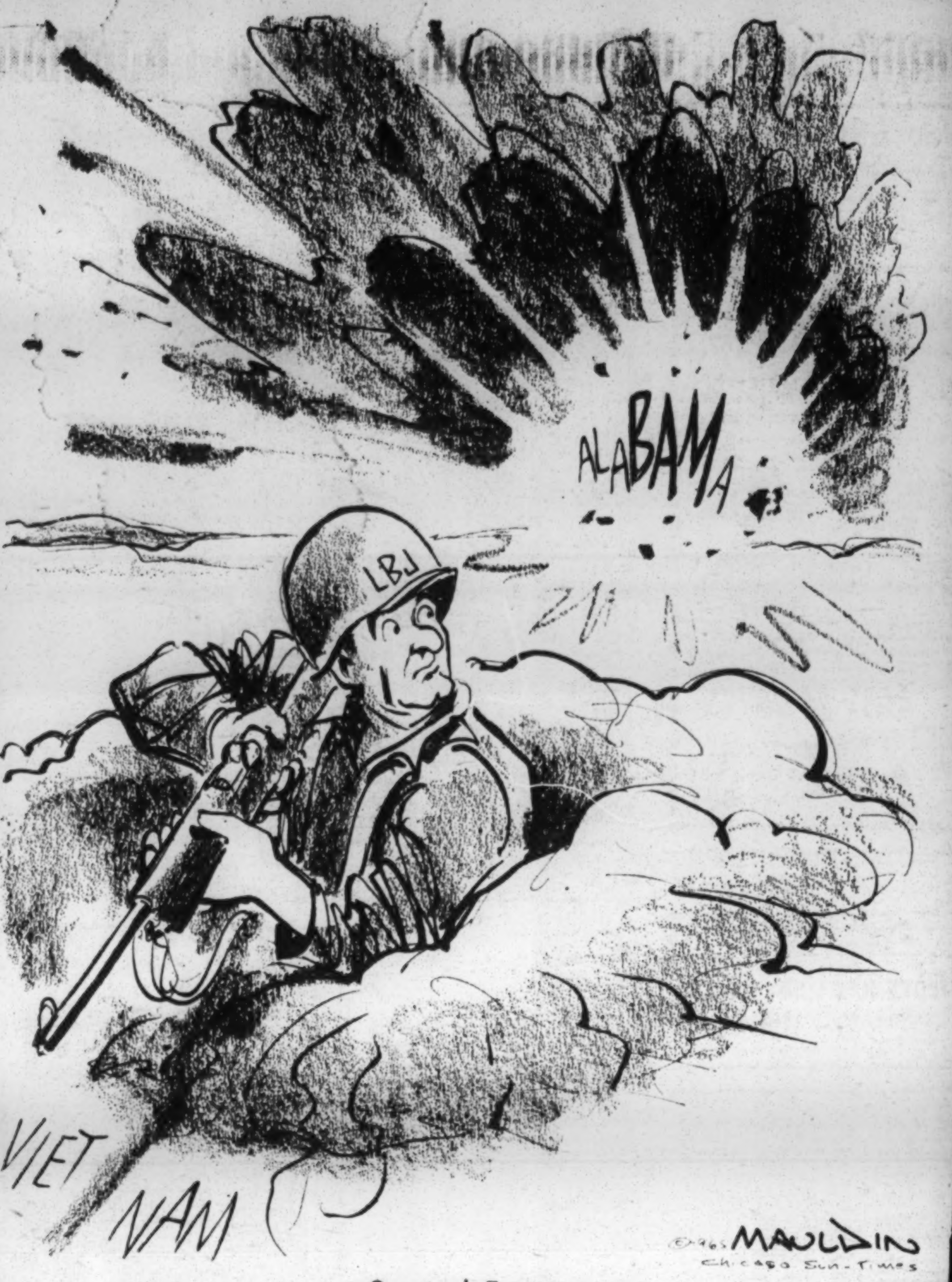
Somehow, when you were with Willard Motley, you sensed this color blindness. You had to be color-blind too, or get out of his presence. His beautiful, innocent view of your face would make a fool of you, unless you too looked back without seeing color. "A Negro, an American, but long before that and certainly forever after, just one of almost 3 billion people on this small, unhappy planet, I feel less like a Negro, an American, than I do like just one of the 3 billion and that where wrong is, there I should be in heart and at home; it is hard to identify with a race—but only against an injustice."

. . . But He Heard Poetry Of The Poor

AND SO identifying himself not with race or nation but with humanity, he was able to write, in The Sun-Times of Dec. 31, 1961: "In my own experience I have found that among the lowly, the poor, the uneducated, those of minority groups (almost always the lowly and poor) there is a language of beauty, if you wait for it and listen with rabbit-alert ear. I choose to call it the poetry of the poor. . . .

"So many reviewers like to say about this or that book, 'Not for the squeamish.' They would surely say it about this book (he was reviewing Oscar Lewis' "The Children of Sanchez"). I feel just the opposite—that this IS a book for the squeamish . . . well-meaning, not accustomed to the raw and real life of some strata below their own, given to thinking and reading about the 'better' or 'higher' things of life, easily evading the 'crude' or realistic, . . . people of kind hearts who, so exposed to the raw, rough, hungry lives of so many millions in the world, would learn a lot and, in the learning, try doing something about their fellow man's plight—lives like those in 'The Children of Sanchez' being lived only 20 or 30 blocks from their homes. Into the hands and minds of the 'squeamish' this book should surely be passed."

Willard Motley last visited Chicago in October. He talked to many friends, and went to many parties. He slept little, and traveled much. He became, in the phrase, tired but happy. Then he returned to his new home, without knowing, to die. His last book was called "Let No Man Write My Epitaph." Perhaps no man will, except as Willard himself, like all writers, wrote his own. "I think that any fairly intelligent person could write," he said to a reporter before he left, "provided the fact that he has broken through the barrier and become a human being with compassion."



Second Front

CHARLES BARTLETT

GOP Moderation In South

ATLANTA—A moderate in Southern Republican politics is a man who believes that his party must reach for the Negro vote. This practical spirit is significantly on the rise.

The reactionaries who utilized the popularity of Barry Goldwater to capture the party machinery in many Southern states are still vocal and in control. But moderates in increasing numbers are challenging their anachronistic concept of a white man's party.

Making his first postelection appearance in the South at Columbus, Ga., last Saturday night, Goldwater linked himself with the moderate position by asserting that the Negroes' rejection of his candidacy did not fairly reflect his Arizona record on civil rights.

BARTLETT

This concern with the Negro vote is not shared by the men who were Goldwater's leaders in Georgia. Roscoe Pickett, now national committeeman, is an avid segregationist who was quieted by a bad beating in a congressional race last November. But the new state chairman, Joseph Tribble of Savannah, takes a public position that his party should not dedicate its energy and resources to enlisting Negroes.

Tribble is one of nine Republicans in the Georgia Senate. As many as seven of these colleagues take issue with Tribble in arguing that Negro support is essential to Republicanism in Georgia.

They are not merely concerned with the numerical weight of the Negro vote. They know their party will only prosper if it attracts the open support and participation of the white business leaders who constitute the Georgia establishment. But these pivotal citizens will not lend their respectability to a political movement that smacks of racism.

THE SEVEN SENATORS know that some important Georgians declined last year to run for Congress and other offices as Republicans because they could not afford to be linked with the segregationists. They realize that their dream of persuading an eminent Georgian to run for governor as a Republican in 1966 will require a mature party stand on race issues.

Howard Calloway, a member of the Georgia establishment who did get elected to Congress as a Republican last November, has already begun to construct a working relationship with Negro leaders in his district. He has told them that he wants to represent both races despite the fact that few Negroes voted for him. Almost all the young Southern Republicans in Congress are reported to agree with Calloway that this course of mollification is wise.

THE EISENHOWER ELECTION of 1956 and even the 1960 race by Richard M. Nixon, who did not ask for the Negro vote, showed that Southern Negroes are still capable of voting heavily for the party of their fathers. Their preference has been Democratic since Franklin D. Roosevelt, but they are unready at this critical juncture to become captives of either party.

Prejudice, against Roman Catholics in 1928 and against Negroes in recent years, has speeded the emergence of the Republican Party in the South. The leaders who look beyond the present racial ferment are unwilling to chain themselves and their party to a future limited by prejudice.

With the practical forces on their side, the moderates will ultimately dominate the reactionaries on the Negro issue.

OPINION OF THE

For Capital Punishment

I strongly oppose efforts to abolish capital punishment in the State of Illinois. I have carefully searched my conscience realizing the moral issue involved.

We are counseled not to "appease the aggressor" in respect to our struggle with the Communists. We stand ready to kill in defense of our liberties. Yet, on the other hand, we are beseeched to spare convicted killers. The American criminal is a greater threat to our liberties than the Communist threat. The criminal strikes without warning and then hides in our very midst while preparing to strike again.

We are constantly passing new laws designed to protect our society and its law-abiding citizens. The law-abiding citizens do not need additional laws for their protection. The law-abiding citizens only need the rigid enforcement of existing laws. We need prosecutors, judges, and a government that realize their first, and only, obligation is to provide safety for each and every law-abiding citizen.

Let the troubled conscience be the sole burden of those that associated with the convicted killer and of the killer himself. My conscience troubles me only when I realize that we are being subjected to pressures to continually negotiate with the criminal element. An element that breeds like a cancer, expecting and demanding ever more for each concession given.

The defense for the law-abiding citizen must be laws so rigidly enforced that they resemble natural laws. If, within prescribed bounds, a person is convicted of taking another's life, then the death sentence must be fulfilled. Death for a convicted killer should be as certain as death resulting from coming into contact with high-voltage electrical current.

The death penalty has become ineffective only because of the interference from criminal-sponsored elements and the meddling of well-meaning "do gooders." Does the fact that a criminal is an American citizen make him any less dangerous than the Communist aggressor?

amen Charles R. Bailey

I agree

The Reaction: Deep Anger

BY EDMUND J. ROONEY

Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—"We're going to have to march again to get this state to stop killing people and nothing being done about it."

This was the reaction of the Rev. James Bevel, one of the Alabama civil rights march's top leaders, to the death of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, 39, of Detroit.

Bevel has been a top aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, and has served as Alabama project director for King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"It's going to take a second civil war before these white people down here will give up segregation," commented Hosea Williams, 38, a SCLC staff worker. "This is three killed in about four weeks."

Jimmie Lee Jackson, 26, a Selma Negro died in a Selma hospital Feb. 26 after having been shot by a state trooper. The Rev. James J, Reeb, 38, a white Boston minister, was attacked and beaten by several white men in Selma March 9 and died two days later.

IT WAS WILLIAMS who notified Mrs. Liuzzo's husband, Anthony, 51, by telephone of the death of his wife.

"There wasn't anything I could say to him," Williams said. "He immediately sobbed and became incoherent."

Williams made his heart-breaking call from the Dexter Av. Baptist Church, in the shadow of the Alabama state capitol in Montgomery.

It was the church where King held his first pulpit. It had also been serving as headquarters of the march committee.

"When you're in this movement you have to expect to have people killed," commented James Foreman, executive director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

"She was a white woman riding alone in an automobile with a Negro. This is racist country. This is an example of the things that can happen."

MRS. VIOLA GREGG LIUZZO

The Right to Live Awaits Defender

BY JOHN M. JOHNSTON

In the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals, many people had deep misgivings about the law that was utilized. The objections were muted by the general belief that justice was done, and might not have been except for the extraordinary procedure.

JOHNSTON

But law contrived after the fact to meet a special situation clashes with the concept of law as a known and immutable rule. No doubt many lynching victims were guilty. The evil is not in doing justice, but in bending legal procedure, which always holds the threat of terrible injustice.

A condition in Mississippi poses something of the same situation that brought the Nazi trials. There was widespread disappointment when U.S. District Judge W. H. Cox dismissed felony charges against 17 men in connection with the murder of three civil rights workers.

FEDERAL law does not cover murder, unless committed on federal property. But because it distrusts Mississippi justice, the U.S. Justice Dept. obtained indictments charging that the 17 conspired to violate the civil rights of the three slain youths to life and liberty.

The legal basis for the charge was an 1870 statute, passed to implement the 14th Amendment, which gave full citizenship to former slaves.

The 14th Amendment, however, prescribes that "No *state* shall make or enforce. . ." any abridgement of the right of all to life and liberty. To convict the 17, therefore, seemed to require proof that the 17 men were acting "under color of law" of the State of Mississippi.

The indictment charged that the three young men were held in jail at Philadelphia, Miss., by the sheriff and his deputy until nightfall, and then were followed as they left town, intercepted, and shot. The official position of two of the alleged conspirators was presumed to strengthen the government's case that the murder had been perpetrated under the cover of legal procedure.

Judge Cox held that the indictment did not allege this action "under color of law," but only murder. A person's right not to be deprived of his life without due process of law was not established by the Constitution, he held, but merely guaranteed therein. The protection of this right is vested in the states, he said.

THIS WAS frustrating to federal authorities, who have been reluctant to turn over evidence gathered by the FBI in view of past state failures to act. Judge Cox's ruling, however, was similar to one returned in Georgia by U.S. Judge William A. Bootle, whose personal attitude on civil rights matters is regarded as exemplary.

The Georgia case was that of Ku Klux Klan members accused of murdering Lemuel Penn, a Negro educator of Washington. The charge was that his right to travel safely on interstate highways had been violated. The Georgia ruling is being appealed, and the ruling in that case would apply to the issue in Mississippi.

The prospect that the federal government might be able to make a civil rights case out of any instance of violence that it chose is not an agreeable one. It is not endurable, however, when local authorities, by inaction, condone murder.

The Supreme Court has been accused of legislating, which is a fair description of decisions which in effect create new law. Here is a situation in which we can watch it happen.

Somehow, the Nuremberg principle is going to be applied to these flagrant crimes. The need is too great to go unmet.

Guest Editorial

THE WRONG WAY

[David Lawrence in U. S. News & World Report]

There is a right way and a wrong way to try to achieve reform, whether it be in the realm of government or in the social life of our nation.

We pride ourselves on a belief in democracy—on the exercise of a rule of reason in our national life.

We have rejected mobocracy as the manifestation of anger, of bitterness, and of unwillingness to let the rule of reason and the processes of law prevail.

The American people have been witnessing in recent events in Alabama a failure to rely on the normal functioning of a democracy.

Whatever the provocation, the fact is that passion and threats of physical force have never bred a spirit of confidence in any constitutional system.

Unfortunately, the "demonstrations" have been led by men who should know better. The leaders have included not merely protagonists for meritorious causes, but clergymen who, while preaching nonviolence, have closed their eyes to the incitement to violence which results from street "demonstrations" and, in some cases, from defiance of the law itself.

It has been argued that the police in the south are prejudiced. But how can we explain the outbreaks in cities like Chicago and New York, where the officers of the law have been attacked and, indeed, where the cry of police "brutality" has been raised? Yet the handling of disorders and incidents that may lead to violence is the duty of the local police. We cannot delegate it to a national police force.

Understandably, "demonstrations" get publicity from coast to coast and are designed to mobilize public opinion behind worthy causes. But does this mean that we cannot utilize effectively the public forum, the printed word of the press, and the spoken word of radio and television? Cannot a righteous cause be successfully or persuasively espoused except by mobs in street "demonstrations" or by fanatics who have carried their campaign of intimidation even to the inside of the White House, only to be dragged out by police and arrested when they ignored requests to leave.

Have we had a dispassionate discussion of the race problem itself? Have we endeavored to make people on both sides of the controversy in other sections of the country, as well as in the south, aware of the complex nature of a social problem of this kind?

Essentially, the prejudices that are expressed on racial issues are not really based upon ethnic differences. They are based on the differences between man and man. Segregation has reflected a custom—a habit of our people—not merely in the south but also in the north. Gradually, the laws have decreed that the principle of segregation is invalid.

But can the principle of integration be applied by law to the satisfaction of all who have felt the sting of discrimination? Isn't there also a problem in human relationships, in educating individuals, and in paving the way for better understanding between all groups in the nation? And can this be accomplished better by mob violence than by the processes of reason?

Does anyone who is familiar with life in a southern community believe that there is hate in the hearts of a preponderant number of the citizens toward any race or population group? Even in the days of rigid segregation, whether in railroad stations or in hotels or in restaurants or in schools, the relations between whites and Negroes were far better in many parts of the south than they have become in recent years in the north.

The key to a solution of the racial problem in community life lies in a better understanding of human nature. Does anyone who has studied this problem in the south or elsewhere think for a moment that white people who have known Negroes over the years and have had personal and business relations with them are bent on inflicting hardships upon them, such as a denial of facilities for travel or of hotel accommodations or of an opportunity to get a job?

One finds that the responsible individual, irrespective of race, who is able to conduct himself or herself honestly and with due regard for the rights of others invariably wins friends who remain true to that friendship, not for just a few years but thruout their lives. Why is it that we cannot widen this relationship to that of a community? Ministers of the gospel might better devote themselves to this task than to participation in street riots.

The race question will never be solved with a policeman's club any more than by "sit-ins" or other incitement to disorder and mob violence.

We are dealing with the facts of life. Some of the "demonstrations" have turned out to be a form of organized tragedy—a way of inflaming rather than cooling passions. If this is continued, the end result can only be a retrogression, an emergence of hate and bitterness on a wide scale, with the ultimate loss of the objective itself.

There is a right way and a wrong way. The rule of reason is the right way. "Demonstrations" provocative of violence are the wrong way.

The Outspoken Mr. Stone

By Terry Turner

A BEER company, seeking information about the use of ultra-high-frequency television sets in Chicago, authorized special surveys on the city's West and South sides in late January.

Of 375 Negroes questioned, the remarkably high figure of 143 said they had TV sets which can receive UHF signals.

A producer at WCIU, Channel 26 on the UHF television dial, conducted a quick survey at the Lake Meadows shopping center in February, interviewing 150 Negroes selected at random to see who was watching his show—a news-commentary offered at 6:30 p.m. weekdays.

Among the 150, 83 said they had UHF sets (with most of those watching his show, incidentally.)

A few surveys involving a few hundred people do not a fact make. Yet, it seems apparent that Chicago Negroes have a remarkably high interest in UHF television, with from 38 to 55 per cent interested enough to invest their money to receive the UHF signals. That's more than twice the general proportion in Chicago.

There can be many reasons for the popularity of UHF among the city's Negroes. Special sales promotions by giant merchandisers account for many sales. The merchandisers make it awfully easy to buy a new TV set . . . and all new TV sets are equipped, under law, to receive UHF stations as well as the more familiar channels 2 and 5 and 7 and 9 and 11.

But some of the credit must go to the toughest, most outspoken commentator on the Chicago television scene, C. Sumner Stone, former newspaper editor, the first Negro television commentator in America.

CHUCK Stone was fired from his editor's job at The Defender, he says, because he dared to attack Negroes in front-page columns of the Negro daily newspaper.

He attacks whites with the same blithe disregard for the consequences. He'll attack anyone and any organization and praise anyone or any organization, depending solely on how he, himself, sees the subject.

He'll call the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. "brilliant" in one program and in the next point out that nonviolence inevitably breeds violence.

He'll attack Mayor Daley, praise President Johnson, criticize President Johnson, praise police superintendent O. W. Wilson, sneer at the Urban League of Chicago, make a derisive remark about the NAACP, tell a racial joke, become furious at school superintendent Benjamin Willis, laud Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, have a kind word for the late Malcolm X while arguing with Malcolm's methods.

It is provocative commentary that invariably will cause the audience — white or black — to cheer one day and snarl with fury the next.

In other words, it is commentary — something almost impossible to find on television in the United States of America, home of free speech.

Speaking at a South Side public school, he'll put himself on, emphasizing a drawl and slurring his words, grinning at the kids and saying:

"Mr. Charlie (the white man), he gonna call you a nigger. That's all right. Be a nigger. But be a SWINGIN' nigger. Stand tall. Be proud."

They'll give him a standing ovation.

Speaking on the North Shore, he'll say:

"As white liberals, you're going to be asked, 'Yes, but would you want your daughter to marry one?' That's all right. Say no. There's still room for both of us in the American society."

And they'll give him an ovation.

"IF I COULD just make 20,000 Negroes feel pride in themselves, so they'll go out and act as first-class citizens," Stone said recently during a lunch, "that's all I could want. I don't want them to debilitate themselves by being second-class citizens, by going on welfare, by taking the easy way out.

"The Bible says to love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and all thy soul, and all thy mind . . . and thy neighbor as thyself. But the trouble with the Negro is that he doesn't love himself. How can you love your neighbor if you don't love yourself? They should believe in themselves first, not just in integration. We should seek first a quality education, not merely integrated education."

Stone's education, incidentally, is of high quality. He has a master's degree, in sociology, from the University of Chicago.

He was the first Negro hired by Carson Pirie Scott & Co., was editor of the New York Age, associate editor of the Pittsburgh Courier and editor of the Washington (D.C.) Afro-American before coming back to Chicago in August of 1963 for a 15-month stint as editor-in-chief of The Chicago Defender. All are Negro newspapers.

Since early January of this year, he has been delivering five commentaries a week at WCIU, appearing first with the easy-going news announcer, Lou House, and currently with the crisp John Evans Grigsby.

HERE are some of the things Chuck Stone has been saying to the 80,000 homes estimated to be his television audience:

"The War on Poverty can become a big fake, with the brother (Negroes) about to be shafted by somebody who was supposed to help him."

On Viet Nam: "America is trying to save a people who aren't enthusiastic about being saved. We have turned them into emotional paraplegics."

On women in politics: "Women marry us. They rear our children. They run our homes. It might not be a bad idea for them to start helping us run the country. Certainly they can do no worse than many of the idiots now in charge of our political institutions."

On Brotherhood Week: "The very same people who created America's racial problems are the same people who now find it expedient to go on a Brotherhood Week binge as if their ticket to heaven depended on it.

"Presumably they're thinking of the story about a Negro-hating Southern sheriff who had killed and beaten up Negroes and he finally died and went to heaven. When the sheriff arrived, he pounded on the Pearly Gates, seeking admission.

"A deep voice boomed out from within: 'Dis is de Lawd. Who's out dere?'

"And the Southern sheriff shrugged his shoulders, turned around and said: 'That's all right. Forget it.' "

ON THE death of Malcolm X: "Malcolm X's death was tragedy because all deaths by violence are tragedy. It proved once again that violence solves nothing, whether it is used between the races or within a race."

On slums: "Slums grow and exist for only one reason — a city permits them to exist. There is no other reason for slums."

On Washington, D.C.: "D.C. residents are the last colonials in a world where colonialism is going out of style fast. . . . Washington, D.C., is the only major city in America which has a Negro majority. In a way, this is a kind of perverse tribute to American democracy that this predominantly white country should have a capital with a Negro majority."

On juvenile delinquency among Negroes: "For the thousands . . . there is little incentive to learn, almost no motivation to succeed. Many in their miserable circumstances do overcome and live useful lives.

"But far too many slide into despair, turning to crime or a life of sheer laziness and perpetual unemployment. They become . . . the unreachables. Why? Because nobody is reaching them — the churches, the politicians, the civil rights groups, the schools, the youth agencies, the social welfare agencies. The Negro community is particularly guilty."

On Chicago politics: "Because Republicans in Chicago have turned up their noses at the Negro vote, Negroes have had no place to go but the Democratic party. The Democratic machine, of course, is aware of this dilemma and has treated Negroes like crippled stepchildren."

And, finally, on the senseless violence among the young: "Whom do we blame — the families for not raising them right? The schools for not teaching them properly? The churches for not reaching them with ethical standards? Or the city administration for worrying more about urban renewal than human renewal? Or do we look to ourselves? There are a few lines from Kahlil Gibran's moving work of poetic beauty, 'The Prophet,' that fixes the blame . . . The lines read:

" 'Oftentimes have I heard you speak of one who commits a wrong as though he were not one of you, but a stranger unto you and an intruder upon your world.

" 'But I say that even as the holy and the righteous cannot rise beyond the highest which is in each one of you,

" 'So the wicked and the weak cannot fall lower than the lowest which is in you also.

" 'And as a single leaf turns not yellow but with the silent knowledge of the whole tree,

" 'So the wrong-doer cannot do wrong without the hidden will of you all.' "

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SANCTUARIES FOR TRADITION: VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS

mary ellen goodman

SRC: 19
February 8, 1961

No. 45627. B-1
June 9, 1963
Reidsville, Ga.

Dear Miss Young.

I received your letter and I was so glad to hear and also glad to know that you all is trying to help me and I do appriciate it very much. and since I wrote you the other letter and I also ~~try~~ tried to get the Court minutes of my trail and I fail to get them and I am also sending you two copies along with this letter, and I also filed a petition to the Superior Court for a hablas Writ and also I fail to do any good, and this is the answer I received from the Judge of the Superior Court. And I am asking you to please turn these papers over to Mr. Mayes they might be some help to him and also to me. And I will apperciate anything that you all can do for me.

May God bless you all.

Yours Truly
Benny Frank Young

State Board of Corrections

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W. B. MORRISON, VICE-CHAIRMAN
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CLASSIFICATION AND CUSTODY
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FINANCE AND PURCHASING
WILLIAM C. HARRIS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
WELFARE AND EDUCATION

June 14, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATTENTION: Mary Godwin

Re: Bennie F. Young, A-54357

Gentlemen:

In reply to your letter of recent date you are advised that the above named was given six 12 months sentences, said six sentences are consecutive with each other. These 12 month sentences are penitentiary sentences. Young also received six 6 months jail sentences to be served consecutively with each other making a total of thirty-six months to be served in jail. Young also received a 2-3 year sentence to follow at the expiration of all of the sentences mentioned previously.

As this case now stands, Young is tentatively scheduled to complete his first six 12 months sentences in the penitentiary system on June 22, 1966, giving him credit for statutory and extra good time allowance. On that date he will be returned to the Richmond County Jail to serve the six 6 months jail sentences. After he completes the jail sentences, he will be returned to the penitentiary system to complete the last 2-3 years, which was imposed on him.

The alleged escape which you mentioned in your letter was not alleged, but actually happened. This individual escaped from the Richmond County Public Work Camp on August 30, 1955, and was not returned to the Georgia penitentiary system until November 1, 1962.

Trusting this is the information desired, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter

Robert J. Carter, Assistant Director

RJC:bwc

HENRY H. DURRENCE
Judge Superior Courts
ATLANTIC JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
CLAXTON GEORGIA

May 30th 1963

Mr. Bennie F.Young
Box No. 45627 C-1
Reidsville, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In re: Your seven (7) page petition for habeas corpus against R.P.Balkcom, Jr., Warden, sworn to by you on May 26, 1963, together with copy thereof,

The above captioned petition for habeas corpus was received by me on May 29, 1963.

I have carefully examined the same and the same fails, in my opinion, to set forth any allegations or contentions that would authorize the issueance of the writ or your discharge if a hearing was authorized.

You failed to attach to your petition a copy of any of the court proceedings about which you complain, such as the indictments or criminal informations, pleas, sentences and the like, to corroberate or substantiate your contentions. Further, the matters about which you complain tould have been taken legal advantage of by timely and appropriate appeal to the appellate courts of Georgia, which you apparently failed to do.

Accordingly, I am herewith returning to you both the original and copy of your petition for habeas corpus without sanction.

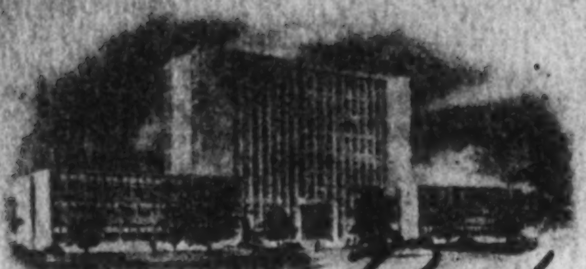
Yours very truly,

Henry H Durrence

Henry H. Durrence, Judge Superior
Court, Tattnall County, Georgia.

FEB. 14 1955

JUL 12 1963
1129



Richmond County, Georgia

HILLARY H. MANGUM, CLERK

MRS. HELEN M. SPELTZ, CHIEF DEPUTY
MISS JULIA F. BRODIE, DEPUTY CLERK
MRS. BELLE GLISSON, DEPUTY CLERK

CLERK SUPERIOR AND CITY COURTS
AUGUSTA-RICHMOND COUNTY MUNICIPAL BUILDING
8TH FLOOR AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

April 16th, 1963

Bennie F. Young
Box 45627 B-1
Reidsville, Georgia

Re: Bennie F. Young
Simple Larceny

Dear Sir:

In order to search the records in this office for the above stated case an approximate date must be provided. Also, it is requested that someone in authority at the prison sanction your request for copies.

Very truly yours,

Hillary H. Mangum
Clerk

HHM/ltf

Bennie Frank Young

State Board of Corrections

Atlanta, Georgia

PRISONER'S RECORD SHEET—

Re: [illegible] Young No. M-66477

Alias

Color Colored Age 46

Convicted of Simple Larceny (6 cases)

in Richmond County on the 14th day of February, 1955

and received a sentence of 12 months (6) consec.; 6 months Jail (6) consec.

and has been assigned to the Richmond County Public Works Camp
Name of Institution

Minimum sentence without extra good time expires on __________, and maximum sentence without extra good time expires 7-23-67. If you maintain a good record you will become eligible for parole consideration in __________, 19____. If you are serving a life sentence you will become eligible for parole consideration after completing seven (7) years in the penitent[illegible] system.

In computing this time you have been allowed 8 mos. & 22 days; forfeit 26 days statutory good time as provided by law.

In addition to statutory good time, you will be allowed to earn extra good time by maintaining a good work and conduct record. This extra good time will be credited as follows: 6 days off per month.

This the 9th day of November, 19 62

NEW RECORD SHEET

Director

ESCAPED 3-31-55;
RECAPTURED 11-1-62

STATE BOARD OF CORRECTIONS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Mr Benny Frank young
45627. CQ
Reidvill .GA.

Dear Miss Margery Long I'm writeing you in the Regard of my Case an hope that you Com Would be able to Recommen me to your Or Regional ine. for legion help or a Counsel I will explain detaile Comton the fall in my Case to which I was Convicted 6 Count of Simila lostion or Break, ines to Witch I was not offen or a lawer an send I found out I ~~fo~~ was not Prover, ~~Rea~~ RepZent to a Counsel, I will apperatoke if you Could appointme me a lawer, from your organition to look into my Case an see is their anything in my Favor if I Not I will hozhly appertake anyone to Recommen me to give me some help so I will Close at this time an truly hope to get a Reply from you Concerning this letter, Yours truly Sincerly Mr Benny Frank Young,

Miss Morrgorer Long,

Mr Benny Frank young
CQ, 45627, -.45627.

①

[redacted]

Bennie Frank Young
No 45627-B1
Reidsville Ga

Dear Miss Lang

I am Answering you Letter that I recived on febuary 6-63 an you Ask me to rite more about my Case So I am Sending you the Whole Detail of it the best that I Can I Could Explain it more better if I Had Some one to talk to face to face Listen in 1954 I Dont Rember the Date that I Was Caught buy the City Police of Augusta Ga With 6 used Car tires Wich Supose to ben one Pettie-Larceny Case because all Six of the tires Came from the Same Place an they used brutality buy force for me to for me to Singe Papers Witch I Did Not Knew What The Papers Was as you Under Stand that I am a unedgecated Colored Man an the Papers Witch I Singe Was Change to 6 Cases of Breaking and Entring an on febuary 14-1955 in Richmond County Court I Was Carried Before the County Judge an at the very Last Minaut the Judge Painted me a Lawer an the Case Was Not thurly Inveastey[illegible]ed buy the Lawer because He did Not Have time and You Can See I Was Given Six 12 Months Sentence and Six 6 Months Sentence and then it was Change to Simple Larceny 6 Cases in Wich my Constatian Righten Have ben taking because I Did No get Justice in Court and I am very Sorry that I took the Wrong Step on August 31- in 1955 Wich Was the day that I Escaped an Was ReCaptured on November 1-1962 and on November 16-1962 I Was tried for Escape and Given a one to two Year Sentence Running Seperd from the time

That I already Had and Wich I Did Not Get Justice in That Case I Could Explain it more better if I Had Some one to talk to face to face So I Hope you Can Understand ~~[illegible]~~ How my Situation is and I am very Glad that you Have my Sympathy an Will try to Get Some one to Help me Sister Miss Lang I am Sending you my time Sheet an it might be Some Help to you on my Case and When you are finish With it Please Send it Back to me I Will appriSheate it very much if there is any Help that I Can Get on it if I Cant be able to Gain my freedom I am Sure that it Could be Some Way that I Could Have Justice the Lawer that you Was Speaking of I am Sure that they Can do Something So I Will be Looking to Hear from you very Soon

Sincerley
Bernie Frank Young

Effective September 1, 1958

VISITING REGULATIONS

Georgia State Prison
Reidsville, Georgia

White Inmates: 1st and 3rd weekend of each month

Colored Inmates: 2nd and 4th weekend of each month

Visiting Hours:

Saturday	8:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.	1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.
Sunday	8:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.	1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.

Inasmuch as the major portion of visiting is done on Sundays, a week end is determined by the Sundays of the calendar. For example, the first and third week end would be the first and third Sundays, the second and fourth week end would be the second and fourth Sundays. Fifth Sunday is fifth week end and is open for all visiting. Holiday visiting is permitted as follows: New Year's Day, July 4th, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas.

[illegible] 12 1963

1129

B. J. Perry

June 25, 1963
42677-B-4
Reidsville, Ga

Dear Mrs Long:

I am extremly sorry to have waited so long to write and let you know what my "out-come" has been, but the truth is I have been so upset and disgusted I have been hardly able to do anything.

Listen Mrs Long just as soon as we get the necessary postage we shall sent you the copy of the Honorable Judge Durrence Answer to my writ. Although I did appear before him on the date stated in the letter I sent you. And did explain the facts of my case as I have written to you in part. Also the documents of my trail fully attest to my statements and writ. ..

In the light of all I have been able to show – I am sure it is quite obvious to them, that I am innocent. And have been greaviously wronged by the court in Mitchell county (They have unmistakably indicated as much) but the fact remain that I am not able to demand or assert my legal rights.

I am still hoping that you will be able to help me. In the mean while I am trying to get a hearing in the Federal court. please write me soon – so that I will know you heard from me. B.J. Perry

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

December 3, 1963

Miss Edith M. Carter
730 Riverside Drive
New York City 31, New York

Dear Miss Carter:

Thank you for your good letter which is, indeed, a sharp little essay in itself. I am in thorough accord with your opinions. Knowing so many other young white Southerners of enlightened and liberal bent, I venture to promise you that even Mississippi will come before long to know that no "one race should have the monopoly over the earth," as you put it. In fact, even at Ole Miss, I found many youngsters who are obviously moving out of this attitude or who are already in a more rational and human state of mind.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long

Margaret Long
Editor, New South

ML/mg

The Georgia Sea Island Singers from St. Simons Island will be featured at the festival. This group represents the oldest survival of early American Negro folk music to be found today. Their extensive and varied treasury of old inherited songs includes spirituals and shouts, work songs, dances, children's songs, games and ring plays -- all sung in authentic ante-bellum style. The group which has been performing at the Cloisters Hotel on Sea Island, Georgia for nearly fity years, has in the past year travelled all over the United States appearing at College concerts and folk festivals. In addition to receiving high acclaim in such cities as Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago, they were recently a great favorite at the National Folk Festival held in Newport, Rhode Island.*

*The Newport Folk Foundation is giving financial assistance to this festival, as they did to the first one in October.

Georgia Sea Islands

The rich-in-tradition way of life on these isolated islands is little known to the outside world.

Fringing the coast of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia is a chain of low. wooded and often fertile islands, separated from the mainland by sea marsh and mangrove swamp. In the days of slavery the islands to the south, near Charleston, Savannah and Brunswick, particularly, were the sites of large and extremely rich rice plantations, in which the slave system reached its

Fringing the coast of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia is a chain of low, wooded and often fertile islands, separated from the mainland by sea marsh and mangrove swamp. In the days of slavery the islands to the south, near Charleston, Savannah and Brunswick, particularly, were the sites of large and extremely rich rice plantations in which the slave system reached its peak of efficiency. Because of their exposure to sea attack, parts of these islands were seized early in the Civil War by Union troops. The slaves were freed and at the conclusion of hostilities much of the land was turned over to them. These ex-slaves formed independent communities, which have endured in a relatively isolated state, cut off by swamp and sea, until today.

The folk of the Sea Islands kept to the speech of their ancestors and, in some places, still speak dialects in which many African words and syntactical features survive. Their folk and animal tales show a rich admixture of European and African traits at an early stage of blending. Their funeral customs, their religious ceremonies, indeed, their whole way of life bear the stamp of ante-bellum days. Yet this is no decadent culture. It has simply grown strong around a conservative base which is part pioneer, part planter gentility and part African.

There is an atmosphere in the Sea Islands unlike that of any other community in America. The air is soft and balmy. The huge, old live oaks, spreading their arms festooned with moss, make every road a green cathedral nave. The sea is full of fish and crab to be caught and eaten; the woods still abound with game. The little settlements are peaceful, hospitable and neighborly. The two races live together in a fair degree of dignity and mutual respect touching everyone with its calm and joyful spirit. In the settlements along the marshy arms of the sea live Negroes with a wit to tell folk tales, with bodies agile in the dance and with a deep love of the songs of their ancestors. These songs are solo-chorus in style, generally litany in form, set to straightforward four-beat rhythm but with a vast amount of free-playing, polymetric accompaniment.

In the days of slavery, almost every task and every hour of the day was relieved with song. There were songs for the rice fields, for rowing, for log rolling, for fishing, as well as a huge body of religious songs of many types. Of these, by far the most interesting is the shout, an African derived, American Negro dance. The singers sometimes move in a counter-clockwise circle around the church, shuffling their feet flat along the floor, watched by the deacon lest they cross their legs in an unseemly and "devilish" manner, clapping and singing strongly as they move their bodies in a truly African way. It is out of such songs that the later, more legatto, spirituals grew. The shouts are linked directly with the more hectic and less poetic Holy Roller songs today.

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Ed: Margaret Long, Atlanta Ga, 11 issues $2.00. One vol beg Jan; Vol 20 beg Jan 1963. No index. Indexed in Readers Guide.

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Migrant Study

Following, generally, are results of discussion Wednesday, Feb. 12, among Miss Margaret Long, Dr. Eric Lincoln, Dr. Joe Golden, Pat Watters...

Dr. Golden's class totals 30 students, Dr. Lincoln's ten. Of these, six are white. While it was agreed that there might be some problems involved in interviews by different races, these were not considered insurmountable. Details on this would be worked out in planning with students. Interviewing by Miss Long and Mr. Watters would help. The need to get the study organized right away in order to give students as much time as possible during the next semester (through May) was pointed out.

What is to be finally done with the findings is not yet known. Independently of the students' survey work, Miss Long and Mr. Watters will attempt to get to know several families of migrants and talk with them at length and in depth about the same things that the student interviews cover. The assumption is that results of these two approaches can be used to reinforce or correct findings of each, and more than likely suggest other things that need to be known. It was pointed out that some kind of publication of survey findings would be gratifying to the students who participate. It was also informally agreed that findings would be available to both institutions (Atlanta U. and SRC) and to individuals among the four of us for whatever use might be made of them. Expenses of the survey were discussed briefly: the mimeographing of the schedules (which could be done by SRC) and bus fares were mentioned. The latter cost could (could not) be borne by SRC. It was agreed that interviewers would probably find easiest acceptance by saying they were conducting the survey for Atlanta University--the assumption being that nearly anyone would understand university.

There was general discussion of the aims of the study, which included the point that the unscientific members of the planning team really just wondered what is it with poor people moved to the city from the farm, and the refinement of this by the scientific branch into measurable terms; and included the point that SRC is interested in the situation of such people simply as one general problem of the South, although its relevence to the racial situation can't be overlooked, and included the point that one thing the study might point up is that something other than race is the cause for conditions of deprivation which in stereotyped thinking often are blamed on race.

From the discussion, the following was developed:

1. A hypothesis: That the experiences of poor Negro rural migrants to Atlanta are similar to the experiences of poor white rural migrants to Atlanta...and these further assumptions:

1. That the background of the two groups are similar.
2. That the characteristics of the two groups are similar.
3. That what has happened to the two groups in Atlanta has been similar.

2. Sample. It would include only poor rural farm migrants, and not persons with non-farm rural backgrounds. It would consist of 200 persons, if we assign five interviews per student. We did not define poor. It should conform with census groupings so that our sam-

ple can be compared with the total migrant population of Atlanta. We also did not decide finally whether all respondents should be married, or whether we would interview single persons, and we did not discuss whether we will interview all of one sex, or try for a balance between husbands and wives. From the unscientific end here, only married people and preferably ones with children are preferred, and a mixture of husbands and wives. We defined migrants as people living in Atlanta a year or less.

It was agreed that the best way of finding people in the categories we want will be to knock on doors in areas where large numbers of migrants live. If the areas are large enough, sampling techniques will be used to find respondents. Mr. Watters will get as soon as possible, if possible, maps of such areas.

3. Methodology. The schedule was discussed generally. It was agreed that it will include sections on (1) Background; (2) What Caused Respondent to Move; (3) Descriptions of Who Respondents Are; (4) What Has Happened to Them in Atlanta.

Our discussion of Background got this far: We would want to know the following: Plance where the respondent came from, the name of the county and state, and an estimate of the population of the county (or settlement?) This could be compared with census data. Occupation in the rural area, including income. Income might be reported in terms of weekly pay and how many weeks worked last year, or in terms of how much was the largest and smallest amounts of money the family ever made farming in a year. Church. Frequency of attendance where came from; preference there; whether or not the respondent held an office in the church; whether there was home worship. Leisure Activity. How much time spent hunting, fishing, playing cards, visiting neighbors and kin, watching tv. Diet. A general question along lines of whether the family eats different in town from in the country, and how. Also: How many meals a day on the farm; how many in city? Which is big meal of day in country, in city? (This is as far as we got...Following are suggestions from this end...): What did parents of husband and wife do for living? What kind of schools did kids go to on farm? How many months per year? How often would they go to town to shop? What kind of house did they have on the farm? How many rooms? What arrangements for water, toilet, washing? Lights? Was electricity available? Did the roof leak? How was house heated? Did children seem happier/ less happy/ about the same/ there as compared with city? Did family have dogs or cats for pets? Do they now? What does the family miss most from the farm? What are they gladdest to get away from?

2. Reasons for leaving?

Was it impossible any longer to make a living? Was the farm sold out from under them? Was it because of a death of someone else who had helped with the farming work? Did the family figure they could make a better living in the city? Why? More jobs? Better pay? Wife could work? Was it for better schools for the children? Was it for educational opportunities (night school, industrial training) for the parents? Other reasons? (This may seem non-essential, but we would be interested in how they moved their things--by truck, car, what? Or did they just leave furniture behind, and plan to get some more in the city?) What did family think it would find in city in terms of job, schools, home, recreation, good things of life?

3. Descriptions of who the respondents are:
Age, sex, race, education, skills or trade or other training, present occupation, present income, number of children, any others living in same home, medical problems, (if feasible) criminal record, (again if feasible) does respondent look about the age he gives and how is respondent dressed/ how well groomed? Own tv? Takes a paper? Own a car? Vintage?

4. What has happened to them in Atlanta?
Did they have a place to come to live, or temporary place to stay while looking? Did family move together or husband come first? Did husband or wife have a job when came? How did they find home? How many homes so far in Atlanta? Were they evicted from any home? What the rent? Condition of home: number rooms, their repair, heat, electricity, plumbing, amount of yard for children. Is it a better or worse home than they had in country? Does family hope to find a better place to live? When? Was there any time when family had no place to stay in city? City religious life: what denomination/ any offices/ home worship/ how often attend/ reasons for any change of these. City recreation: what is done here that wasn't done in country; what was done in country that isn't done here? At which place did family seem to enjoy life the most? Any difference in children's play: more playmates; different games; are they "out" as much as on farm; is there as much supervision by parents? Do they behave as well in city? City occupation: how decide what kind of job to seek? how go about seeking job? government employment office used? how long did it take to get a job? how many jobs so far? longest time out of work so far? in present job, what hours, what conditions? seeking better? hopes of

advancement? does wife work? does she want to? City schooling: how soon did children start to school after moving? are kids all in school? were they put back because of previous inadequate schools? do they like their new schools better than country ones? why? are classes bigger/smaller? school itself bigger? home work as frequent? work as hard? do children engage in more or less school activities? Assistance form city: has family received any kind of assistance from government or private agencies? If so, how did they find out this was available? If received no help, what services do they know of that they might receive if they needed it? How find this out? Did any one, including neighbors, welcome them to their new home? Offer to explain things, and show them around? How do they like having more neighbors and closer ones? Do they get along with neighbors? How long? Has there been any time in city when family didn't have enough to eat? Living expenses: Does it cost more to live in city? In what ways? What things are less expensive? Is it easier for wife to shop for food and clothing, other things? Does all family have enough clothes? Living patterns: Does family get up earlier or later? Go to bed earlier or later? Eat at different times? Spend more time working, or less? More time recreation, or less? Goals: education goals for children? what kind of job does father want? how much salary? does family need a new car? what new things for house? clothes? what would be the ideal home for the family? everything considered, would the family rather be where it is, or back on the farm, assuming a good living could be made either place?

All too obviously, these are just random things we feel we would like to know. We have missed much, and put too much in. But at least these questions could serve as guiding points or beginning points for your own development of information needed and specific q questions.

The next step agreed on was that Dr. Lincoln and Dr. Golden would get together and supply their own view of information needed, and work out plans for schedules and interviewing and confer back with us. So, until then...

Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Raper, 2765 Gwinette Drive, Macon, Georgia

Mr. and Mrs. William D. Hummon, c/o University Labs, Friday Harbor, Wash.,

Mr. and Mrs. Harrison C. Raper, c/o Dr. Harold Tryon, South Harpswell,
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Dr. and Mrs. Jarrell Raper, Box 39, Veterans Administration Hospital,
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Mrs. M. E. Matthews, 216 N. Candler Street, Decatur, Georgia.

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3139 N. Abingdon, Arlington, Virginia

Dr. and Mrs. G. Warren Gignilliatt, 4840 Forsyth Road, Macon, Georgia

Mr. and Mrs. Carol Fulkerson, 231 Nayatt Road, Barrington, Rhode Island
~~69 Power Street, Providence, 6, Rhode Island~~

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee, c/o The Black Despatch, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dr. and Mrs. Carl B irky, Rt. 1, Box 61, Fort Collins, Colo.

Mr. and Mrs. Wright G. Baker, 2500 Q Street, N.W., Washington 7, D. C.

~~Dr. and Mrs. Daniel F. Jackson,~~

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Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

July, 1963

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Caruso's
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Crossroads
Big Boy Drive-in
Seven Steers
Miami Buffet
House of Eng
S & W
Bradshaw's
Howard Johnson's
Dales Cellar
Rex' Fine Foods
(The Rivera and Four Seasons for private parties.)

ICES

Johnson Rallies 35 Governors

By W. B. RAGSDALE JR.

WASHINGTON (AP)—President Lyndon B. Johnson received a standing ovation from 35 governors Monday night after a stirring appeal for unity among all Americans, regardless of party.

Johnson had called the governors hastily into a session at his offices in the Executive Office Building.

Many were reached as they prepared to board planes on their way home from attending the funeral of President John F. Kennedy.

Republican Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York described Johnson's speech to the 20-minute session as a "very moving statement for unity in America."

He said Johnson appealed for the support of the governors as Americans, without regard for partisanship and "had the full endorsement of all present. They gave him a standing ovation. It was a most impressive demonstration of unity in the face of our problems."

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Graham Jacks

Letter To a Columnist

(To understand this letter to Kays Gary of the Charlotte, N.C., Observer, the reader should know that the letter came to Mr. Gary from a white child who is living in a neighborhood which in the last four years has changed from predominantly white to predominantly Negro.)

Dear Mr. Gary:

My name is Max. I am eight years old. I need someone to play with because I am an only child. My mother and father have told me that you know the stork. If you see him tell him to send me a little WHITE brother or sister or both.

Sincerely,
Max L
North Graham st.,
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Max:

Your mother and father are right. I do know the **stork** — twice as well as they do, in fact. But I have not seen him for a long, long time and to tell the absolute truth I have not been looking for him.

The stork and I agree. Boys need little brothers and sisters. You will have a hard time convincing those who already have them of this need but it is true.

Just like you, I had no brothers or sisters. Unlike you, I had no trouble finding somebody to play with.

My best friends at your age were two little boys who went away every Summer. They were white.

In the Summer I had a friend whose name was T. C. He was brown. His Mama cooked for some people down the road.

T. C. was a pretty good runner and wrestler. He was better at climbing trees. And when we picked blackberries he picked them twice as fast as I could and it made me mad.

"Don't you mind," he said. "I can't help bein' a gooder picker'n you."

And then he would give me some of his berries so we would have the same.

★

Somebody to play with? We "kicked-the-can" and shot marbles and built dams in the creek. We'd go prospecting for gold, but instead of gold we found muscadine vines to swing on and green apple trees and wild plums and tummy aches.

We also found baby terrapins and baby rabbits in their nests and smooth, round stones and we made slingshots.

One time we found a big turtle only we called it a cooter, but we didn't try to catch it because T. C. said if it got a-hold of your toe it wouldn't turn loose till it thundered and there wasn't a cloud in the sky and nobody wants to drag a cooter around on his toe for no tellin' how long. So we poked at it with a stick and I admired T.C.'s wisdom when it grabbed hold of that stick.

Besides being a good slingshot maker, T.C. knew how to carve the bark off a sapling to make a pretty stick. He gave 'em to his mother to stir clothes with in the wash pot. These were his gifts to her.

But I could read better than T. C. and sometimes he would listen. One day we walked to his school. It was better than two miles out there and it was a ramshackle place with a busted stove. Everybody who went there had to walk or they did walk, anyway. Our school had a furnace and buses.

★

The matter of color came up only twice in my memory.

One time his Mama made us wash our hands before giving us a piece of pie and I told T. C. he was lucky because if he didn't get his hands clean nobody would know it.

"Huh," he said. "Mama, she can tell. She 'bout rub your hide off!"

The other time was when we were cutting flips in the cotton seed house at the gin and a man hollered:

"Hey! You little niggers get outta there!"

We ran. We ran till we gave out of breath and flopped down on a bank of honeysuckle and T. C. said: "How come he said that? You ain't no nigger!"

His chin was trembling and his eyes were wild, then wet, and all of a sudden he started crying.

We didn't know what we were crying about, but it was bad, all right, and I said the only thing I could think of.

"You ain't no nigger, T. C. He's the nigger!"

"No, he ain't," T. C. sobbed, rocking his face down in the honeysuckle. "He ain't no nigger. He's as white as you."

That, Max, is the last thing I remember about my friend. He walked to his ramshackle school with the busted stove and I went to the brick school with the furnace where the buses rolled.

A lot of things have happened since then and there have been two wars. The only thing I know is that if he's alive he is about my age and he may be a bad man or he may be a good man. I can only remember him as a little boy and he was a good boy.

I have written all this because, no matter where you live, there must be a good little boy to play with. Your mother and father, though, must decide. Meanwhile, I'll try to get your message to the stork.

Sincerely,

KAYS GARY

It hasn't in Atlanta
Chamblee Flora because trans.
supply good enough
from rural

The migration to the North has not made a dent in the South's maid supply. They like the South. Agencies in the North write Merry Way all the time wanting Mrs. Drewry to send up live-in maids. She says, "The scarcest thing in this country today is the live-in maid." Due to the rapid growth of the city, live-in maids are becoming scarcer. The larger the city, the scarcer maids are. Mrs. Drewry says that there are no more maids here who are willing to go North. N. Y. maids get $15-18 a day

The beginning salary for maids is $30 a week plus transportation costs. Maids make from $30-$45 a week plus transportation. Occasionally a maid may make $50. Children's nurses seldom make more than $30 a week plus carfare. Cooks average [illegible]$7 a day plus carfare. Day workers make between $6-$7 a day plus transportation. Butlers make between $50-$60 a week (5 day week). One butler in Atlanta makes $100 a week. Gardeners make $1.25 an hour and are very hard to find. The salaries of domestics, men and women, have tripled since the war. in 1957, the starting salary for maids was $25 a week. Live-in maids used to get Wednesdays and Sundays off, but had to cook breakfast and straighten up the house before leaving. Now, although this sometimes is still the case, they usually get two full days off, usually Sunday and Monday. Since most live-in maids are from out of town, getting two days off together is quite an advance.

seldom over 35
max $40

Men domestics are so scarce because men won't work under intolerable conditions, while unskilled women will take much more. Since war, not many men have been brought up to do domestic work, Have forgotten other unskilled jobs construction jobs particularly which have not been affected by automation

Since war,
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NAACP Ask Probe Of Deputizing Of Firemen

Mon. March 23

State NAACP leaders have asked the federal government to look into the "real reasons" for Mayor Haydon Burns' swearing in 496 firemen as special law officers after stating that further racial demonstrations will not be tolerated.

Burns went on radio and television Saturday to give "a clear understanding as to the official position that will be taken in the City of Jacksonville."

Burns said that "events of recent weeks and days by certain individuals, such as the bombing of a Negro home, are repulsive to every American whether he be white or colored. I personally hope that those found guilty will receive the maximum penalty of the law."

Burns said he has not prevented peaceful and orderly picketing "in reasonable numbers of not more than six persons. Racial picket line regulations have been and will continue to be enforced in exactly the same manner as labor or other contractual disputes," Burns said.

"Certain adults in recent days have told some Negro youths that their civil rights entitle them to force their presence at certain hotels, restaurants and other businesses." Burns said.

"As mayor of all the people, I want to set these youths straight. You do not have the right."

Burns said, "As mayor head of the government I am going to see that every legal right is preserved. . . the full forces of the law enforcemnet branch of government and the courts will be utilized to protect that right."

At the end of the broadcast, Burns swore in the firemen, saying that more than 1,000 law enforcement officers are now available to every citizen and every visitor to this city so that they may have assurance that peace will prevail.

Robert W. Saunders, NAACP state secretary, said yesterday he has asked the Civil Rights Commission to hold a full-scale hearing on the incident and that they investigate the real reasons behind the move.

Saunders said a recent federal decision, "in the estimation of our attorneys, prohibits the type of action you are reported willing to use."

State NAACP President Rutledge Pearson said immediately after the broadcast that he was "surprised at the mayor. I had expected him to use his influence to end discrimination."

SEND FLOWERS . .
the greatest comfort in time of sorrow
ALLIED FLORISTS N. E. FLA

★ ★ ★

Mon. March 23

Bombs Hit Burns' HQ; 3 Arrested

Three Molotov cocktails were shattered against a building housing the East Jacksonville campaign headquarters of gubernatorial candidate Haydon Burns during the night.

Only minor damage was done to the two-story building at Florida Avenue and Odessa Street, firemen said.

Assistant Fire Marshall C. D. Banks said his office is investigating the incident.

City police arrested three Negro teen-agers 90 minutes after the fire bombs were thrown.

Patrolman C. W. Moyer arrested W. W. Funches, 18, of 664 Franklin Ave., Anthony L. Armstrong, 17, of 1033 Grant St. and L. L. Furlow, 17, of 814 Van Buren St. at 1:35 a.m.

The youths were charged with vagrancy and are being held without bond for further investigation.

Banks said three bottles filled with kerosene were broken against the building. Fire trucks were called to the scene but the wooden structure was only scorched.

Light bulbs filled with paint also were thrown against the campaign poster-covered walls, leaving streaks, Banks said.

JACKSONVILLE'S OFFICIAL STAND TO PRESERVE HARMONIOUS COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Chief Executive calls on Youth, Parents, Community Leaders, and every citizen to understand and cooperate with all laws.

COMMUNITY ASSURED CONTINUOUS PEACE

In the Public Interest and to avoid misunderstanding or misinterpretation the full text of the official Message broadcast at 6 P.M. Saturday, March 21, 1964 is presented herewith.

A MESSAGE TO ALL CITIZENS

As your Mayor-Commissioner and Chief Executive of this community I first want to state that there is no emergency at this time — the purpose of this broadcast is to assure every citizen that there will be no emergencies in the future.

I appreciate the cooperation of the T.V., Radio stations and Newspapers in making this service available to us all.

I also want to thank the law enforcement officers for their presence as well as the other officials with whom I have discussed this situation, Sheriff Carson, Judge Santora and the other court officials.

My purpose tonight is to present to every community leader and to every citizen a clear understanding as to the official position that will be taken in the city of Jacksonville.

A review of situations past and current and what every citizen can expect in the future, beginning right now. As Mayor of all the people I

As Mayor, head of the government, I am going to see that every legal right is preserved, and in every instance that a citizen takes the prescribed and required action, the full forces of the law enforcement branch of government and the courts will be utilized to protect that legal right.

Certain adults in recent days have told some negro youth that civil rights entitle them to force their presence at certain hotels, restaurants and other businesses.

As Mayor of all the people, I want to set these youth straight. You do not have such a legal or civil right. If such were not the case, if such were not the law, then why is the Congress considering the Public Accommodations law at this time?

These same adults have led these young people to think that they have the right to congregate in public streets, parks or at public buildings. You do not have such a right under the law.

what the laws provide:

rt Carson, Judge Sanford and the other court officials.

My purpose tonight is to present to every community leader and to every citizen a clear understanding as to the official position that will be taken in the city of Jacksonville.

A review of situations past and current and what every citizen can expect in the future—beginning right now. As Mayor of all the people I both personally and officially ask for the helpful assistance of every school teacher, every principal, every minister, every parent, every businessman and every community leader.

I do not intend my comments should constitute a threat — but rather an understanding, a request for cooperation. My remarks are motivated by certain actions of a certain few individuals, or organized groups of opposing forces. Both White groups and Negro groups—I'm talking to both.

Certain actions by self-appointed leaders of both groups have provoked the majority of the citizens of both races to the degree that I feel this statement tonight is absolutely necessary. As a warning to some; but more especially as an assurance to the 99% and a fraction of our citizens who have, and want no problems with their fellow citizens.

I do not care what actions or requests or threatened reprisals may come from any pressure groups—I am the elected head of this city, both as the Mayor and Police and Fire Commissioner. I am the legally constituted head of government and the spokesman for this city. A capacity in which I have ably served for fifteen years. I refuse to delegate or to relegate this responsibility to anyone or any bi-racial committee or any other group, it is my responsibility and I will face it.

Events of recent weeks and days by certain individuals, such as the bombing of a Negro home is repulsive to every American whether he be white and colored. I personally hope that those guilty will receive the maximum penalty of the law.

The acts of mass or mob demonstrations or roving gangs is also just as un-American.

As the head of government I have issued approval in writing for parades which have been conducted along specific routes and at pre-arranged and agreed times and directed by the Traffic Division of the Police Department.

I have not prevented peaceful and orderly picketing in reasonable numbers of not more than six persons. I observe that the White House is picketed every day at Washington. Racial picket line regulations have been and will continue to be enforced in the same manner as labor or other contractual disputes.

Every citizen in Jacksonville enjoys his or her legal or civil right. The use of every public-owned or tax supported building or facility is available to all.

The matter of public services are rendered to all on an impartial basis. Employment through civil service is no longer a matter in which race is a deterent factor by law or by policy.

No citizen has just cause for complaint against the government of the people of Jacksonville.

Many merchants and other businesses as a matter of policy cater to all citizens. This is their own personal determination.

Other establishments have chosen a different policy under existing law, and this is their right.

My point is, that every citizen, the merchant, the white customer, the negro customer—everyone has his rights — and in Jacksonville no one has been deprived of his Civil Rights. The word civil means legal. So no citizen has been deprived of his legal rights.

have such a legal or civil right. If such were not the case, if such were not the law, then why is the Congress considering the Public Accommodations law at this time?

These same adults have led these young people to think that they have the right to congregate in public streets, parks or at public buildings. You do not have such a right under the law.

Now I am going to tell everyone what the laws provide:

First, a permit is required before any gathering can assemble in any public place. Permits for park assembly are granted by the City Commission. Other public gatherings, whether parades or assembly, require written permits from the Mayor's office. Gatherings other than by permit are a violation of law.

Now, I am a Christian, and I respect all religions, but this city is not going to permit law violations or the flouting of law by those who hide behind a sacrilegious shield of prayer.

Now—there will be no more demonstrations like last week. They will not be tolerated.

The City of Jacksonville will fully employ every applicable law against any who would disturb the peace by any unlawful act.

I hold in my hands 12 laws. Every one of which is applicable in this sort of case. First, the law that vests the power in the mayor and police commissioner; a law against assemblage on the streets without a permit; a law against disorderly conduct; a law against loitering or soliciting in hotels or offices, a law assembling crowds in streets or public spaces without a permit; a law providing for the clearing of streets and requiring a permit for parades; a law stating that any state law that is violated must be enforced by the law enforcement officers of the City of Jacksonville.

Now, another law that any person refusing to depart from the premises at the request of the owner or manager is subject under the trespass law to arrest under state statute. A trespass after warning is another law; the ejection of undesirable guests, to ask them to leave and to present them with a notice is sufficient to enact and to put this law into force; a law against gathering or riots or routs or unlawful assembly; and, a law against conspiracy. For those who would lead others to violate the law, this is equally applicable. Every one of these laws will be put in force to preserve the good name, the attraction, and the pleasantry of living in this city.

I will continue to issue assemblage or parade permits at reasonable intervals, upon proper request and when I feel the best interest of the public will not be disturbed.

I hope that every citizen understands what I have said.

In the Jacksonville Police Department there are 508 colored and white police officers. Within that number are 45 specially trained members of the Emergency Corps that are capable of meeting any situation. I am right now going to give the oath and swear in as Special Police Officers 496 Firemen who at this moment are assembled at their respective stations under the direction of their senior officers. The Chiefs of both the Fire and Police with their assistants are here in my office with me. If you gentlemen will rise and raise your right hand and if the gentlemen in the department will do likewise, you will take the following oath.

Do you solemnly swear to uphold and defend the Constitutions and laws of the United States, the State of Florida, and the City of Jacksonville, so help you God? You will answer "I do."

From this message and backed by all officials and the courts and now more than 1,000 law enforcement officers every citizen and every visitor to this city may have the assurance that peace will prevail.

HAYDON BURNS, *Mayor-Commissioner*

CITY OF JACKSONVILLE

Augusta Chronicle Mar. 24, 1964

Jacksonville unrest has abrupt ending

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. (UPI)—It was a quiet Saturday evening and a slim, tense Negro teacher sat in a room with a group of his pupils watching television.

The warm spring air outside was almost too much for the youngsters. They milled about the room, some only halfheartedly watching the screen on which appeared the image of Jacksonville's Mayor Haydon Burns.

In a prophetic statement that still has many Negroes and whites wondering, Burns said:

"As your mayor-commissioner and chief executive of this community I first want to state that there is no emergency at this time—the purpose of this broadcast is to assure every citizen that there will be no emergencies in the future."

Dropped a Bombshell

Burns read on and then abruptly dropped a bombshell.

"I am right now going to give the oath and swear in as special police offciers," he said, "496 firemen who at this moment are assembled at their respective stations under the direction of their senior officers. If you gentlemen will rise and raise your right hand . . . you will take the following oath."

"When the kids heard that," the teacher recounted later, "they got mad and I wasn't sure anyone could control them."

42 Hours Later

Some 42 hours after the mayor's surprise statement, Jacksonville was embroiled in its worst violence since August, 1960, when whites and Negroes fought with bare knuckles and slashing knives.

The violence was finished almost as abruptly as it began, but by the time the police radios had stopped their constant crackling of messages a Negro woman had been shot dead, a rock had smashed a white man between the eyes, squads of patrol cars roamed the azalea-fragrant neighborhoods and there were reams of police reports on muggings, stabbings, break-ins and beatings—most of them in the Negro sections.

Better Than Some

But it was a far cry from Birmingham, Ala., Cambridge, Md., New York City, Jackson, Miss., Danville, Va., or Chicago.

No water hoses were used, no tear gas, no dogs.

Jacksonville's troubles do not fit the usual mold of racial troubles. The demonstrations had no specific aim. There were no professional out-of-state organizers to keep it rolling. Essentially, the violence-filled days and nights resembled more of a rampage without a goal.

There is only one integration organization in town, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and its leaders issued statements deploring the violence but not the frustrations of the young Negroes which they said was the underlying reason for the demonstrations.

Rutledge Pearson, the 34-year-old school teacher who watched the television set with his pupils—and who is also head of the Florida and Jacsonville branch of the NAACP—said he and others called the youths urging them to refrain from violence.

From the beginning, vandalism accompanied the violence and Negro leaders said that professional hoddlums had taken advantage of the unrest.

Turned on Own

The young Negroes, more often than not, turned on their own race. The same high school crowd that burned a car Tuesday and beat a newsman, hurled bottles and rocks at other Negroes as well as the police.

The racial violence which came to Jacksonville last Monday had been building up slowly for two years, according to integration leaders. It began to heat up last November, they add, and it oddly runs an Easter Sunday to Easter Sunday cycle.

Dr. Arnett Girardeau, a dentist and vice president of the city's NAACP chapter, says Negroes launched a shoppers' boycott of stores just before Easter Sunday, 1962. This he said, was born out of the frustrating "do-nothing, take-things-under-consideration" attitude of a community biracial committee. This committee had been formed after the 1960 violence outburst.

"Non-Violent" Campaign

Pearson said the NAACP pulled out of the biracial committee last November and launched a "non-violent" campaign of pocketing and demonstrations. He said Burns gave the committee only "lukewarm" support.

The demonstrations gradually grew more demonstrative. Pearson cites a straw which he says broke the camel's back. "More than 65 restaurant owners said they would desegregate. But then one refused to go along. The whole agreement fell through."

In the week before the March 24 violence, the demonstrations grew more rowdy and police cracked down with arrests. Young Negroes who saw their classmates go off to jail, wanted to do the same. Police obliged them.

By Friday the situation had become tense and Negro leaders said later that Burns' television statements Saturday resulted in the blow-up.

Burns Delays Tampa Trip

Tues
March 24

Negroes deny that violence was politically motivated, Page 7. Photos on Page 5. Municipal Court roundup, Page 7.

By The Journal Staff

Mayor Haydon Burns canceled most of his political plans for Tampa today and Police Chief Luther Reynolds told off-duty policemen to report for work in the wake of yesterday's racial violence and vandalism.

Meanwhile, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called a mass meeting of Negro citizens for 3 p.m. today in Bethel Baptist Church to seek ways to get arrested Negro youths out of jail.

More than 200 Negroes have been arrested here since yesterday morning, some for refusing police orders for crowds to disperse, others for vandalism which plagued officers until about 1:30 a.m. today.

One person was killed and three were wounded by gunfire here last night. The death and one of the other shootings could not be definitely pinned down as racial episodes, but two of the woundings apparently were.

Another person reported to police that he was attacked by four Negro youths and slashed with razor blades. He received hospital treatment.

Mayor Burns, charging that the racial violence was inspired by his political opponents—a charge which his opponents deny—delayed a campaign tour to Tampa in order to stay in the city until tension subsides.

He was scheduled to begin a tour of Hillsborough County, leaving Jacksonville at 8:30 a.m. But he announced that he had rescheduled his flight for late this afternoon. A fish fry in the mayor's honor is scheduled at Tampa tonight, but Burns said even the afternoon trip to Tampa is subject to change.

Police Chief Reynolds said day-shift officers who normally get today off were told to report for duty this morning. He also ordered the evening shift of policemen, normally due to go on duty at 3 p.m., to stay by their tele-

Negro neighborhoods to the west and northwest of the downtown business district. Some of the vandalism at business firms wasn't noticed until this morning, when several additional reports were turned in to police.

Two men were arrested last night and charged with possession of Molotov cocktails. Several others were arrested for carrying concealed weapons. Some were arrested after they refused to disperse.

Detective Sgt. T. W. Johnson said he arrested one Negro who had his arm raised and was ready to toss a brick through a window of an unmarked police car. Detective Capt. H. F. Branch said a brick struck his unmarked car at the corner of Beaver and Jefferson streets.

Bars in Negro neighborhoods closed down last night at the height of the reports of violence.

Another fire caused $200 damage last night to Mayor Burns' gubernatorial campaign headquarters for Negroes at Florida Avenue and Odessa Street. This is the same spot where a fire bomb caused minor damage on Sunday night.

Assistant Fire Marshal C. D. Banks said he doesn't know how last night's fire started. Three Molotov cocktails were blamed for the Monday night blaze.

City jailer W. H. Connelly said he made about 325 sausage sandwiches for supper for the jailed Negroes last night. He said that "most of them got two."

Two sailors wounded by gunfire last night were treated at U.S. Naval Hospital and then released. City homicide detectives gave this report on the incident:

Three sailors were in a car which had stopped at 8th and Main streets. They were James tension subsides.

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Police Chief Reynolds said day-shift officers who normally get today off were told to report for duty this morning. He also ordered the evening shift of policemen, normally due to go on duty at 3 p.m., to stay by their telephones today in the event they are needed earlier.

Police said 42 cases of vandalism were reported between 1:30 p.m. yesterday and about 1:30 a.m. today. The city fire department said it answered 23 false alarms in the 24 hours ending at 9 a.m. today. Of these, 21 came from boxes in Negro neighborhoods.

Three fires from Molotov cocktails were reported last night. They were in shops at 728 and 758 W. Ashley streets and at the corner of Beaver and Jefferson streets. Total damage was estimated at less than $1,000.

Police received reports of bricks and other missiles being tossed at passing autos and into store windows in predominantly

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Sidelights

City police asked sporting goods stores and other merchants who deal in weapons to cease selling any kind of weapon or ammunition as of yesterday afternoons. All are believed to be cooperating in the embargo. Police Inspector R. F. Hobbs said, "We don't want guns getting into the hands of hot heads of either race." He said the embargo will continue" until the situation resolves itself."

City firemen reported today they have answered at least 23 false alarms since the racial demonstrations started yesterday. Twenty-one of these were in Negro sections of town and most were believed to be inspired by the current demonstrations.

The Duval County Democratic Committee called off a scheduled political rally in Hemming Park last night due to the tense racial situation. Committee Chairman Richard D. Barker said the rally was canceled because the committee did not want to take any "unnecessary risks."

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Three sailors were in a car which had stopped at 8th and Main streets. They were James R. Watkins, 20, and John Lyons, 20, both Negroes; and Howard Means, 18, a white. They said two Negroes walked up to their stopped car and that one drew a pistol and fired into the car three times.

Watkins and Means were grazed by bullets. All the sailors are stationed at Cecil Field.

Police were vague about the incident—even the place that it happened. Although the reports said the incident occurred at 8th and Main, in other places on the reports it was indicated that it happened at 8th and Davis streets. The first is a white neighborhood, the other Negro.

Billy James, 25, of 2938 Farmer Ter. told police he was bound to a tree, beaten and slashed with razor blades by four Negroes in a wooded area near Belfort and Salisbury roads in the county. He was taken to Baptist Memorial Hospital for treatment.

Glider Shot Fails At Cape

CAPE KENNEDY (UPI)—An Air Force attempt to fly a delta-wing glider to the edge of space failed today when its booster rocket's second stage misfired.

The 1,176-pound flying laboratory, designed to glide back through the earth's atmosphere to help pave the way for man's spaceships of the future, plunged into the Atlantic off the coast.

The space glider, launched last September, sank after successfully withstanding searing temperatures on a 9,000-mile-per-hour glide.

Today's shot was the third space failure in a row here. A space agency attempt last Thursday to rocket a scientific satellite into orbit was ruined when the third stage of a similar Delta rocket failed. On March 13 an Air Force attempt to shoot a small payload deep into space also failed because of an upper stage malfunction of a Blue Scout Jr. rocket.

65 Demonstrators Convicted

By MONROE CAMPBELL
Journal Staff Writer

In a marathon eight-hour trial session that began at 7 last night, Judge John E. Santora found 65 racial demonstrators guilty and acquitted 11.

Another 27, juveniles who had lied about their age, were transferred to Snyder Memorial National Guard Armory, where Juvenile Court Judge Lamar Winegeart was processing more than 80 suspects sent to him.

Santora said the night trial, the first since he took the bench five years ago, was necessary because "there is no room on the docket or in jail."

He estimated he would dispose of the cases in two hours. As time wore on, he said, "We'll be here to dawn if necessary. We're going to get all the cases on the docket out of the way."

When he recessed court at 2:50 a.m. — scheduling it to reconvene at 10 a.m. — 27 untried cases remained on the docket. This figure did not include arrests made yesterday afternoon and last night.

All but one of last night's 76 defendants were Negroes. The white youth, Thomas S. Baker, 18, of 8223 Lexington Drive pleaded guilty to vagrancy and loitering in Hemming Park.

The arresting officer reported that witnesses said Baker was being disorderly by trying to encourage the Negroes in the park to "fight for their rights." The officer said Baker, who was arrested at 10:35 a.m., was the first racial arrest of the day.

He was sentenced to pay a fine of $25 and serve seven days at the city prison farm.

The Negroes, predominantly teen-agers, were charged with unlawful assembly in violation of Florida State Statute 870.02 and Jacksonville City Ordinance 27-43.

Their sentences ranged from $25 and seven days for first offenders to $100 and 30 days for one defendant who had a previous conviction for trespassing.

One of the defendants was Prince McIntosh, 21, who identified himself as public relations director of the Jacksonville NAACP.

He testified that he was arrested as he was taking pictures in his official capacity. He was sentenced to pay a $25 fine and serve seven days at the prison farm.

Twenty-three of the Negroes were arrested at the Masonic Temple at 410 Broad St., the scene of brick and bottle throwing.

All were found guilty and, with the exception of one $75 fine-20-day term and one $100 fine-30-day term, were sentenced to pay fines of $50 and serve 15 days in the prison farm.

During the long session, which saw police officers and spectators dozing from time to time, defense attorneys Earl Johnson and O. E. Girardeau pressed for testimony from officers that the defendants had done anything more than be with a group of Negroes.

At one point, Santora angrily interrupted Johnson and said, "I've read the law. I will not allow you to question officers about the content of the law.

"I'll cite the law, and if more than three people are assembled and making noise they're violating the law," Santora said.

Johnson said, "I'm unable to find in the statutes that it's unlawful to sing or to assemble 200 people in the park."

"The court is ruling that 100 in the park is unlawful," Santora said.

To repeated questions from the defense, officers said they could not pick out any one person violating any law other than being disorderly by stopping traffic as the demonstrators marched or stood clapping and singing in violation of the unlawful assembly statute.

Officers said that in every arrest the crowds which ranged from 15 to 200, were asked to disperse first. When they failed to do so, arrests were ordered, they said.

As the defense continued to press for the officers to identify particular individuals and cite exactly what they had done, Santora said:

"I repeat—when you've got a riot on your hands, police can't remember every face."

When the charges were heard against 23 arrested at the Masonic Temple, which houses an office of the local NAACP, Girardeau continued to demand of arresting officers if they had seen any one individual throw a bottle or breach the peace. He also asked if a warrant had been obtained before entering the building.

Santora said, "I have attempted to be patient. I will decide what's right. When we are embroiled in riots and there are unlawful assemblies, an officer has a right to enter.

Inspector R. F. Hobbs had testified that he had kicked in the door to the NAACP office, where about 40 persons were arrested. Girardeau had attempted to show that a search warrant was needed.

Santora said he would not listen to questions repeated 15 times. "Get on with the next question. If you ask one more question that is repetitious, I'm going to stop you.

"You say you are a lawyer. Prove it."

Candidates React To Racial Strife

By United Press International

Racial strife in Jacksonville dominated the gubernatorial race in Florida yesterday.

Mayor Haydon Burns blamed demonstrations on "inflaming statements" from three other candidates.

He singled out Sen. John Mathews, also of Jacksonville, Fred O. (Bud) Dickinson of West Palm Beach and Miami Mayor Robert King High.

Burns said, "I received information Friday night that the events here would occur, and that they were instigated by persons active in the political camps of candidates on the current campaign."

Dickinson, in St. Petersburg and Tampa, said Burns "has done an outrageous disservice to the City of Jacksonville and all Florida by injecting politics at a time when misery and fear are rampant in his city.

"The people of Jacksonville need leadership, not rabblerousing, at this time. This is not the time for political charges and I would be doing a disservice for the people and my state if I chose to allow politics to dictate my statements during such a serious period."

Mathews immediately issued a denial he made any detrimental statements on the Jacksonville racial situation.

"I brand as absolutely false the statement by Burns that I have at any time said that racial relations were terrible in Jacksonville.

"Mayor Burns is the only person who has injected the Jacksonville racial question into the governor's race."

Mathews earlier yesterday charged both Burns and Dickinson with riding political machines. "The dull days of the campaign are over and I am now out to expose every false promise and bring out the scorecards to correct every false statement," he said.

Dickinson told a Democratic women's club in St. Petersburg of his proposal to provide broader benefits and fewer restrictions for the Kerr-Mills Bill and support for the new State Commission on Aging.

Sen. Scott Kelly toured Northwest Florida and promised more industry and payrolls for depressed areas. He also called for vocational-technical school programs to train skilled workers for industrial jobs.

Rep. Fred Karl of Daytona Beach was in Pensacola, where he stressed a general theme of "quality education." Karl said the state does not need more colleges, but needs to improve the ones it already has.

High repeated his promise that if elected he will file statements of his financial worth annually and the year after leaving office. He again challenged his opponents to disclose their net worth.

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Negro Pastor Blames Burns

By GEORGE HARMON
Journal Assistant City Editor

The president of a Negro ministers' organization today accused Mayor Haydon Burns, "not his political foes," of causing yesterday's outburst of racial violence in Jacksonville.

Rev. J. S. Johnson, pastor of St. Stephen's A.M.E. Church, said Jacksonville Negroes started to get "stirred up" when city police began in February to arrest Negro ministers who attempted to integrate a downtown hotel and restaurant.

Then, said the Rev. Mr. Johnson, Mayor Burns' television speech last Saturday night "insulted 99 per cent of the Negroes in Florida and Jacksonville."

The Rev. Mr. Johnson is president of the Jacksonville Interdenominational Ministers Alliance. He also is a member of the Jacksonville Ministerial Alliance, a predominantly white organization.

He was arrested with three other Negro ministers when he tried to register at the Robert Meyer Hotel on Feb. 14. The charge against him was dismissed in Municipal Court, however, when the hotel's witnesses failed to appear in court on Feb. 14 to prosecute the case.

The Rev. Mr. Johnson also is a member of the executive board of the Jacksonville unit of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He said the NAACP will sponsor a mass meeting of Negro citizens this afternoon in Bethel Baptist Church "to see what we can do to get our children out of jail."

He said that the NAACP did not organize yesterday's demonstrations by roaming gangs of Negro youths.

The Rev. Mr. Johnson led a delegation of Negro ministers to city hall yesterday to talk to Mayor Burns about the violence. He said "12 or 14" ministers accompanied him after he arranged the meeting.

"We met at 2:30 and stayed there until about 10 minutes till 5. He gladly welcomed us" the Rev. Mr. Johnson said.

"The most prominent Negro ministers were present. We asked the mayor to use his authority to keep the peace, we mentioned brutality of the policemen yesterday, that some children were beaten and had to go to the hospital."

He said Mayor Burns invited the ministers, to appear with him on a paid political television program last night "to talk to our people, to ask them to help keep the peace."

"The committee selected me as their spokesman," the minister said, "but after the tumult we decided not to go, but to go to the jailhouse, and go everywhere and try to see if we could get our children out of jail.

"The mayor said it was his political foes that stirred the Negroes up, but we wish to state it was not the political foes, it was the mayor's message on Saturday over the radio, the television, that insulted 99 per cent of the Negroes in Florida and in Jacksonville.

"That was the cause of the great uprising.

"We could not promise that we could control the youth. We have been talking to them to keep the peace all the time. What they are doing is simply a movement that cannot be stopped by brutality and putting people in jail."

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Scenes Of Violence Toured By Reporter

By LLOYD BROWN
Journal Staff Writer

Two photographers and I cruised Negro neighborhoods just northwest of downtown Jacksonville last night, tracking down reports of racial violence that kept police so busy they couldn't get out of their cars for supper.

Journal photographer Lew Bush and Associated Press photographer Hal Valentine rode with me as we answered false reports of shootings and real reports of fire bombs being tossed through shop windows.

their car at Phelps and Main streets. They were munching hamburgers. They said they were not allowed to get out of their cars to eat. The prowl car motor was running.

Then we got a call at 7:45 p.m. about a fire bomb being tossed through the window of a tailor shop at 758 W. Ashley St. We went there and found the blaze had caused about $135 damage.

Ten minutes later there was a call about a bomb being tossed into a sundries store at Beaver and Jefferson streets. Damage was minor, mostly caused by

block of New Kings Road and was throwing rocks at passing cars.

We got there just as police headed off 12 young Negroes and arrested them. Photographer Bush found a 22-caliber pistol lying on the ground near the group. Police checked and found it was registered to one of the 12 who had been arrested. The pistol's owner was also charged with carrying a concealed weapon.

While we were at the fire at 758 W. Ashley, a Negro

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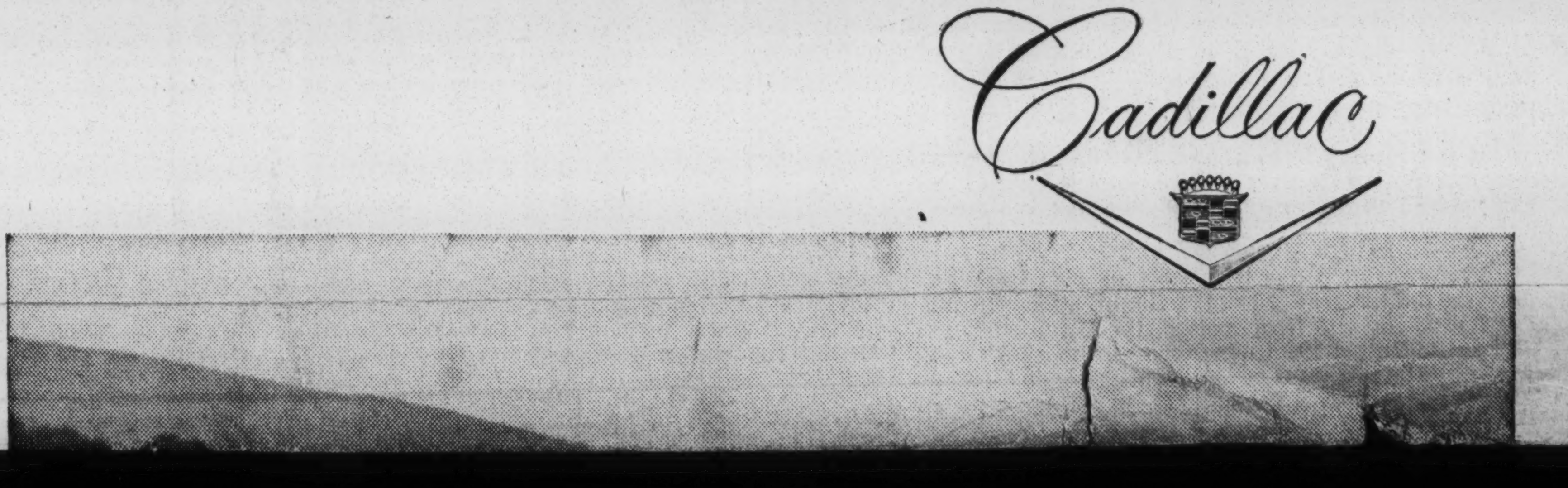
Cadillac

Journal Staff Writer

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Journal photographer Lew Bush and Associated Press photographer Hal Valentine rode with me as we answered false reports of shootings and real reports of fire bombs being tossed through shop windows.

We raced from one spot to another as police received a flurry of calls about windows being broken by bricks tossed by vandals.

We stopped and talked to two policemen who were sitting in their car at Phelps and Main streets. They were munching hamburgers. They said they were not allowed to get out of their cars to eat. The prowl car motor was running.

Then we got a call at 7:45 p.m. about a fire bomb being tossed through the window of a tailor shop at 758 W. Ashley St. We went there and found the blaze had caused about $135 damage.

Ten minutes later there was a call about a bomb being tossed into a sundries store at Beaver and Jefferson streets. Damage was minor, mostly caused by smoke.

Fifteen minutes later another bomb call flashed over the police radio. We went to 728 W. Ashley St., a record shop, where the resulting fire caused about $800 damage.

After the third fire, we heard that police were being sent to the 800 block of New Kings Road, where a group of Negroes was reported congregating. When we got there, police were dispersing them.

Immediately afterward, the Florida Highway Patrol notified city police that another crowd of Negroes had formed in the 1000 block of New Kings Road and was throwing rocks at passing cars.

We got there just as police headed off 12 young Negroes and arrested them. Photographer Bush found a 22-caliber pistol lying on the ground near the group. Police checked and found it was registered to one of the 12 who had been arrested. The pistol's owner was also charged with carrying a concealed weapon.

While we were at the fire at 758 W. Ashley, a Negro policeman advised us not to drive down Ashley Street.

We drove to the corner of Broad and Ashley and found Ashley barricaded so that nobody could drive on the street west of Broad.

Two motorcycle policemen were guarding the barricade.

At all of the fires, large crowds of Negroes congregated. They cheered as firemen smashed windows to allow smoke to pour out of the structures.

Gradually, reports of fires and crowds tapered off. But calls about vandalism kept police busy until early this morning.

Rites Set For Norman Edwards

Funeral services for Norman C. Edwards, 78, realtor, Shriner and community leader, will be held tomorrow at 2 p.m. in All Saints Episcopal Church with Rev. Gladstone Rogers officiating. Burial will follow in Oaklawn Cemetery with Masonic services conducted at the graveside. He died yesterday following a long illness.

Mr. Edwards was a past potentate of Morocco Temple of the Shrine, past master of Duval Lodge 159, F. and A.M., past high priest of Duval Chapter 48 RAM and had held numerous other prominent positions in the Masonic order.

As a business leader, he was a past president of the Jacksonville Board of Realtors, district vice-president of the Florida Association of Realtors, a member of the Jacksonville Insurance Association and the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce and was a charter member and past president of the Southside Business Men's Club.

Survivors include a son, Stuart W. Edwards of Jacksonville; two grandsons, Stuart W. Edwards Jr. and Norman Edwards of Jacksonville; three great-grandchildren, Deborah Edwards, Norman Curtis Edwards Jr. and Kathryn Amanda Edwards, all of Jacksonville; and a sister, Mrs. Laura Spears of Tallahassee

To Sentence Dad Who Hit Principal

NEW IBERIA, La. (UPI)—A high school boy was cleared to return to classes today, his untamed hair still in wiry wings, but his father faced sentencing for hitting the school principal.

George Mouton was found guilty yesterday of simple battery for hitting New Iberia High School Principal John McGraw.

They quarrelled after Mouton's son Glen was sent hom from classes because his hair stuck stiffly out at the sides. The school has a regulation requiring students to have "normal" haircuts.

The school called the haircut "wings." They are forbidden. Glen's father called them "cowlicks." They can't be helped.

"My boy wears a crewcut and his hair was not more than an inch long when he was sent home," the service station operator said. He said the wings were the fault of nature, not adolescent hair fads.

"Glen's going back to classes," said Mouton. "His hair? No, nothing's been done to his hair. Nothing can be done. They accept that now."

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MONDAY THRU FRIDAY 7:30 PM
MARCH 22-27 HOLY WEEK
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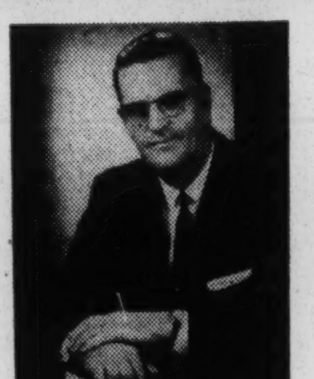

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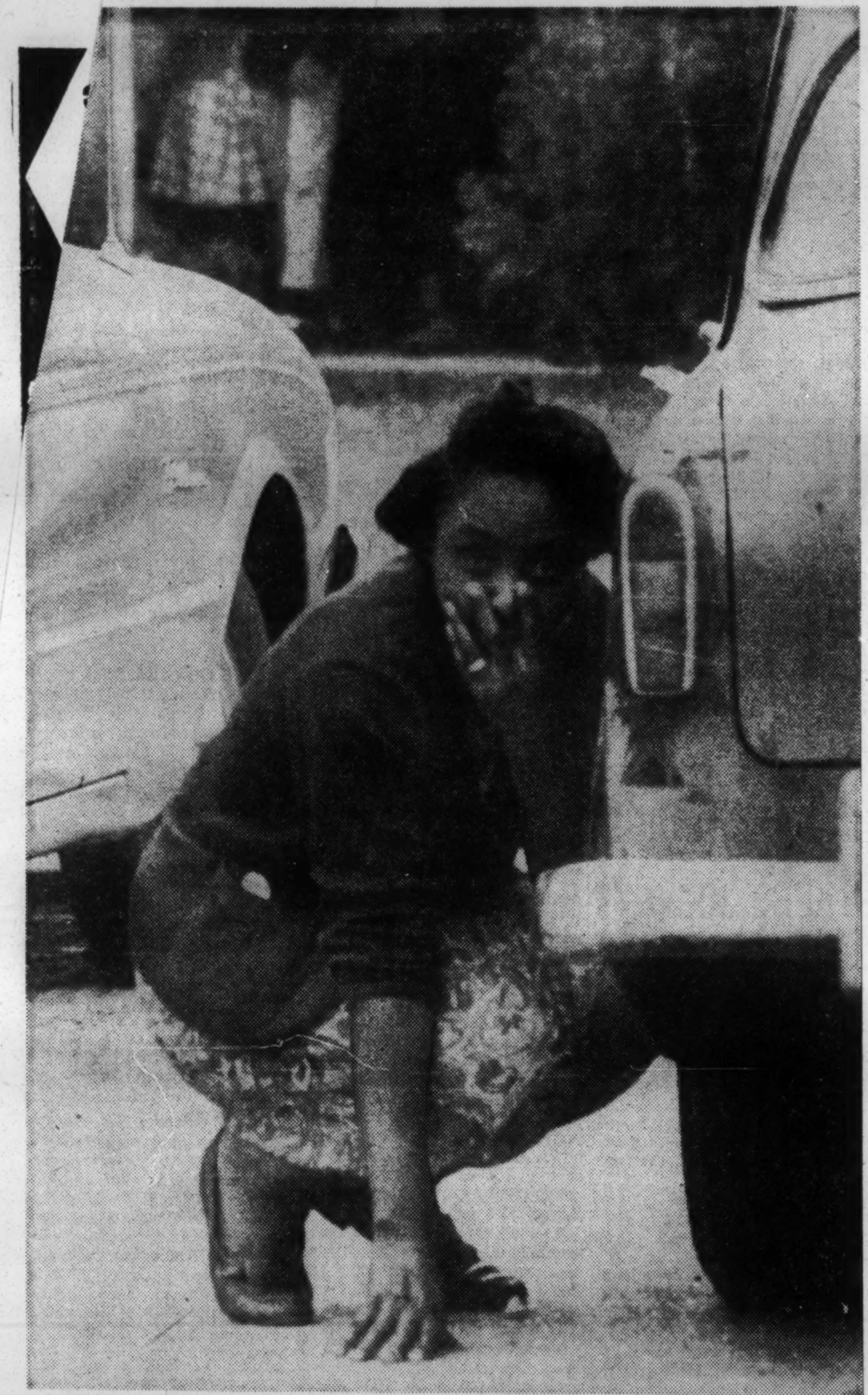
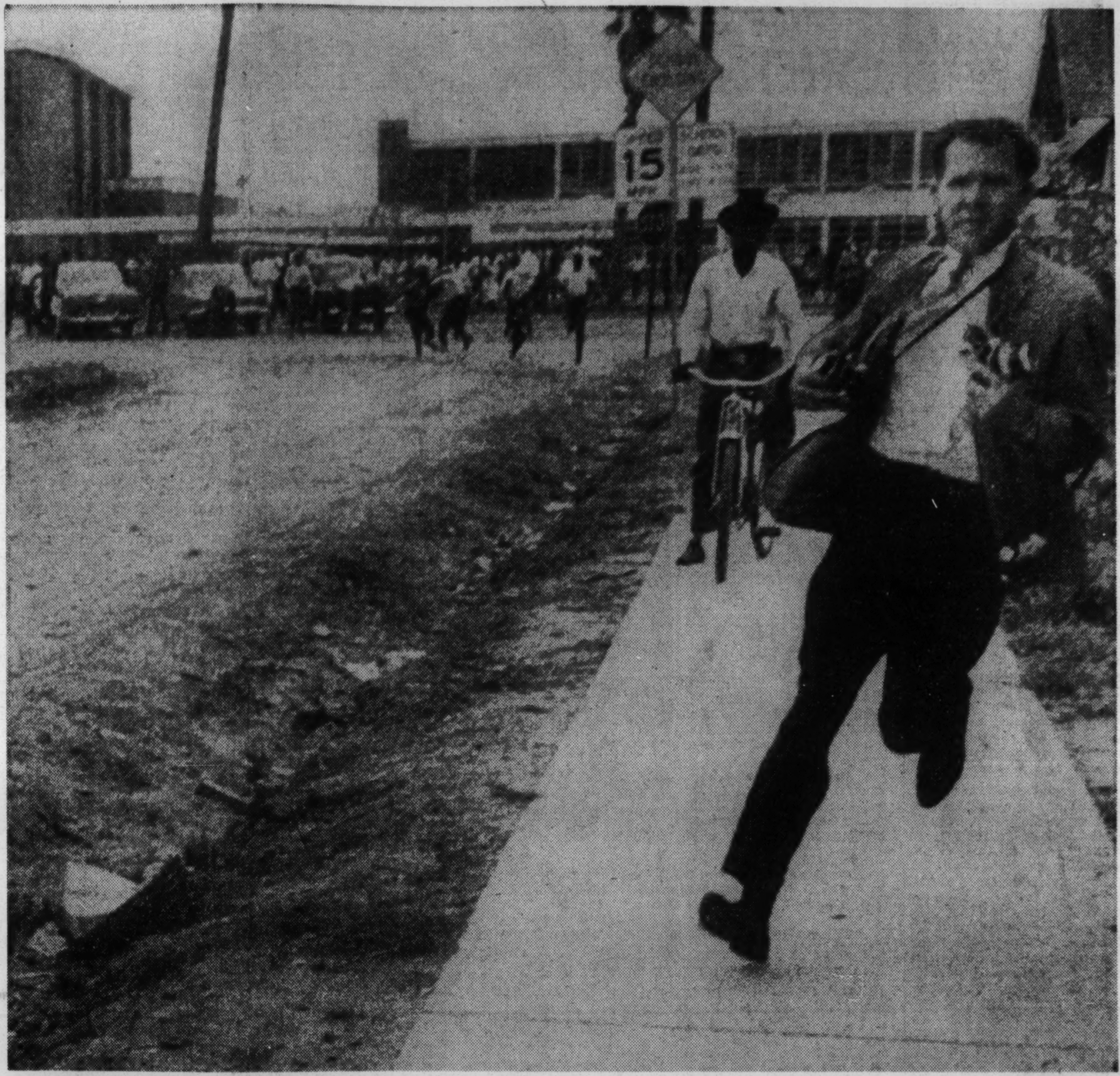


NEGRO WOMAN DUCKS TO AVOID MISSILES THROWN BY NEGROES



NEGRO STUDENTS (BACKGROUND) CHASE AND HURL STONES AT A NEWSMAN—LIFE MAGAZINE'S CHARLES MOORE

Journal Photos By Bart Parker

Strictly Racial Protest—Or Just Another Mob?

By GEORGE HARMON
Journal Assistant City Editor

The violence that abruptly ended more than three years of racial peace in Jacksonville has characteristics which don't fit the pattern of Negro protest and turmoil between whites and Negroes in other Southern cities in recent years.

The more militant organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, haven't been reported active here.

The NAACP disclaims any connection with the roaming bands of young Negro demon-

Is this really a "racial" protest?

There are indications that you can answer this question with both a yes and a no.

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A Journal Analysis

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several Negro adults. None of the adults molested them.

Pulitzer Prize - winning reporter Al Kuettner of United Press International dispatched a story today about Jacksonville's racial violence.

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Another interpretation could be that it isn't a riot at all, that it's more like a group of students after a football game—using events to express their enthusiasm. All-out riot or not, their enthusiasm is for trouble—serious trouble.

Jacksonville's violence seems

A Journal Analysis

By GEORGE HARMON
Journal Assistant City Editor

The violence that abruptly ended more than three years of racial peace in Jacksonville has characteristics which don't fit the pattern of Negro protest and turmoil between whites and Negroes in other Southern cities in recent years.

Jacksonville is unusual, first of all, in that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the only predominantly Negro organization working here against racial discrimination.

The more militant organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, haven't been reported active here.

The NAACP disclaims any connection with the roaming bands of young Negro demonstrators who have tossed bricks and fire bombs and vandalized business firms here this week. These young people appear to be a fluid mass of basically unorganized Negroes who erupt into action when they begin to congregate in large groups.

Is this really a "racial" protest?

There are indications that you can answer this question with both a yes and a no.

Rutledge Pearson, president of the Jacksonville branch of the NAACP, told a group of Negro adults and newsmen yesterday: "Let me make this clear. The NAACP does not condone violence."

Pearson said NAACP leaders worked throughout Monday night contacting leaders of the young demonstrators in an attempt to relax racial tension here.

However, he said, "The actions of our mayor make it hard to make progress."

"These students have organized their own protest movement," Pearson said. "They're resentful of the police-state policies that they've seen the past few days."

So there seems to be an obvious "racial" basis for the young Negroes' actions.

Yet, at the same time, there are signs that something else motivates the demonstrators.

The strongest evidence of this is that vandalism has been directed against Negroes as well as whites.

When 1,500 students at New Stanton High School stoned police and newsmen yesterday, they were directing their fire also at Negro bystanders and Negro teachers who had gathered with the whites on Eaverson Street, which runs along the west side of the Stanton grounds.

In addition, police report that fire bombs tossed last night in Negro neighborhoods apparently were thrown by Negroes at business firms operated by Negroes.

Another characteristic of this week's turmoil is the fact that older Negroes don't seem to be participating with the young ones. In fact, brave adult Negroes helped newsmen in two instances near Stanton yesterday.

Negro teachers rescued magazine reporter Mike Durham after young Negroes attacked him during the stone-throwing melee. The Negro teachers escorted Durham to the Stanton principal's office, where he stayed until he obtained a ride to a hospital.

Associated Press writer Joe McGowan Jr. was trying to make his way on foot to Stanton yesterday when he rounded a corner and ran into a mob of 50 rock and brick-carrying students. An elderly Negro pulled him into a store and ordered a taxi summoned to take McGowan out of the neighborhood. Another Negro adult, clad in overalls, guarded the door of the store to keep the young people from coming after McGowan. McGowan escaped in the car, as a group of young Negroes headed for it.

After three newsmen ran from a young mob at Stanton yesterday, they stopped at a street corner where there were several Negro adults. None of the adults molested them.

Pulitzer Prize - winning reporter Al Kuettner of United Press International dispatched a story today about Jacksonville's racial violence.

Although there is an element of racial protest in the young people's outbursts, he said, "there was no apparent organized effort with specific complaints, goals and motives."

He believes part of Jacksonville's trouble can be laid to "wild blowing off of pent-up emotions."

be that it isn't a riot at all, that it's more like a group of students after a football game—using events to express their enthusiasm. All-out riot or not, their enthusiasm is for trouble—serious trouble.

Jacksonville's violence seems to be partly racial and partly a grim and potentially tragic way in which students react to spring.

In the nation's colleges, the time of year for spring frolics has arrived. In Jacksonville, it is a time of brick-tossing and fire-bombings.

★ ★ ★

False Alarms Costly

City and county police are operating on two 12-hour shifts during the current disorder instead of the regular three eight-hour shifts. More than 70 city and county patrol cars were on the streets last night and 50 state troopers were on standby if needed. Some auxiliary county patrolmen have been called in to assist.

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During one 25-minute period last night, 17 false alarms were answered by the city fire department. Thirty-four false alarms were answered during the 24-hour period ending at 8 a.m. today. Fire Chief G. R. Cromartie said another 15 to 18 alarms found later to be unlawful were not answered because firemen already were busy. Cromartie said each false alarm costs the city a minimum of $50.

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The fire department estimated damage from fire bombs tossed at businesses and residences in the Negro areas last night at $2,350. The department said vandalism was responsible for another $840 in damage.

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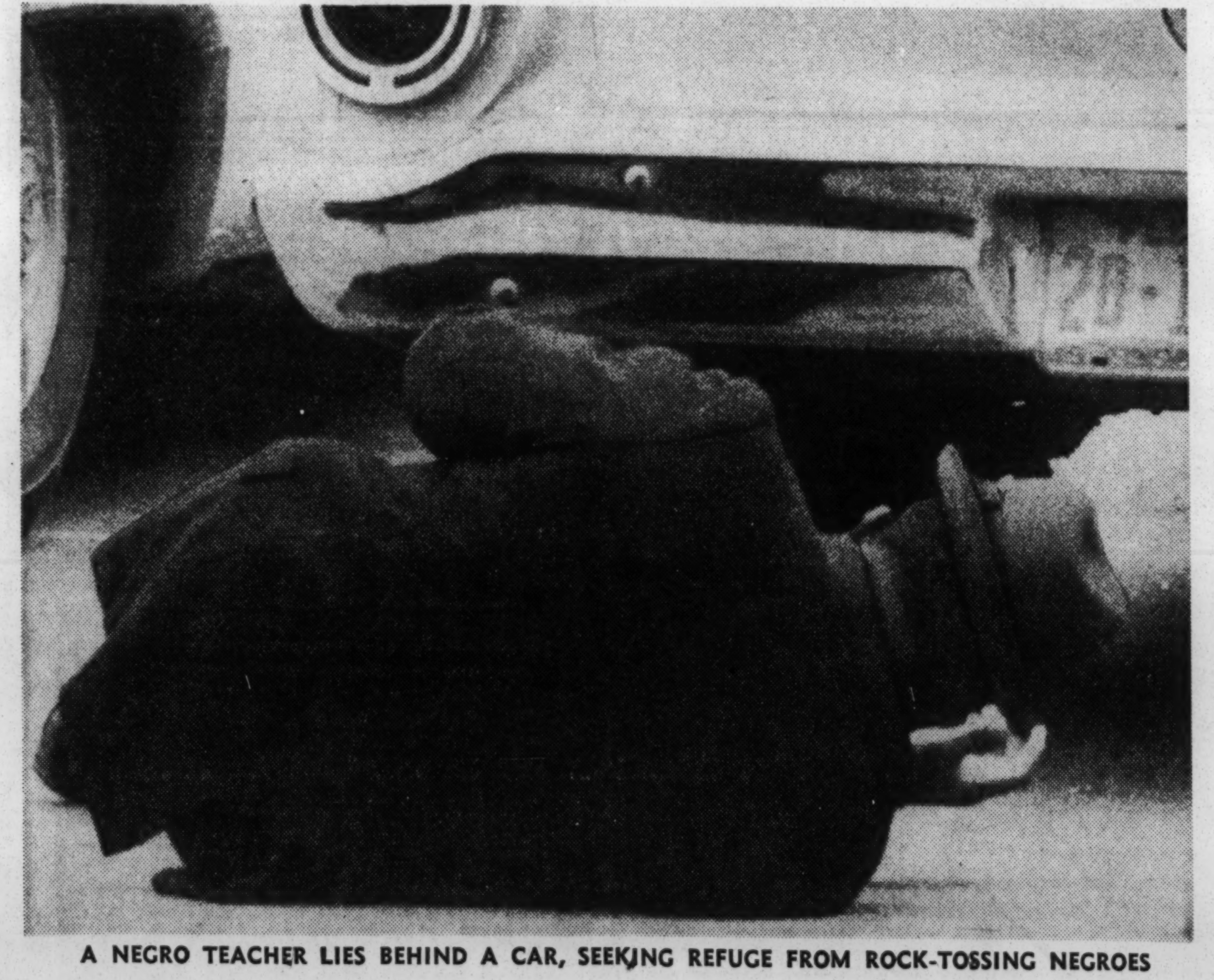
The Dade County Metro Commission has banned racial discrimination by companies operating under county franchise or doing business on county property, and in on-site employment on county public works contracts. The commission said Jacksonville would not be having its current problem if it followed Dade's example and went to work for equal rights.



A NEGRO TEACHER LIES BEHIND A CAR, SEEKING REFUGE FROM ROCK-TOSSING NEGROES

Talking With Teens Is A Difficult Task

Third of Five Articles

The Youth Crisis

By HARRY FERGUSON

WASHINGTON (UPI)—George Bernard Shaw once said it would be a better world "if parents would only realize how they bore their children." He struck at the heart of one of the major causes of juvenile delinquency—the inability of many parents to communicate with teen-agers.

The cold and unpleasant fact seems to be that millions of American children have either a resigned attitude of tolerance or outright contempt for their parents.

Case histories show that is especially true in broken homes—one of the prime factors in juvenile delinquency—and the bad news about that is that about one in every five American marriages ends in separation or divorce.

But the problem also exists in marriages that appear to be permanent and happy. One of the signs of the times is a current magazine article which advises teen-agers in all seriousness on how to bamboozle their parents into thinking everything is all right.

It is necessary, the article says, to make parents feel secure and its advice includes:

● Talk to your parents: "A friend of mine named Geraldine didn't talk to her parents for years because she knew they wouldn't understand her." But when Geraldine reached 17 she decided to talk to her parents without really saying anything, telling them trivial things. She reported her parents are now happy and no longer give her third degrees on what she has been doing.

● Shield them. If, for instance, you have a date with a boy who drives a hot rod, tell your parents he is interested in mechanical engineering.

● Ask their advice. This will work only if you follow the advice they give you and, therefore, you should ask their opinion only on things that don't really matter to you. Like whether you should serve an onion or cheese dip at your party.

It is a waste of time for parents to shower money and gifts on teen-agers in the hope of keeping them out of trouble. Rich kids become delinquents, too.

A teen-age slum boy who holds up the owner of the corner candy store with a switchblade knife may be doing it because he wants money to buy food. Children with too much money don't have that excuse and they commit senseless acts just for the thrill of violating the law.

"I know a boy whose parents gave him everything," said Philip G. Green of the U.S. Children's Bureau. "They spent a lot of money to buy him a snappy new convertible. He got behind the wheel, drove three blocks and saw a battered jalopy standing at the curb. He got out of his new convertible, got into the jalopy and drove away. Obviously he wasn't improving his method of transportation. He was just getting a kick out of doing something illegal and when he was caught he showed no remorse."

Rich children sometimes commit mass vandalism. A recent example of it was at a debut party outside New York for Miss Fernanda Wanamaker Wethergill. Her parents had rented a nearby mansion where the boys could spend the night. After the dance was over the boys retired to the mansion and wrecked it by swinging on chandeliers, throwing furniture out on the beach and breaking windows for a total damage of $10,000. About 100 boys were involved, but only 11 of them will be brought to trial, and the charge will be malicious mischief, an offense that does not carry a burdensome penalty.

American parents currently are under attack for over-coddling their children and forcing them to do foolish things for the sake of status.

Martha Lear, in her book "The Child Worshippers," cites the cases of mothers who put brassieres on 11-year-old girls and send their sons to summer camps where French is taught so the boys can come home and say "Bon jour, Mama." And some mothers, she writes, don't know when to leave their children alone and she quotes one of them:

"My son was in bed with a cold. I had lots of things to do and I felt guilty about being out all day while he was cooped up in the apartment with just the cleaning woman for company. So I canceled my lunch date and zipped through my beauty parlor appointment and grabbed a cab home and rushed into his room and said "Okay, I'm ready now. What shall we play?' And he said 'I don't know about you, Mom, but I have homework. Can't you find something to do?' "

This is the age of the psychiatrist and nobody can say for sure what happens when parents take a strictly psychiatric approach in their relations to children. Miss Lear finds some of it to be ridiculous and quotes a mother to prove it:

"My friend had a fight with her husband in front of their 5-year-old daughter. She's very psychiatry-minded and she has been worried sick about its effect on the child. That kind of thing is contagious. And even if I'm saying to my husband, 'You b---,' which our 8-month-old wouldn't understand anyway, I say it softly and with a smile on my face."

TOMORROW: Beatlemania and Assorted Enthusiasms.

★ ★ ★

'Give A Little Love...'

WASHINGTON, (UPI)—Famous opinions about parents and children:

Give a little love to a child and you will get a great deal back.—JOHN RUSKIN.

How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child.—SHAKESPEARE.

LBJ Rejects Interventio

(Continued from Page 1)

also involved a discussion of the Senate's consideration of the civil rights bill.

It was reported that Johnson discussed with the Justice Department officials the need for developing programs that would be put into effect if the civil rights bill is enacted.

BRYANT KEEPS HANDS OFF

TALLAHASSEE, March 25 (AP)— The governor of Florida maintained his hands-off stand in the Jacksonville racial problem today, despite pressure from state leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A delegation of NAACP officials said Gov. Farris Bryant told them he was keeping in close touch with the situation but that his powers as the state's chief law enforcement officer were limited and he could not intervene in a local matter unless asked to.

Robert Saunders, NAACP state field secretary, quoted Bryant as saying he would respond to a call from Duval County Sheriff Dale Carson for assistance if matters worsened and warranted help.

Saunders and four other NAACP members met with the governor this morning to discuss the Jacksonville problem and a march on Tallahassee scheduled Friday to support passage of the civil rights bill in Washington.

Newsmen were barred from the meeting. Bryant's only comment in response to their questions was a quick "good morning" as he departed for Key West to join former President Harry Truman for dinner tonight.

Saunders said the governor advised the delegation that he was supporting Florida Sens. Spessard Holland and George Smathers in their opposition to the President's public accommodations bill.

Saunders said Bryant gave as an additional reason for not intervening the fact that the racial outbreak had become an issue in the governor's race and he did not want to inject himself into the political campaign.

He said Bryant considered the situation in Jacksonville to be a local matter.

City Plagued By Vandals

City Plagued By Vandals

(Continued from Page 1)

house trailer at 15961 Main St. was destroyed by fire early yesterday, told county police that earlier during the day she had received telephone calls, one from a white man and the other from a white woman, threatening to burn the trailer if her husband "did not join the Ku Klux Klan."

She said her husband refused to join, according to police.

T. W. Burkhart, deputy state fire marshal, is conducting an investigation into possible arson in the case.

City police sent out every available car into service yesterday afternoon, with three to four officers in each vehicle to reinforce night-duty police throughout the troubled areas.

Chief Luther A. Reynolds said, "We have to play this thing by ear on an hour-to-hour basis and cope with each situation as it arises."

Ten false fire alarms were reported between 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. yesterday.

New Stanton High School, the scene of an outbreak of violence in which an automobile was burned and one newsman injured Tuesday morning, was evacuated twice because of bomb scares during school hours yesterday. Students returned to classes after each incident.

Principal Charles D. Brooks said yesterday's attendance was about 600 of an enrollment of 1,900.

School officials said attendance in all Negro schools here was off sharply yesterday.

As the situation moved into its third day, Mayor Haydon Burns called for an end to violence while President Johnson conferred with Justice Department officials on conditions here.

Rocks Thrown

The isolated cases of vandalism reported to police consisted primarily of rocks and bottles being thrown at passing automobiles and at stores.

Judge John E. Santora tried 63 demonstrators in Municipal Court yesterday, finding some of the defendants not guilty and imposing fines up to $50 on others. Jail terms were given persons with previous arrest records.

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Crisis Building For 6 Months, Negroes Say

By GEORGE HARMON
Journal Assistant City Editor

The Jacksonville branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People issued a formal statement on racial tension here, saying that for the past six months Jacksonville's "officials and mayor have refused to recognize the dangerous situation that has been growing here."

Rutledge Pearson, president of both the city and state NAACP organizations, read the statement yesterday afternoon in Bethel Institutional Baptist Church as a group of Negro adults gathered to begin rush-hour picketing of a downtown restaurant and hotel.

At the same meeting, a Negro ministerial group passed out copies of a resolution which, their spokesman said, has been sent to Mayor Haydon Burns.

The ministers' statement said, "The position taken by the mayor . . . has served to foment hate and to give rise to a potential movement of violence that could create untold harm to the community and make Jacksonville a city bathed in blood."

Pearson said this week's racial turmoil is "a direct result of the words and actions of Mayor Haydon Burns on Saturday, when he swore in the Fire Department to deal with student demonstrations."

He was referring to Mayor Burns' television and radio address, when Burns announced he would not tolerate further demonstrations that violate city ordinances. During that talk, Burns swore in the city firemen as special police officers.

Speaking of Monday's racial outburst, Pearson said:

"These students, marching peacefully, were brutally attacked by policemen, and even girls were clubbed and manhandled. The office of the NAACP was illegally entered and ransacked."

(Police said they entered the office in the Masonic Temple Building to arrest a large group of Negro youths who were throwing objects at passersby in the street below.)

"For the record," Pearson said, "in recent weeks the City Commission of Jacksonville has received letters from the biracial committee of the Chamber of Commerce, the Human Relations Council, the Urban League and the interracial (Jacksonville) Ministerial Alliance, all calling upon the mayor and the city officials to form a biracial committee to deal with growing racial unrest.

"They were flatly refused.

"Beginning in September with the integration of several schools in this city, the officials and mayor have refused to recognize the dangerous situation that has been growing here."

For three and a half years, Pearson added, the NAACP met with a biracial committee of the Chamber of Commerce, but last November decided that direct action was the only answer "due to the ineffectiveness" of the chamber committee.

"During these past three years, the mayor has given only lukewarm support to the chamber's committee. Let it be known here, now, that the direct action program of the NAACP will not stop because the Negro people are determined to erase the cancer of segregation from the heart of the city."

The ministers' resolution came from the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance. The statement said the organization represents more than 200 Negro church congregations of the community.

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A FAIR Exhibit

Six of Jacksonville's most charming and attractive young women today began training as public contact representatives at the city's World's Fair exhibit. City Commissioner Louis H. Ritter, shown here explaining the workings of city government to the group, said the girls will undergo three weeks of intensive schooling in all phases of city government, services and operations, ect. From left, Angela Jones, Elizabeth Anne Walker, Mary Elizabeth Stanly, Ritter, Gayle Hayden, Loretta Lewis and Margaret Lovejoy. (Journal Photo)

'A Sorrow For Every Thinking Floridian'

By The Associated Press

Five of the six Democratic candidates for Florida governor met head on in Tampa at a Chamber of Commerce coffee to-

will be mobs at the courthouse poisoned by hate."

High said he generally favors the civil rights legislation now pending before the U.S. Senate and will enforce its provisions if

son for the problem to become a political football.

Karl reiterated his charge that lack of leadership in the Duval County legislative delegation, of which Mathews is a

Imeson Airport Is Picketed

Three white persons and a Negro picketed Imeson Airport yesterday with signs labeling St. Augustine "a city of violence and segregation."

The demonstration, which also saw two persons handing out waybills deploring the racial situation in the nation's oldest city, lasted only about 15 minutes and there were no incidents.

The demonstrators got out of two cars bearing Massachusetts

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It's A Local Problem —Bryant

TALLAHASSEE (AP) — Florida leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took the Jacksonville racial problem directly to Gov. Farris Bryant today and reported that Bryant said he will not intervene unless asked to do so by local authorities.

Bryant himself made no comment on the meeting other than a breezy "good morning" to newsmen as he left the capital for Miami and Key West, where he was to dine with former President Harry Truman.

The Negro delegation was led by Robert Saunders, Florida field secretary for the NAACP, who laid the organization's complaints on the governor's desk. Newmen were barred from the meeting.

The group told Bryant that Jacksonville Mayor Haydon Bruns' ultimatum that he would not tolerate further racial demonstrations "is a denial of rights guaranteed by the Constitution and only recently upheld by the federal courts of our state."

Saunders said the governor advised him that he does not want to intervene or make statements concerning the violence of the past several days in Jacksonville because "he does not want to inject himself or his office into the governor's race."

Mayor Burns is one of six Democratic candidates for governor. Other candidates, with the exception of Fred O. Dickinson of West Palm Beach, criticized Bruns' handling of the racial problem in his city.

Saunders said he was told by the governor that if conditions reach the point where Duval

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Tired Lawmen Keeping Long, Lonely Vigil Here

By MONROE CAMPBELL
Journal Staff Writer

At 8:20 p.m. the police radio blurted: "Somebody shot. 1419 W. Beaver St."

I was riding with Capt. I. L. Griffin, Sgt. J. E. Starling and Patrolman Jack Austin last night. We had seen a lot of each other the last two days.

Griffin spends most of his time in Municipal Court, where he is coordinator. In some courts he would be called bailiff. Starling is the courtroom sergeant and Austin also is assigned to the courtroom.

On Monday, their day began at 5:30 a.m. as they prepared a heavily loaded court schedule. At the end of the morning's court session, they were assigned to street patrol. At 7 p.m., they were back in the courtroom and didn't leave until after 3 a.m. yesterday.

A few hours later they were back in the courtroom. Last night they were back in the streets. They had had only two hours sleep at the most since Sunday night.

They were serving in a dual capacity because all street units had been boosted to maximum strength because of the racial strife.

When we got to the Negro house on Beaver Street, all the windows in the neighborhood were dark. The lights didn't come on until the officers had satisfied the people inside that they were police.

When the lights did come on inside, a woman opened the door and said, "Somebody shot at us." She pointed to a large hole in the screen and glass of the one window at the front of the house.

At first inspection, it looked as if the hole had been made by a 45-caliber weapon. Collier Cohen, 70, had been sitting in front of the window.

His wife, Agnes, 56, was sitting on a sofa. The missile just missed Cohen.

rorists were traveling on foot. Last night they were mobilized and employed hit-and-run tactics.

Just an hour before the Beaver Street incident, Griffin had observed, "the town's pretty quiet."

The radio interrupted: "Man on roof with shotgun at 2033 Kings Road. He's being pushed. Get some cars there."

Tommie Russell, owner of an auto electric shop at that address, said he and his wife had just closed up and she had gone home. As he started to leave, he saw four Negro youths trying to tear down a Burns campaign poster.

Russell shot at them. The gun was loaded with rock salt. The vandals were not found.

All through the night, driving even a police car through the Negro sections in the northwest part of town was tricky business. The streets are narrow. Many of the intersections are "blind."

It would have been easy to drive out in front of a highballing fire truck as the fire departments were kept busy answering about 50 calls. More than 40 of them were false alarms.

The real fires—most of them—could be blamed on Molotov cocktails. These bombs are bottles filled with gas or fuel oil with a rag stuck down the neck to serve as a fuse.

The fuse is lighted and the bomb thrown against a building. In a predominantly frame-structure neighborhood, the bombs almost always start a fire.

The firemen probably spent the longest night, as they did Monday.

But the police were on the go, too. Chief Luther Reynolds said 60 cars were out last night. They criss-crossed, met and followed each other all over town. Most of them contained four men. No chances were taken on not being able to handle a situation.

It was a trouble spot all night.

Another was at Golfair and the expressway. Motorists repeatedly called to report their cars were stoned. The vandals managed to elude police.

During the night, we put more than 100 miles on the police car. About 10:30, the vandalism began to slacken. The officers went back to the station.

More than 80 prisoners had to be put on the court calendar for trial today. That's the principal job of the courtroom officers.

Jacksonville Journal

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RAPID

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If not, he may do so. Because it fits the requirements of dependability and effectiveness that most doctors insist on . . . yet is 100% free of *chemical* ingredients. Contains only the purest vegetable ingredients.

Gentle Dr. Edwards' Olive Tablets do not cause harsh irritation or griping. Do not dry your system. Do not upset your stomach or form a habit. Nor do they have an *alkalizing* action your doctor may say is wrong for you.

Yet . . . Dr. Edwards' Olive Tablets work *within hours* to give you the relief you want. "I like them better than anything I have ever tried." "Most satis-

By The Associated Press

Five of the six Democratic candidates for Florida governor met head on in Tampa at a Chamber of Commerce coffee today and three directed the bulk of their comments to the racial violence in Jacksonville which kept Mayor Haydon Burns from his campaign schedule.

Perhaps the strongest statement came from Mayor Robert King High of Miami.

"If we do not decide here and now to enlist reason and settle problems at the conference table and not in the streets, there will be mobs at the courthouse poisoned by hate."

High said he generally favors the civil rights legislation now pending before the U.S. Senate and will enforce its provisions if he is elected governor and the bill passes.

"What happened in Jacksonville was a sorrow for every thinking person in Florida," said High, "when men resort to ax handles and not reason in solving problems of this sort."

Sen. John Mathews of Jacksonville called for patience and understanding and continued his criticism of other candidates for bringing the Jacksonville problem into the governor's race.

"We don't need loose talk or political accusations that inflame passions," he said.

Mathews said he was shocked by charges by Rep. Fred Karl of Volusia County that there was a breakdown in leadership by the Duval County legislative delegation.

Mathews said there is no reason for the problem to become a political football.

Karl reiterated his charge that lack of leadership in the Duval County legislative delegation, of which Mathews is a member, led to a breakdown in communications between the races.

"Florida needs a social climate in which diverse groups might come together and settle their differences with words about a conference table," said Karl.

He called for settlement of racial differences at the conference table rather than "with dogs and violence." He said some candidates for governor have ducked the racial problem when the people are entitled to know their stands.

Sen. Scott Kelly of Lakeland and Fred O. Dickinson of West Palm Beach stayed away from comment on the Jacksonville situation.

Dickinson said again that he does not want to make political capital from the misfortunes of others. He reviewed his 25-year program for road construction in Florida and issued a new call for an end to sectionalism.

Kelly spoke of the need for fiscal conservatism and new industry.

He said Florida's greatest need in the next 15 years will be year-around payrolls which can only be brought about by increased industrialization.

Kelly said Florida needs a businessman governor and hit at the "tax-and-spend" 1963 legislature.

Mathews said some of Florida's major needs are in the fields of education, constitutional revision, reapportionment and air and water pollution control. He also called for an end to the sale of state bottomlands in rivers and harbors.

Miami Paper In Race Peace Bid

MIAMI (UPI) — The Miami Herald editorially urged the City of Jacksonville today to quickly find a solution to its racial problems.

"It is not Miami's business to tell Jacksonville what to do," the editorial, appearing in this morning's editions, said.

"Yet in the name of Florida we urge that men of good will assert themselves lest the ill will of two minorities destroy the pattern of racial relationships throughout the state," the editorial continued.

"Generally speaking that pattern is sound. In community after community it is reflected in calm counsel and reasonableness.

"Specifically, we believe that an appeal from Gov. Bryant to the conscience of misguided Negro and white leaders, plus a stern warning that violence is intolerable to Floridians, might well restore social sanity," the newspaper added.

The demonstration, which also saw two persons handing out waybills deploring the racial situation in the nation's oldest city, lasted only about 15 minutes and there were no incidents.

The demonstrators got out of two cars bearing Massachusetts license plates and flashed placards saying "When You Travel To Florida, Bypass St. Augustine —America's Oldest Segregated City."

exception of Fred O. Dickinson of West Palm Beach, criticized Bruns' handling of the racial problem in his city.

Saunders said he was told by the governor that if conditions reach the point where Duval County Sheriff Dale Carson asks for state help the governor will respond.

Otherwise, said Saunders, the governor considers it a local matter. This is a stand normally taken by the state chief executive when he considers such problems.

Rutledge Pearson, head of the Jacksonville Branch of the NAACP, was to have been the Negroes' spokesman at today's meeting. Saunders said Pearson was involved in the Jacksonville situation and did not feel he should meet with the governor because he is a public school teacher.

At first inspection, it looked as if the hole had been made by a 45-caliber weapon. Collier Cohen, 70, had been sitting in front of the window.

His wife, Agnes, 56, was sitting on a sofa. The missile just missed Cohen.

A closer check of the room revealed what caused the hole.

It was a marble—apparently hurled with great force by some kind of slingshot.

Whoever propelled it apparently was in a car. And that was one of the big differences between last night and Monday night. Monday, most of the ter-

day.

But the police were on the go, too. Chief Luther Reynolds said 60 cars were out last night. They criss-crossed, met and followed

Chickens Need Love?

LONDON (UPI)—Monroe C. Babcock, an American hen expert, said that if your chickens aren't laying eggs they may need a little loving.

Discussing a strain of hen named for him—the Babcock B300—which was introduced in Britain a few months ago, he said:

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Mayor Calls For Race Relations Committee

Discount Some Strife Reports

By MONROE CAMPBELL and LLOYD BROWN
Journal Staff Writers

County and city detectives today punctured some of the mounting racial violence reports.

County detectives said they will mark as unfounded a report that a man was beaten, robbed and slashed with razors by four Negroes on Monday night.

William Leroy James, 25, told police the attack took place at Belfort and Salisbury roads Monday night.

County patrolmen found him tied to a tree near his pickup truck and said James had numerous superficial cuts on his body.

Chief County Detective J. C. Patrick said that after extensive investigation he will mark the report as unfounded. He added that in 1958 James reported a similar incident at the same location. That time he said his attackers were Ku Klux Klansmen.

City detectives said they are "almost positive" that two sailors did not receive bullet wounds as they drove past Eighth and Davis streets Monday night.

There were two Negroes and one white man in the car. The white sailor and one of the Negroes suffered minor injuries. One was grazed across the chest and the other grazed across the

Crisis Coverage

PAGE 3
- Crisis building six months, Negro leaders say
- Candidates blame Burns, Mathews
- NAACP says Bryant won't intervene unless asked by Sheriff
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run demonstrations at segregated businesses.

Rutledge Pearson, president of the local and state units of the NAACP, said the term "hit and run" refers to Negroes entering segregated businesses, asking to be served and leaving immediately if refused.

BURNS AT PRESS CONFERENCE

LBJ Confers On Situation

BULLETIN

WASHINGTON (UPI)—President Johnson discussed with top Justice Department officials today the recent racial violence in Jacksonville, Fla. Indications are that no federal intervention is currently contemplated.

By JIMMY WALKER
Journal Staff Writer

Mayor Haydon Burns today called for creation of a community relations committee of both races in an effort to end racial unrest and terrorist activity in Jacksonville.

The mayor's request for an "unofficial" biracial committee was greeted with enthusiasm by three prominent businessmen whose names were suggested by the mayor as possible members of the committee. A Negro rights leader expressed skepticism.

One of the three, Robert L. Milius, president of May-Conen's, said a group would meet immediately "to form a committee as suggested by the mayor."

The mayor, his gubernatorial campaign halted as Jacksonville remains the object of national attention due to the racial disorder, announced the request at a press conference today.

The mayor's office was overflowing with local and national television, radio and newsmen, when he walked in and read a prepared statement then answered questions.

He urged immediate meetings of a community relations com-

ing the committee has no real power granted by government, then this committee will not be able to answer the problems of the community in this present crisis."

He said the NAACP will have to determine what responsibility the committee will have before deciding whether to participate.

Contacted by the Journal, Milius said:

"I am confident that we can form a group of citizens of good will whose only desire is to allay the unrest which has existed in recent days and which will result in bringing about peace and harmony among all citizens in our beautiful city so that people may go about their normal lives again."

Murchison said:

"If the mayor expressed a desire that I serve on the committee, and if those who form the committee think I can be of day night.

There were two Negroes and one white man in the car. The white sailor and one of the Negroes suffered minor injuries. One was grazed across the chest and the other grazed across the back.

Capt. R. B. Whittington of the city homicide detail said the incident now is under investigation by naval authorities.

"The men never called police," Whittington said. "The naval hospital did.

"We don't think it had anything to do with the racial situation. We are almost positive it didn't happen around Eighth and Davis.

Police Chief Luther Reynolds said many of the incidents being reported have no racial basis and that his officers are running them down as quickly as possible.

"I think the newspapers are being as fair as possible in reporting the informations available," Reynolds said.

In Municipal Court today, John E. Santora tried 63 demonstrators. Some were found not guilty, others received fines up to $50 and those with past records got jail terms.

Defendants charged with carrying concealed weapons were given 30-day jail sentences. Fifteen more Negroes are being held for further investigation.

Judge Santora tried 129 racial cases yesterday and 76 in Monday night's eight-hour session.

Also tried today were 16 Negroes charged earlier with trespassing at downtown restaurants. All were teen-agers except for a mailman. They were fined $50.

Juvenile Court Judge Lamar Winegeart said today that 209 juveniles had been arrested through last night.

After two nights of strife, Jacksonville police braced for more of the same today as Negro leaders called for hit-and-

Rutledge Pearson, president of the local and state units of the NAACP, said the term "hit and run" refers to Negroes entering segregated businesses, asking to be served and leaving immediately if refused.

Such tactics have been used here recently by the NAACP in connection with picketing of such firms. In some instances, however, demonstrators who entered business places and asked for service refused to leave and were arrested for violating state trespass statutes.

Yesterday the NAACP demonstrators limited their activities to picketing two downtown restaurants and a hotel.

Pearson today made "an urgent and sincere appeal to the Negro community to immediately cease and desist from committing all unbecoming acts of violence and vandalism."

Dr. J. Irving E. Scott, assistant director of education, said attendance at Negro schools is "very much off" today. He said no schools were closed, however.

When a bomb threat emptied Matthew W. Gilbert Junior High School about 3 p.m. yesterday, the crowd got out of hand.

Windshields were broken on police and fire department call cars and acting Assistant Fire Marshal J. A. Fevec received minor injuries.

More than 60 police cars prowled the city last night. About 40 Negroes were arrested in connection with demonstrations and juvenile arrests reached the 200 mark.

Police reported 34 cases of vandalism last night. Several weapons and fire bombs were seized from Negroes on foot and cruising in cars.

Late last night, somebody broke into a pawn shop in the 600 block of Davis Street and took $617 worth of merchandise, including a 32-caliber revolver, a 32-caliber automatic pistol, a 16-gauge shotgun, and two 12-gauge shotguns.

Stanley Fox, president of the pawnbroker's association, said all sales of rifles, shotguns, pistols and ammunition have been stopped by pawn dealers.

Reynolds said all days off and vacations have been canceled.

Sixteen Conservation Department officers have been assigned to back up the Florida State Highway Patrol during the racial crisis.

Meanwhile, the Navy advised its personnel to stay away from downtown Jacksonville until the racial disturbance ends, unless they have important business in the city. The notice was sent out yesterday, the Navy said.

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BURNS AT PRESS CONFERENCE

Senate Rights Vote Tomorrow

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Senate agreed today to meet at 9 a.m. tomorrow for its first two civil rights votes. These are expected to place the controversial rights bill in position for a full-fledged Southern filibuster starting Monday.

Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield told the Senate that tomorrow will be a "most important working day." He urged every member who is physically able to be on hand.

Mansfield said there will be "plural votes"—on taking up the House-passed bill and then on a proposal to refer it to the Judiciary Committee for a 10-day study.

The Senate is certain to vote to take up the bill, which would ban racial discrimination in voting, education, employment, union membership, places of public accommodation and use of federal funds. But Southerners have prevented a vote on this by slow-up tactics.

Road Safety? Braaaack!

LOS ANGELES (AP)—The minister of highways for British Columbia, Philip Gaglardi, says safety campaigns "are not only a bore, they are a menace."

And nothing gets his dander up more than slow drivers.

Gaglardi, sometimes referred to as the "hot rod minister," says, "The fast driver is the safe driver because he is more alert."

Short and pudgy—he looks a little like Edward G. Robinson—Gaglardi and his six-man entourage are in this country to drum up tourist business by speaking of the glories of British Columbia.

GAGLARDI

AP Wirephoto

"Lowering speed limits tends to create accidents, raising the limit prevents them," he said, jabbing the air with a short finger.

"Safety campaigns scare the timid and emotionalize danger," Gaglardi said. "The big holiday weekends and death tolls are dramatized when probably there are fewer accidents per miles driven than any other time.

"Policemen drag out their radar on the big weekends and catch a few hundred drivers going five or 10 miles over the limit and pack up and leave.

"It burns me up to get a ticket like that."

The minister of highways got a speeding ticket?

"Yes, I've got them before," he said.

More than one?

"Six, I think."

"He's tried to talk his way out of a ticket, but "when they find out who I am, they are more determined than ever to give me one."

Gaglardi said he opposes suspending driver's licenses for a given number of infractions.

Has he ever had his license suspended?

"Yes."

For speeding too often?

"Yes."

How long did the suspension last?

"I think it was for one month on two occasions, and once they suspended it for three months."

Has he ever driven when his license was suspended?

"No, I'm a law-abiding man."

today.

The mayor's office was overflowing with local and national television, radio and newsmen, when he walked in and read a prepared statement then answered questions.

He urged immediate meetings of a community relations committee of "outstanding citizens of good will of both races, representing all factions."

The mayor said he would not appoint anyone to the committee but rather thought it should be a community effort. He did suggest that Milius; Charles W. Campbell, vice president of Prudential Insurance Co., and Charles Murchison, an attorney, would be active in its work.

"When such community action is taken, I shall, as mayor-commissioner, be delighted to receive reports and recommendations and do everything in my power to cooperate to the end that discord will be brought to a speedy termination, and that peace and harmony and understanding will once again prevail . . . "

The mayor said it is not a change in attitude on his part.

He said such a committee would be community action by civic leaders. He indicated no city government representative should have a part in it.

"I think the role of government is to enforce laws on the books. I don't believe government can do more than call for the cooperation of community leaders," he said.

It was later learned that Milius would serve as chairman of the organizational committee. Working with him will be Claude Yates, Campbell, Robert R. Feagin, Dr. W. W. Schell, Earl Johnson and I. H. Burney. Schell, Johnson and Burney represent the Negro community.

The mayor's comments drew immediate skepticism from Rutledge Pearson, local leader of the NAACP.

He said, "If the mayor is say-

in our beautiful city so that people may go about their normal lives again."

Murchison said:

"If the mayor expressed a desire that I serve on the committee, and if those who form the committee think I can be of service, I will be delighted to serve."

Campbell said:

"We are facing a situation here in which all of us will have to work together.

"If I am asked, as I probably will be, I will be glad to participate."

In response to questions at his press conference, Burns denied the community relations committee had been urged upon him, although he said he had received varying suggestions in many conferences with businessmen, merchants, white and Negro ministers this week.

Burns also expanded on earlier complaints that the racial unrest had been instigated by other gubernatorial candidates, a statement which drew fiery comment from the other candidates.

Today he said, "It was politically inspired, but it was not at the direction of any candidates; it was the unfortunate course pursued by some of their Negro supporters."

He also stressed that the community relations committee should be organized for the purpose of solving differences through the "time-honored method of communication and exchange of ideas."

"This will not in any wise alter my responsibility to preserve the peace," he said.

The mayor declined to assess the effect of the racial violence on his gubernatorial campaign.

Asked if the "heart of this Negro resistance and violence" could be controlled by the Negro leadership joining such a committee, Burns answered:

"I hope they will be aware they are attracting upon themselves the complete distaste and disrespect of all good citizens."

News Flashes

Boat Spills; Fear 9 Dead In S. Fla.

MIAMI —A drift fishing boat overturned today while approaching an Atlantic Ocean inlet near Palm Beach, Fla. First reports to the Miami Coast Guard said three persons died, six were missing and 11 were picked up by rescue craft.

Fears were expressed that the missing persons were trapped under the 65-foot hull of the drift fishing boat Two Georges.

JFK MEMORIAL AT RUNNYMEDE

LONDON (AP)—Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home announced today that Britain will give the United States an acre of historic Runnymede as the site for a memorial to President John F. Kennedy.

Runnymede, a meadow on the banks of the Thames river at Egham, Surrey, was the scene of the granting of the Magna Carta by King John in 1215.

The Race Problem: 'Uncontrollables'

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

One day last spring Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Negro integration leader, left the Gaston Motel in Birmingham for a short walk to the 16th Street Baptist Church where a full house of young racial demonstrators awaited his orders to march downtown.

As King walked, he looked searchingly across the street where a small group of about 100 Negroes stood silently watching the developments.

"You know," King told a reporter reflectively, "I'm not concerned about the people in the church. I believe they will remain nonviolent. I'm not even concerned about the police or the other white people of Birmingham. I'm worried about those people over there across the street."

The "uncontrollables" in the racial revolution are causing increasing concern among sincere civil rights workers as well as police.

Armed with broken bottles, rocks and firebombs, they strike in all directions, often smashing plate glass store windows in the Negro sections the same night they are hurling missiles at whites.

When these angry young Negroes meet the same element in the white race, there is usually a fight.

"The greatest problems today in the racial movement are the side effects," said Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, first vice president of the International Association of Police Chiefs.

"Some demonstrators have made the act of going to jail a popular and glamorous performance."

Jenkins said the criminal element in both white and Negro races is taking advantage of the current situation. The result is an increase in crime.

"Going to jail is no longer the greatest deterrent to crime within the criminal element," Jenkins said. "We are finding more individuals — white and Negro—who are associated with both civil rights and criminal activity at the same time."

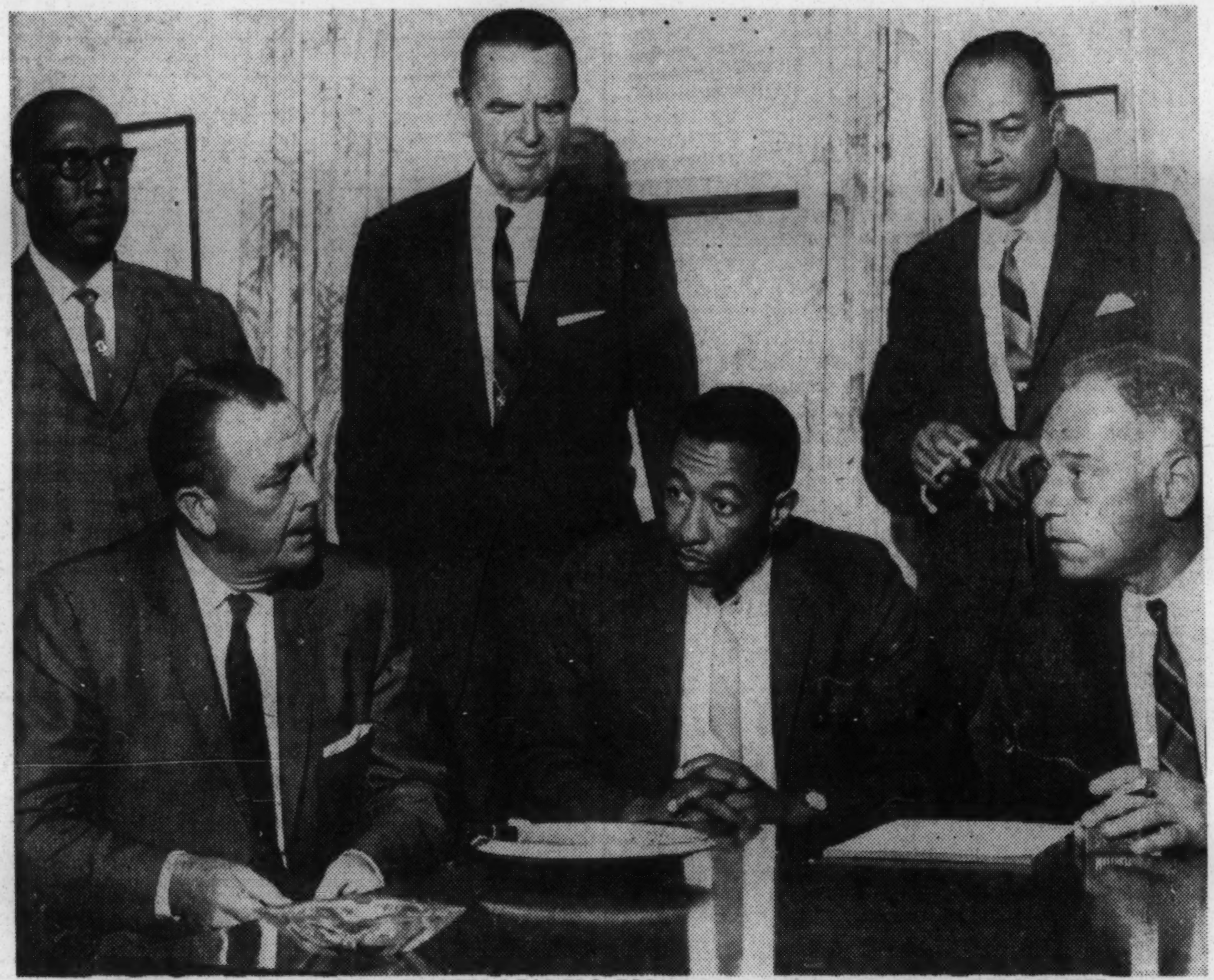
Another botnersome aspect of the racial revolution for police is the slowly increasing activities of the Black Muslim movement.

Police do not at present view the Muslims as a threat to law enforcement, but keep the organization under constant revaluation. They were disturbed somewhat recently by the public pronouncements of ex-Muslim Malcolm X who urged Negroes to arm themselves.

King called Malcolm's split from the parent Muslim movement proof that the organization "does not have the allegiance of the majority of Negroes."

"We do not believe that violence is the solution to the civil rights problem," King said.

★ ★ ★



SIX OF THE SEVEN COMMUNITY LEADERS FORMING A NEW BIRACIAL COMMITTEE
Seated (L-R): Feagin, Johnson, Milius; Standing: Schell, Yates, Burney

Journal Photo

Biracial Group Organizes

A committee of whites and Negroes, armed only with the power of persuasion to bring racial peace to Jacksonville, is being organized today.

The nucleus of the committee, three prominent Negro businessmen and four white leaders, began making plans for the new Community Relations Committee yesterday following a suggestion by Mayor Haydon Burns that such a group be planned.

Robert L. Milius, president of May-Cohen's department store, announced immediately after the mayor's press conference that he had gone to work to put a biracial committee together.

Before the afternoon was over, Milius announced that six other persons, representing both races, had agreed to serve on the committee. They are:

- I. H. Burney II, Negro, vice president of the Afro-American Life Insurance Co.
- Charles W. Campbell, senior vice president of the South-Central Home Office of the Prudential Insurance Co.
- Robert R. Feagin, vice president of Florida Publishing Co.
- Earl M. Johnson, Negro attorney.
- Dr. W. A. Schell, Negro physician and president of the Jacksonville Urban League.
- Claude J. Yates, vice president and general manager of Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Co. in Florida.

Milius said he hoped that organization of the larger committee would be completed today so it could hold its first meeting today.

He said the biracial group would seek members from "as broad a base of the community as possible" and he hopes it will include leaders of the legal and medical professions, all branches of business plus members of the clergy.

Mayor Burns has refused to appoint a biracial committee himself, but said yesterday if a privately organized group were formed he would be "delighted to receive reports" and do everything in his power to cooperate "to the end that discord will be brought to a speedy termination."

The new committee will succeed the Community Advisory Committee (CAC), which had worked in the field of race relations since 1960.

The CAC announced last month that it could achieve no further progress and asked that the City Council form a committee with the power of the municipal government behind it.

The City Council refused.

Burns said at that time: "I cannot and will not take sides. My responsibility is the preservation of peace."

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Mathews Says Mayor 'On Edge Of Slander'

State Sen. John E. Mathews Jr. of Jacksonville has challenged Mayor Haydon Burns to name anyone connected with him who bears any responsibility for racial outbursts here.

Mathews said in a televised address last night that statements by Burns that Mathews inflamed this week's racial trouble constitute a cheap political trick. Both are candidates for governor.

"The truth is I have refrained, even in August of 1960, of being critical of the way racial relations were handled in Jacksonville," Mathews said. "When Mayor Burns makes statements like this, obviously it is an act of desperation.

"It shows a complete lack of qualifications to handle executive decisions if he serves as your governor," Mathews added.

He said Burns' statement that some of Mathews' supporters were connected with the racial outbreaks were "on the edge of slander."

"Last Friday he said he was tipped off as to what was going to happen," Mathews said. "If he knew what was going to happen, it was his duty to inform the Duval County sheriff, the state attorney and the county solicitor."

Mathews said "thank goodness" Burns has been "persuaded or overruled by some farseeing Jacksonville business leaders" and now wants to establish a biracial committee.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Karl Blasts Milk Board

By United Press International

Rep. Fred Karl of Daytona Beach blasted the Florida Milk Commission today as racial tension eased in Jacksonville and the candidates for governor turned their attentions to other matters.

Karl, in an old-fashioned political talk from the courthouse steps at Fort Myers, said the milk commission has damaged the cause of free enterprise. Noting a recent court order requiring a Tampa Bay area distributor to raise his prices to comply with commission orders, Karl said, "That a man should be hauled into court to defend his right to sell his own product at his own price is ridiculous. The commission's arbitrary actions and illogical approach have created a chaotic situation, particularly in the Tampa Bay area.

"Dairy farmers will be forced out of business or will have to

thews challenged Burns to name the person and prove it.

Fred Dickinson sidestepped the racial issue, saying he didn't want to fan the fires. He hammered away at his program for increased old-age pensions, repeal of state intangible taxes, and development of deep-water ports. Dickinson campaigned in Central Florida towns yesterday.

Sen. Scott Kelly of Lakeland said he would insist on fiscal responsibility in bringing a halt to the "tax and spend" trend which he said now prevails in Tallahas-

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Tom McCue

put a biracial committee together.

● Claude J. Yates, vice president and general manager of

privately organized group were formed he would be "delighted

My responsibility is the preservation of peace."

★ ★ ★

NAACP Head Wanted To Be A Baseball Pro

By JOE McGOWAN
Associated Press

A Negro who says his lifetime ambition to play professional baseball was thwarted by segregation is leading the civil rights drive in Jacksonville.

He is Rutledge Henry Pearson, 34, schoolteacher and president of both the Florida and Jacksonville branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"I always wanted to play baseball and I worked hard at it," Pearson said in an interview. "I played in school here in Jacksonville and then at Houston-Tillotson school in Austin, Tex. I played first base."

After Pearson got a bachelor's degree in sociology, he played semipro baseball and said he finally attracted the attention of Abe Saperstein of the Harlem Globetrotters.

"I started the season with the 'Trotters baseball team and then Mr. Saperstein shifted me to the Chicago American Giants in the Negro American League.

"After the season I returned home. My mother was very sick and I didn't want to leave, so they assigned me to the Jacksonville Beach Seabirds (in the Florida State League).

"They barred me from the park," Pearson said. "I didn't know they were going to do it until the day before spring practice."

Pearson got a job teaching at Darnell-Cookman Junior High here and a contract as baseball coach at New Stanton High, both Negro schools.

"I was active in the NAACP's Youth Council years ago, so when I went into teaching I became a council adviser. In 1959 we started demonstrations for removal of restrictions against Negroes at lunch counters.

"On Aug. 27, 1960, I was a participant in the demonstrations."

On the day Pearson referred to, a band of white men carrying ax handles came into town, picketed a variety store where Negroes had been demonstrating, and violence broke out which lasted several days.

"My contract as baseball coach wasn't renewed, and it was published in a paper that I was fired as coach for participation in NAACP affairs. I never was told why, however," Pearson said.

The slender 6-foot-2 Pearson gets to play baseball one hour each day during a free period between classes.

"It's the only leisure time I have," Pearson said. "Teaching and the NAACP are my life. I sure don't get to spend much time with my wife and three children.

PEARSON

"I may be looked on as in too much of a hurry. I'm in a hurry to be completely free. My anxiety is brought on by the fact that I feel Negroes have got to progress, to be trained for automation.

"If the Negro gets bogged down with the civil rights program, he'll find himself on a welfare program."

★ ★ ★

Chamber OKs Rights Stand

Directors of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce, meeting at their headquarters today, approved policy declarations recognizing the right of privately owned businesses to serve or not serve any customer.

Recommendations of the National Affairs Committee, which met last night, were presented by Chairman Ralph H. Martin, Jacksonville attorney.

Also approved was a reiteration of the chamber's position that an employe should have free choice of joining or not joining a union and that interference with that right should be prohibited by law.

Opposition also was expressed to the proposal to pay double time for overtime and to the creation of a cabinet post of housing and community development. There are two bills in Congress now to create such a post.

The chamber voted to hold its 1964 annual meeting in Jacksonville in November.

4 Killed As Boat Capsizes

BOYNTON BEACH (AP)—A huge, freak wave capsized a 65-foot boat as it returned from a day of sport fishing and pitched 20 persons into Boynton Beach Inlet only a short distance from shore.

Four persons were killed, four hospitalized and one was missing.

A 14-year-old boy with both legs in braces because of polio said he swam to shore despite a fishhook that caught in his throat.

The dead were Harry Williams, about 65, of Lyndhurst, Ohio; Ernest Jeffries, about 70, of Boynton Beach, a retired Cleveland, Ohio, burial vault manufacturer; Mrs. Ernest (Mary Agnes) Whitman, about 70, of East Boston, Mass.; and Louis Paletta, 79, of Rural Medford, N.J.

Missing is Jerry Sapp, 20, of Fort Lauderdale.

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'Torture Good For Juveniles'

FRANKFURT, Germany (AP)—One of the main defendants at Germany's largest war crime trials declared today that a torture apparatus he developed at Auschwitz concentration camp should be used on teen-agers.

"I am of the definite opinion that there would be far less juvenile delinquency today if my swing, together with whipping, were used on teen-agers," former SS Sgt. Wilhelm Boger testified at the trial of 21 former guards and Auschwitz functionaries.

A gasp went up from the 300 or so trial spectators. Shouts of "phooey" and "no, no, no" came from a number of young people in the spectators' gallery.

"That's right," Boger shouted. "That's exactly what I mean."

The defendant developed what a parade of former Auschwitz prisoners have called the camp's most sadistic torture instrument, the "Boger swing," or what Boger calls "my talking machine."

It consisted of a beam of wood hung from the ceiling of the interrogation center. Naked male prisoners were bound around the beam, their hands tied to their feet, and beaten with such force on the genitals that the victims swung back and forth.

Boger told the court he favored its use on juvenile delinquents shortly after a former Auschwitz inmate had testified that a friend of his had been worked over by the defendant on his torture instrument and: "He died shortly after."

Boger insisted that no one died as a result of being on his swing.

and illogical approach have created a chaotic situation, particularly in the Tampa Bay area.

"Dairy farmers will be forced out of business or will have to turn to the federal government for relief." Karl blistered one of his opponents, Sen. John Mathews of Jacksonville, saying he helped kill in the senate last year a house-passed measure that would have eliminated retail price fixing on milk.

Meanwhile, Mathews shook hands in Live Oak after appearing in Tallahassee yesterday to open campaign headquarters and speak on television, calling for an end to phony promises from candidates and issue-ducking.

Two fellow senators, Ed Price of Bradenton and L. K. Edwards of Irvine, appeared on the TV program to endorse Mathews and urge his election. Mathews promised full support of the state merit system, a strong program of quality education from grade school through graduate school and said he opposed a northern route for Interstate Route 10 as being proposed by the present administration in North and West Florida.

Mayor Haydon Burns of Jacksonville, forced to cancel campaigning during racial riots in his city earlier in the week, anouced that the situation is easing and he will soon hit the campaign circuit again.

The Jacksonville situation has occupied most of the candidates this week, with Burns trying to put some of the blame on Mathews and other candidates for governor, and Karl blaming a partial breakdown in leadership in the Duval County Legislative delegation.

Mathews said in a special TV cast, filmed for showing in Jacksonville last night, that Burns was using cheap political tricks in an attempt to share the blame for the Jacksonville tragedy. He referred to a story in a Miami newspaper which quoted Burns as blaming an unidentified Mathews supporter as having a part in causing the racial strife. Ma-

Sen. Scott Kelly of Lakeland said he would insist on fiscal responsibility in bringing a halt to the "tax and spend" trend which he said now prevails in Tallahassee.

Mayor Robert King High of Miami campaigned in Tampa and Fort Lauderdale yesterday,

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Storm Blamed In 1 Death, 3 Injuries

—Story Below, Column 6

WEATHER

CARRY YOUR UMBRELLA

H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1
T	69	69	69	68	68	67	68	69	71	70	69	71	70

More About Weather on Page 15.

Jacksonville Journal

Afternoon FINAL

Volume 77—Number 169
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Jacksonville, Florida, Thursday, March 26, 1964

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10 Cents

Senate Votes To Air Civil Rights

—SUMMER TAKEOVER—

Mercer College Dean To Head JU

The new president of Jacksonville University, to be announced tonight, will be Robert Harry Spiro, 43, dean of the college of liberal arts at Baptist-run Mercer University in Macon, Ga.

Formal approval by the JU Board of Trustees is expected at a meeting of the board this afternoon and the announcement is to be made at a dinner tonight.

Dr. Spiro is not expected to assume his new post immediately, but probably will take over here this summer.

The appointment drew from Dr. Rufus Harris, president of Mercer, this statement: "Mercer is glad she can give to Jacksonville one of the most competent and dedicated young educators in this area who is willing to enter university executive administraton."

Dr. Spiro, a Southern Baptist preacher's son and himself an ordained Baptist deacon, is a European history specialist and a commander in the Navy Reserve.

He was born in Asheville, N.C., and attended elementary and junior high schools there. He graduated from high school at Hampden DuBose Academy, a prep school in Orlando, and was valedictorian of his class.

He received a bachelor of science degree in 1941 from Wheaton College, a church school in Wheaton, Ill., and then served in the Navy from 1941 until 1945. He saw service in the Pacific.

From 1946 to 1950 he was an assistant professor and later a full professor of history at King College in Bristol, Tenn.

He received a doctor of philosophy degree in 1950 from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

His next faculty position was at Mississippi College, a Baptist school at Clinton, Miss., where

—TORN IN TWO—

Explosion Rips Tanker

From Journal Wires

NORFOLK, Va.—An explosion shattered the midsection of the 523-foot tanker San Jacinto 40 miles off the Virginia coast early today, but 37 of its 39 crewmen elected to stay aboard the stern section to await the arrival of salvage tugs.

[illegible] crewman was reported

Santora Releases 20 Youths

Martin Luther King tells how demonstrations get out of control, other news about racial situation and photos on Page 36.

By MONROE CAMPBELL
Journal Staff Writer

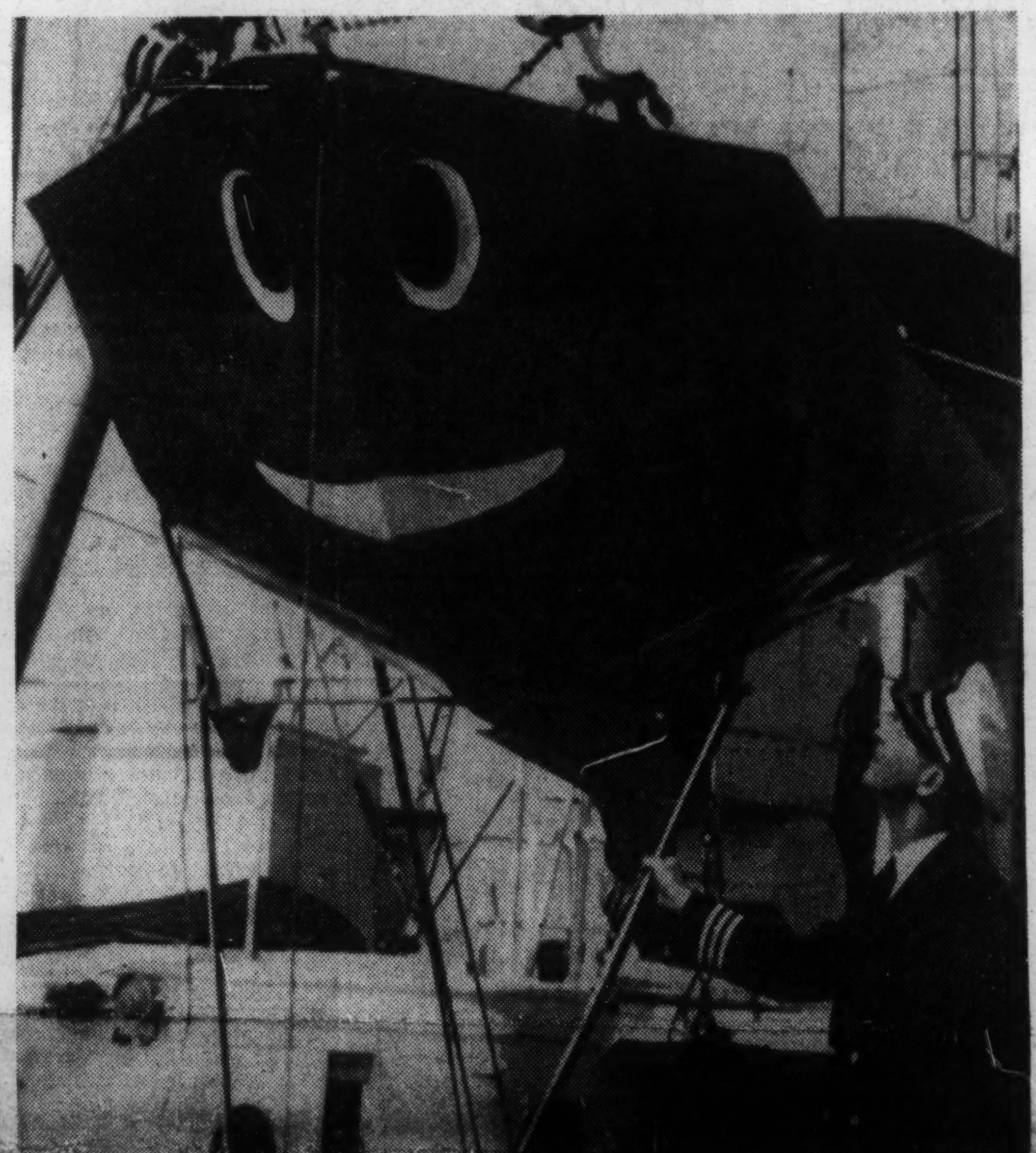
Municipal Court Judge John Santora released 20 Negro youngsters to their parents or ministers today as vandalism sparked by racial outbursts declined.

"Nobody wants these kids in jail," Santora said. "My only interest is that some responsible adult, preferably the mother or father, take supervision of them. Nobody can convince me that parents can't handle their teenage children."

The release of two more youngsters had been sought, but it was discovered they were juveniles and they were transferred to juvenile authorities.

Before releasing any of the Negroes today, Santora checked for previous convictions. This was done because one of the 10 released yesterday had two previous convictions before his arrest during racial demonstrations.

Meanwhile, Rutledge Pear-



Motion To Study Next

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Senate, breaking a deadlock lasting since March 9, voted today to take up for formal consideration the House-passed civil rights bill.

Southerners, who have used the motion to take up as the basis for lengthy speeches bitterly attacking the bill itself, finally let the vote come on the 16th day of the debate.

The motion, made by Democratic leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, passed overwhelmingly as expected.

The roll call vote was 67 to 17.

The Senate met today three hours ahead of its usual time, and the roll call came without any further speech-making.

This first vote cleared the way for a motion by Sen. Wayne Morse, D-Ore., to send the bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Sen. James O. Eastland, D-Miss., for 10 days of hearings and study.

Democratic leaders plan to try to kill this move with a tabling motion later today, but expect the outcome to be close.

However, Sen. Hubert H.

NORFOLK, Va.—An explosion shattered the mid-section of the 523-foot tanker San Jacinto 40 miles off the Virginia coast early today, but 37 of its 39 crewmen elected to stay aboard the stern section to await the arrival of salvage tugs.

One crewman was reported dead.

A Coast Guard pilot who dropped flares over the disaster scene reported that pipes, wiring and structural beams were holding together the bow and stern sections. But several hours later the Coast Guard said the bow section was adrift.

The tanker captain radioed that all 37 of the men still aboard the drifting stern section were in good shape.

Two salvage tugs en route to the disabled tanker were due about 3 p.m.

The tanker was en route from Portland, Maine, to Houston, Tex., with its tanks in ballast for the trip.

Two crewmen were picked up by the merchant ship Mobile Pagasus. It was one of these men who was pronounced dead by a Navy doctor.

Seas were running as high as 10 feet when the first word of explosion was flashed to Coast Guard headquarters at nearby Portsmouth at 12:30 a.m.

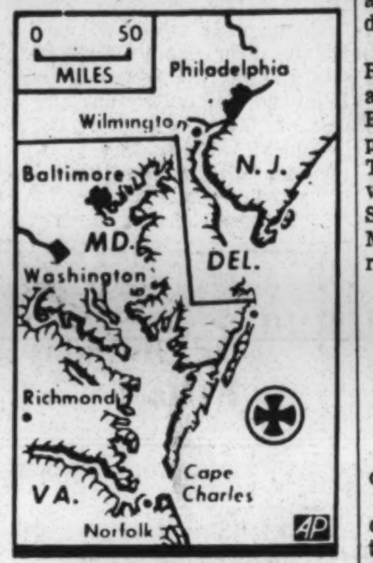
Shortly after daylight, with the seas still running 5 to 10 feet, the two sections of the tanker were reported riding smoothly.

"All well with no injuries," San Jacinto Capt. Harold Titus reported by visual signals to rescue vessels in the area.

The dead man was identified by the Coast Guard only as chief steward Dotilia. The other man aboard the Mobile Peagasus was identified as San Jacinto "radio officer Bock."

It was the second time part of the San Jacinto had suffered such a fate.

In 1952, while sailing under the name Fort Mercer, the ship broke in two after a collision with the tanker Pendleton off Cape Cod. Fifteen persons died in that collision and 69 were rescued.



EXPLOSION SITE

AP Wirephoto Map

He received a doctor of philosophy degree in 1950 from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

His next faculty position was at Mississippi College, a Baptist school at Clinton, Miss., where he was a professor of history from 1950 to 1957.

He left Mississippi College to become president of Blue Ridge Assembly, a North Carolina religious retreat operated by the Young Men's Christian Association, from 1957 to 1960.

He joined the Mercer faculty as dean of the liberal arts college in 1960 and has held that position since. He also has been a professor of history at Mercer during that time.

He married the former Miss Ruth Suenell Bennett of Orlando, a schoolmate at Hampden DuBose Academy, in 1942. The couple has three children—Robert Timothy Spiro, a senior at Davidson College; Elizabeth Susan Spiro, a senior in high school at Macon; and James Monroe Spiro, a second-grader.

Dr. Spiro is a deacon at Macon's Vineville Baptist Church, where his wife also is active. He belongs to the Macon Kiwanis Club and is active in the American and Southern historical associations.

His wife also is active in Macon's League of Women Voters.

Mercer University is a coeducational institution affiliated with the Georgia Baptist Convention. It has about 1,300 students and a faculty of 80.

Negroes today, Santora checked for previous convictions. This was done because one of the 10 released yesterday had two previous convictions before his arrest during racial demonstrations.

Meanwhile, Rutledge Pearson, president of the Jacksonville branch of the NAACP, said his organization would continue picketing downtown establishments. The NAACP started daily picketing in mid-February.

Pearson also said the NAACP leaders began spreading the word for Negroes to boycott downtown Jacksonville stores last Saturday night, immediately after Mayor Haydon Burns' television speech in which the mayor said he would not tolerate further mass demonstrations.

Pearson said about 800 members of the NAACP, at their weekly meeting last night, unanimously endorsed the weekend announcement of the boycott.

Pearson was quoted as saying, "Don't depend on your leaders to tell you which stores we mean. You must learn to walk into a store and recognize Jim Crow signs."

New Stanton High School was evacuated at noon today when a telephone caller said, "A bomb has been planted in the school overnight." This is the third straight day such a report has been received there. On the two previous days, the calls turned out to be hoaxes.

In a development yesterday, President Johnson talked with Justice Department officials in Washington about the racial disturbance here. White House sources said the conferees felt that the Jacksonville violence was "a local situation as of this point" and did not warrant federal intervention.

In other Municipal Court action today, a white man's suspended fine was revoked after he threatened a policeman outside the courtroom.

Paul W. Carter, 25, a carpenter who lives at 3904 Eve Drive E., and Max L. Ray, 20, of Lumber City, Ga., had been arrested in the 100 block of Davis Street last night about 10:30. Ray was charged with vagrancy and prowling and Carter with resisting arrest, vagrancy and prowling.

Sgt. Jim Miller of the city police intelligence division and Patrolman W. H. Pringle testified today they stopped a car the two were in as it drove slowly through a Negro neighborhood. When they searched the men, the officers said, one of them had a small knife and a bottle was also found under the car seat.

During the search, officers said, Carter started to strike Pringle. Carter also swung at Miller as Miller tried to subdue Carter.

Santora found Ray not guilty of his charges and fined Carter $50 but suspended the fine.

However, when Carter got outside the courtroom, policemen said, he accosted Pringle and said, "You'll reap what you have sown." Carter was brought back before Santora and the suspension was revoked.

There were about a dozen cases before Santora today which might have had racial implications. Sentences ranged up to 90 days.

Gabby

Cmdr. Emerson Jones of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey examines "Gabby," a high-IQ radio buoy with which currents of Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries are being plotted. Gabby's bright orange color and his face, which was painted on by the crew of the mother ship Marmer, are likely to provide some mariners with an unsettling experience. (AP Wirephoto)

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of hearings and study.

Democratic leaders plan to try to kill this move with a tabling motion later today, but expect the outcome to be close.

However, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., floor manager for the bill, predicts that the tabling motion will win and that the Senate can begin its debate on the bill itself Monday after a three-day Easter recess.

Mansfield said Sen. Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, the minority leader, would make a speech supporting the committee hearings and urging changes in the bill. Mansfield said he would make a brief speech in opposition to the commitment move.

Morse told the Senate he was offering his motion because he felt referral to committee "will give us the best chance of getting adoption of a strong measure."

He noted that the Senate passed civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960, but that both fell far short of what civil rights advocates wanted.

Both those measures had to be watered down because their supporters did not have the two-thirds majority needed for cloture to shut off debate, Morse said.

"I ask the supporters of this bill whether they think the result looks any different this time?" he said.

"If we do not have enough support for cloture, this bill will not come to a vote until its most important and effective sections have been jettisoned.

"It is time we devised a civil rights strategy that will gain us the two-thirds needed for cloture. If we do not, we will only be going through the 1957 and 1960 experiences again. . .

". . . We will not get a meaningful bill until we can get cloture, and I am doubtful that we can get it so long as we follow the procedure of bypassing a committee."

—SAYS HOLDUPS 'RAMPANT'—

Judge Cracks Down With 50-Year Robbery Term

"Robbery has become rampant in Jacksonville and I'm going to do what I can to stop it," Judge Hans Tanzler said today as he handed down one of the stiffest robbery sentences ever in Criminal Court here.

Tanzler's remarks came from the bench along with his deterrent—50-year and 25-year prison sentences to two brothers convicted of robbing a liquor store.

Alfred Eugene Grizzell, 34, whose address is listed as 11303 Soforenko Drive, was sentenced to the 50-year term while his brother, Troy Grizzell, 41, whose address is listed as 1622 Sixth Ave. No., Jacksonville Beach, was sentenced to 25-years.

The two were convicted March 10 after County Solicitor Edward M. Booth filed direct informations against them charging they took $140 at gunpoint from the Lake Lucina Lounge, 2621 Cesery Blvd., on the afternoon of Feb. 13, 1963.

Tanzler denied defense counsel's motion for a new trial and observed that the brothers had other charges pending against them in Daytona Beach and in Duval County.

"Your guilt," he told the defendants, "was obvious to the jury as was attested to by the fact that they deliberated only 15 minutes in deciding this case. Obviously neither of you has any respect for our laws or the people's property rights."

He told Alfred Grizzell, "I don't think you will ever learn and your criminal record clearly shows this. Starting in 1945 you have been arrested and convicted of numerous offenses including a conviction for rape. You are too dangerous to walk the streets of this community."

The judge noted that Troy Grizzell had been arrested on several occasions and had charges pending against him but that this was his first felony conviction.

Maximum sentence for robbery in Florida is life imprisonment.

Says Ruby Would Testify

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP)—Jack Ruby's new chief attorney said today that Ruby has agreed to take the stand if he is given a new trial for the slaying of probable presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald.

Dr. Hubert W. Smith, director of the University of Texas Law School's law-science institute, became Ruby's chief attorney Tuesday after Ruby fired Melvin Belli and Percy Foreman of Houston quit the case because of differences with the Ruby family.

Ten Are Convicted Of Great Train Robbery

AYLESBURY, England (UPI). A jury today convicted 10 persons in the $7.3-million "great mail train robbery" last Aug. 8, the biggest theft of all time.

The jury took 67 hours to reach its verdict, the longest such deliberation in British legal history. It took 12 minutes to read the verdicts after the 51-day trial. Sentencing was postponed until April 7.

Seven of the defendants were convicted of actually taking part in the robbery. Two were found guilty of conspiracy to rob, and one was found guilty of conspiring to obstruct justice.

An 11th defendant had pleaded guilty to conspiracy and receiving stolen goods.

Despite the convictions, the case is far from closed. Some ringleaders of the robbery gang are still at large, and most of the loot still is missing.

The defendants were not sentenced immediately.

People In The News

From Journal Wires

LADY ASTOR, nee **BRONWEN PUGH**, third wife of **VISCOUNT ASTOR**, gave birth today to her second child, a daughter, at Cliveden near London.

LYNDA BIRD JOHNSON, 20-year-old daughter of the President, was due back in the White House today after two days of theatre-going and Easter shopping with her college roommate in New York.

JOAN MERRIAM, aviatrix attempting a solo around-the-world flight, was delayed another day by leaky gas tanks in Surinam, hopes to take off tomorrow for Natal, Brazil. . . . Meanwhile, **JERRIE MOCK**, also attempting an around-the-world flight, plans to take off today for the Azores from Bermuda.

GEN. BARKSDALE HAMLETT, Army vice chief of staff, suffered what was described as a moderate heart attack and was admitted to Walter Reed Hospital.

POPE PAUL VI will give an Easter message to the world at 6:30 a.m. (EST) Sunday, with radio networks of 14 nations linked to Vatican Radio, the Vatican said today.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON will fly to Texas today to spend the Easter holiday at his ranch near Johnson City, the White House announced.

DEAN RUSK, secretary of state, will visit Formosa April 16 and 17 to discuss "matters of mutual interest, including the maintenance of peace and security in the Far East."

RICHARD M. NIXON, on a 24-day tour of 10 nations, visited with Pakistan President **MOHAMMED AYUB KHAN**.

MacArthur Has Inflamed Lung

WASHINGTON (AP)—Army doctors found signs of moderate inflammation or pneumonitis at the base of Gen. Douglas MacArthur's right lung today and started treatment with antibiotics. He is still in serious condition.

A statement from Walter Reed Army Medical Center said:

"Gen. Douglas MacArthur is progressing satisfactorily. His condition is still regarded as serious."

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1 Killed, 3 Injured By Storm On Northside

Bad weather was blamed for one death and three injuries on Jacksonville's northside today.

A man was killed when a tree limb fell on him at 3118 Rhone Drive, the Duval County Road Patrol reported.

The victim was identified as Jacob B. Anderson, a machinist for St. Regis Paper Co., who lived at the address where the death occurred. He was married and the father of four.

The death is believed to have happened during a thunderstorm which also unleashed a lightning bolt which slightly injured three airline employes at Imeson Airport about the same time.

Rev. F. L. Braddock, pastor of Springfield Church of God, which Anderson attended, said Anderson had been working in his backyard garden when his wife left the house in search of him.

She found Anderson lying on the ground under a large limb about 12 inches in diameter, the pastor said. A large piece of concrete, which Anderson is believed to have hit as he fell, was nearby.

The county patrol said the death occurred at 11:50 a.m., at the time the storm was reported on the northside.

Lightning struck a National Airlines DC8 jetliner at Imeson Airport at 10:30 a.m. slightly injuring three employes loading baggage.

Passengers on the New York-bound flight and the crew escaped injury, O. H. Hill, National's sales manager, said.

He identified the injured as R. A. Allen, E. G. Edwards and E. L. Cantrell. The three were under the front of the jet loading baggage into the bin and apparently took some of the electric shock since they were touching the ground.

Allen was knocked unconscious when his head struck the concrete, Edwards suffered slightly burned fingers and Cantrell was treated for mild shock, Hill said. Allen is in satisfactory condition at St. Luke's Hospital and the other two men were taken to the hospital for examination.

Hill said the airliner was not damaged structurally. It has been inspected thoroughly. There may be some minor electrical wiring damage, however, he said.

The plane was still at Imeson at 12:30 p.m., but Hill said it is expected to be released shortly for the nonstop flight to New York.

Weather Today
Cloudy and Warm;
Scattered Showers.
Weather Maps on Page 45.
Temperatures Yesterday:
High, 82; Low, 62.
Expected Today:
High, upper 70s; Low, 62.

The Florida Tin

A Leader in the Growth and Development of Florida and

VOL. XCIX—NO. 86—99TH YEAR © 1964, Florida Publishing Co. JACKSONVILLE, THURSDAY, MARCH

Community Body Seeks Race Peace

Negro, White Leaders Will Confer in Response to Plea by Burns

Mayor Haydon Burns yesterday called for settlement of racial unrest in Jacksonville by the "time-honored method of communication and exchange of ideas."

Meanwhile, as incidents of violence subsided, Burns said he would continue to enforce the laws against violence, illegal assembly and trespass.

In response to Burns' plea for settlement of racial frictions through negotiation, which he made at a massive press conference in his office yesterday morning, a group of white and Negro leaders formed the nucleus of a community relations committee.

Purpose of the committee, according to its temporary chairman, Robert Milius, manager of May-Cohens department store, is to enlist representation from as many walks of life as possible to accomplish restoration of harmonious relations.

Ready to Cooperate

Burns said he will "be delighted to receive reports and recommendations and to do everything in my power to cooperate to the end that discord will be brought to a speedy termination, and that peace and harmony and understanding will once again prevail in our lovely city of Jacksonville."

In calling for the establishment of the committee, Burns said:

"...I am not satisfied just to enforce the laws and to have people arrested after those laws have been violated, if there is anything I, or other people of good will, can do to prevent the continuation of the violation of those laws.

"With this in mind, I am requesting a group of outstanding citizens of good will of both

(Continued on Page 6—Column 1)

—Times-Unio

BURNS TELLS PRESS OF PLAN FOR RACIAL P
Mayor Requests White and Negro Leaders to Sett

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(Continued on Page 6—Column 1)

—Times-Union Photo by Reece Morabito

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE TO IMPROVE COMMUNITY RELATIONS
Members Are (standing) Schell, Yates, Burney, (seated) Feagin, Johnson, Milius

WHITE MAN INJURED

Negro Vandalism Appears Declining

Racial tensions eased here yesterday as acts of vandalism and violence, which plagued police and fire department personnel for two consecutive days, appeared to be on the decline.

Only isolated cases of racial incidents in the Negro sections and fringe areas were reported to police during the day.

Police said a white man was injured seriously when he was struck by a brick thrown by Negro teen-agers. The incident was the only major act of violence reported to police all day.

Car Burned

Firemen investigated two cases of fires set by fire bombs last night but firemen responded to 36 false alarms up to 10:30 p.m. yesterday.

Police said flames caused by a fire bomb gutted a convertible on a used car lot at 2937 Kings Ave. Another bomb was found smouldering on the front seat of another car on the lot but damage was minor.

Police reported only 17 adult arrests for any offenses were made yesterday. None of the adults booked into the city jail were charged with anything racially connected. Seven juveniles were picked up by police during the day.

Shortly after 5 p.m. Negro pickets set up a line at the Robert Meyer Hotel and another group entered the Amber House at 309 Laura St., but left when the state trespass law was read to them.

Lester Phillips, 53, of 1118 E. 18th St., was admitted to St. Luke's Hospital, where he was reported in "very bad condition" last night.

Attacked by Gang

Police said Phillips told them he was walking west in the 400 block of East Eighth Street about 2 p.m. when he was attacked by 12 to 15 Negro boys and girls in their middle and late teens who started throwing rocks and bricks at him.

Phillips told police he was struck on the forehead by one of the missiles. Hospital spokesmen said he suffered a possible skull fracture.

At least one earlier report of an assault by Negroes on a white person was discounted by police while another was termed doubtful.

Report Unfounded

J. C. Patrick, chief of Duval County detectives, said a report by Billy L. James, 25, that he had been tied to a tree and slashed by a group of Negroes on Monday was unfounded.

"Following interrogation of James we found several discrepancies in his story. Sgt. Roland Grant ran him on the polygraph machine and he is definitely lying," Patrick said.

Patrick said James made a similar report in 1958, but at that time he claimed he was assaulted by four white youths. "We are convinced James inflicted those wounds on himself," the county officer said.

City police said they were almost positive two sailors, one white and one Negro, did not receive bullet wounds from another Negro as they drove past Eighth and Davis streets Monday night as previously reported by the sailors.

"We don't think it had anything to do with the racial situation and are almost positive it didn't happen around Eighth and Davis," homicide detective Capt. R. B. Whittington said.

Mrs. Dorothy Maye, whose

(Continued on Page 14—Column 1)

LBJ Rejects Jacksonville Intervention

WASHINGTON, March 25 (AP)—President Johnson conferred with Justice Department officials today about racial violence in Jacksonville, Fla., and, it was learned, concluded that federal intervention would not be warranted at this point.

Johnson met with Deputy Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach, Asst. Atty. Gen. Burke Marshall of the department's civil rights division, and Joseph F. Dolan, assistant deputy attorney general.

White House sources said the conferees felt that the Jacksonville violence was "a local situation as of this point"—meaning there was no immediate need for federal action.

George Reedy, White House press secretary, said Johnson is in continuing touch with the Justice Department on the situation. He noted that department observers are on the scene in Jacksonville.

Asked whether Johnson had talked directly with either Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy or Gov. Farris Bryant of Florida, Reedy said, "Not to my knowledge."

Today's White House meeting

(Continued on Page 14—Column 1)

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Community Body Seeks Race Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

races, representing all factions in our community, to get together and if it is deemed advisable to form themselves into a committee which might appropriately be called a community relations committee for the purpose of meeting at the earliest possible date and continuously thereafter (so long as it is deemed appropriate) in efforts to allay all unrest and to resolve all differences by the time-honored method of communication and exchange of ideas."

Hits Demonstrations

In his opening remarks, Burns called the mass demonstrations "unwarranted, illegal and purposeful" and "designed to break long - established laws of our city."

During questioning at the press conference, Burns said he would not name the membership of the proposed committee as it is his view it is not the proper role of government to establish such a committee.

Burns said the committee he called for yesterday "is not an officially designated biracial committee" and "has no official standing."

He said if such a committee was appointed by the head of a government "the community would not accept the recommendations of that group."

Later Burns said it is government's role to apply the law equally to all, adding that government "can't do more than call for cooperation of the citizens" in such cases.

"Government will not be successful in dictating any policy," he said, referring to the naming and establishment of the committee.

In announcing the formation of the nucleus of the community relations committee with membership from both white and Negro leaders, Milius said it is the purpose of the seven initial members to form a larger, more representative group to carry out the suggestions of the mayor.

Committee Members

Participating in the formation of the committee with Milius were Robert R. Feagin, vice president of Florida Publishing Co.; I. H. Burney II, vice presi-

under control and did not require outside help. Burns said he has the cooperation of the sheriff's office and that he did not need to use any of more than 400 specially deputized firemen in police roles.

- That he would not speculate on the implications to his gubernatorial campaign of the rioting in Negro neighborhoods during the past several days. Burns, who canceled a West Coast campaign trip to remain in touch with the Jacksonville race situation, said he would forego campaigning "to devote all my energies to my job as mayor" while the race situation here remained critical.
- The weakness of the community relations committee of the Jacksonville Area Chamber of Commerce, which had operated since the 1960 riot, was that it represented "only the white community" and a limited segment of the colored community.
- Requesting establishment of the enlarged community relations committee "does not alter my responsibility to enforce all laws."

4 Dead, 1 Missing in Sea Tragedy

(Continued from Page 1)

Palm Beach; Marvin Blackwood, 43, of West Palm Beach; and Jimmy Stevens, 44, of Boynton Beach.

One of the survivors treated and released was Ernest Whitman, 70, whose wife perished in the capsizing.

The Two Georges was one of numerous drift-fishing craft popular with tourists who visit Florida's East Coast. In drift fishing, a boat cruises to a likely spot, then cuts its engines while passengers fish over the side with poles or hand lines.

Capt. James Stevens, skipper of the Two Georges, estimated that the swell which struck the boat was 18 or 12 feet high. From his hospital bed he declared:

"There was nothing I could do . . . Nature had its way . . . It was just one of those things . . . I didn't think it could happen, but it did."

PARKING TICKETS ROUGH ON PENS

TORONTO, March 25 (AP)—How can Toronto's policemen each go through 60 pen refills a year, Alderman George Ben asked at a council meeting last night.

"We issued 817,000 parking tags last year," replied magistrate C. O. Bick, chairman of the police commission.

Pope to Wash Feet Of Latin Students

VATICAN CITY, March 25 (AP) Vatican officials announced today that Pope Paul VI will wash the feet of 13 South American student priests in Holy Thursday services in the Basilica of St. John Lateran.

OFFICIAL GUIDE
to many bargains: the want ad section.—Adv.

Advertisement

CONSTIPATED due to DIETING? "Crash" liquid diets can be very constipating! Thousands get relief with NUJOL. Not a mere lubricant, NUJOL emulsifies in intestines to increase moisture retention, thus add bulk for easier elimination. Non-habit forming. Take NUJOL at bedtime. Economize on large size.

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Committee Members

Participating in the formation of the committee with Milius were Robert R. Feagin, vice president of Florida Publishing Co.; I. H. Burney II, vice president of the Afro-American Life Insurance Co.; Claude J. Yates, vice president and general manager of the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Co. in Florida; Dr. W. W. Schell, physician and president of the Jacksonville Urban League; Charles W. Campbell, senior vice president of the South-Central Home Office of the Prudential Insurance Co. of America, and Earl M. Johnson, attorney. Burney, Schell and Johnson are Negroes.

Milius said the group would concentrate on contacting leaders in the legal and medical professions, all branches of business, food and restaurant company operators and the ministry to get "as broad a base of the community as possible" for the committee.

Milius said it is hoped to have a meeting of the enlarged committee by today.

In response to questions at the press conference in his office yesterday morning, Burns said:

- The violence and vandalism by Negro youths which started Sunday night with the fire bombing of his eastside campaign headquarters was instigated by supporters of his opponents in the gubernatorial race. Monday Burns laid responsibility for the mass demonstrations and violence by Negroes at the doorsteps of Sen. John E. Mathews Jr., Fred O. Dickinson of West Palm Beach and Mayor Robert High of Miami.
- "I reiterate," Burns said yesterday, "the (violence) was not at the direction of any of the candidates, but was the unfortunate course pursued by some of their Negro supporters."
- Gov. Bryant, contacted by Negro rights leaders to intervene in the Jacksonville situation, "wisely stated that the situation is best resolved at the community level and I might add by men of good will."
- The picketing by the NAACP of a hotel and restaurants does not mean they have been singled out because they are owned by companies not domiciled in Jacksonville and because of the policies of the absentee owners.
- During the massive demonstrations and violence, most of which has been confined to the Negro neighborhoods, Jacksonville police had the situation

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Jacksonville Journal
Editorials

Published by Florida Publishing Company Every Afternoon
Except Sunday
400 West Adams Street, Jacksonville 2, Florida

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
The Associated Press is entitled exclusively to the use for publication of all the local news printed in this newspaper as well as AP news dispatches. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Jacksonville, Florida, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Time For Reason

Creation of a committee to sit down and discuss Jacksonville's racial problems strikes us as a wise step. It is one urged by the Community Advisory Committee, formed soon after the August 1960 disturbances, and which worked long and faithfully for right and reason before calling on the city's governmental leaders several weeks ago to establish a new committee.

If the welfare of the community is at stake, and there seems little doubt here that this is the case, then any measures taken which might accomplish public safety would seem little enough to try.

Already, this city has received adverse publicity that will linger in the minds of many who are not here and do not realize that some reports have been vastly exaggerated.

Downtown Jacksonville is not a battleground. There is nowhere near the stark horror citizens of Birmingham experienced. But it could become that if leaders of both races fail in their efforts to bring about peace and common sense agreements.

Mass arrests are not the answer. Neither are mass demonstrations. The answer lies in a common effort to quell any demonstrations which might invite counter-acts of violence and send the entire community into terror.

Surely, if the faith is there and the honesty is there, the leaders of the Negro and white races in this city can reach an understanding without further resorting to the sort of degrading acts that have smeared Jacksonville this week.

Much blame has been placed on the youth of the city for starting the outbreak. But the youth of any community merely reflect what is thought and advocated by those older. As the twig is bent, so shall the tree grow was never truer than in the case of a youth who is spurred on to show disrespect for the law.

We pray that Mayor Burns and the committee use their influence and their wisdom to bring full harmony to our city.

Accent On Keeping Racial Harmony

The accent passed from restoring racial harmony to finding a way of keeping it today as an eight-man executive subcommittee of the larger Community Relations Committee worked on a list of objectives.

Robert L. Milius, department store president who is chairman of the over-all group, said an organizational meeting was held yesterday and the executive subcommittee of five whites and three Negroes was named.

Objectives will be outlined tomorrow, Milius said.

Milius would not give details of discussions in yesterday's closed session, but he said Rutledge H. Pearson, state and local president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, attended.

A discordant note has come from Pearson, who said earlier he would not join the committee unless it had the official sanction of Mayor Haydon Burns. "We're not concerned with just having a committee," Pearson said. 'We're concerned with desegregation."

A previous racial relations group was disbanded about a month ago.

Burns was not among 30 business and civic leaders present at the organizational meeting. Campaigning for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, he spoke in Tampa last night. He has suggested names for a biracial committee but has steadfastly kept such a group outside the realm of government.

The city has quietened. Police said there were only eight reported cases of vandalism last night. This was in contrast to the earlier part of the week, when police had their hands full in quelling violence and vandalism. There were widespread demonstrations by Negro youths and challenges to police authority.

The NAACP said it plans to resume peaceful demonstrations in downtown Jacksonville tonight about 7:30, after a group of several hundred local Negroes return from the Tallahasse march.

Assistant Police Chief H. V. Branch said police would continue heavy security precautions throughout the Easter weekend.

* * *

Burns Tosses Blame Back At NAACP

By United Press International

Jacksonville Mayor Haydon Burns — away from home for the first time since racial violence erupted in Jacksonville Monday — rapped the NAACP as he hit the campaign trail again last night.

The gubernatorial candidate told the Tampa Junior Chamber of Commerce that "the race trouble in Jacksonville lies at the door of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Burns, who has been accused by the NAACP of himself being responsible for the trouble, also said he is still opposed to any official biracial committee to settle the trouble.

"But I hope the unofficial one will help ease tension," he added. A Community Relations Committee was set up in the wake of the uproar.

Burns reported that "things are now quiet and we are working hard to make the situation proper and in good climate."

Fred Karl and Scott Kelly also addressed the group, but the two candidates did not mention the race trouble—a hot issue of late in the governor's race.

Generally, the gubernatorial candidates have eased off campaigning for the Easter weekend after attacks on the State Milk Commission and on each other.

Miami Mayor Robert King High was the second candidate to criticize the commission, particularly for its court action against a Tampa dairyman selling milk below the commission-set minimum.

"If one dealer can sell milk under the price recommended by the milk commission and still make a profit, why should parents, many with large families, be compelled to pay the higher price?" High asked in campaigning in Hialeah and later before the Gold Coast Democratic Club at Pompano Beach.

High reiterated proposals made

crease in auto license tag fees and the intangible property tax without saying how he would replace the revenue.

Kelly spoke to several women's groups and proposed re-establishment of the Florida Children's Commission, which was deactivated due to lack of funds from the last legislature. Kelly said the commission is a logical agency to administer a program of delinquency control.

FAA Ends Gainesville Crash Probe

GAINESVILLE (UPI)—Federal aviation officials have ended their probe of an air taxi crash which killed 10 persons, but said a probable cause of the crash will not be determined for some time.

A Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) spokesman said all evidence taken during a three-day hearing here will be carefully evaluated before the investigators make their report on the crash.

Witnesses told the investigators the plane may have been tail-heavy because of modifications made on the aircraft and due to the way it was loaded before taking off from the Gainesville airport for Jacksonville.

Rights Leader Talks At Rally In St. Augustine

ST. AUGUSTINE (UPI)—Jose Williams, field secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, arrived here last night to take charge of a campaign to break down local segregation barriers.

Williams addressed more than 300 persons at a rally in an Elks club last night and deplored St. Augustine as "the oldest segregated city in the nation."

After the rally, Williams huddled with other integration leaders to plan more demonstrations in this historic city.

Classes at a Negro high school here had to be dismissed yesterday when a lunch-hour student demonstration got out of hand and school officials feared it would develop into a riot.

Malcolm Jones, a coach at Murray High School, said the demonstration started when students began marching down the halls, singing and pounding on metal book lockers.

"It was a spontaneous reaction," he said. "There was pandemonium."

Sheriff's deputies went to the school and took two students from Ivy League colleges into custody for investigation on possible charges of inciting a riot.

But the two, Bruce Bribley of Yale and Robert Tomlinson of Penn State, later were released without being charged. Tomlinson told police he went to the school "just to talk with the teachers and some of the students."

Jones, who said he coaches "everything" at the school, believes the demonstrations were planned on the buses when the students rode to school.

"They got off the buses singing freedom songs," he said. "It seems to me they came with some definite plan in mind."

The coach said the students were restless all morning and that the tension reached a boiling point during the noon recess.

School principal Richard Murray told sheriff's deputies he dismissed classes at 1:30 p.m. because he was afraid the demonstrations were getting out of hand and would develop into a riot.

2 Groups Disagree Over Marchers' Route

TALLAHASSEE (UPI) — An apparent split in the leadership of a civil rights march on the capital developed today as Negro and white integration leaders gathered to protest the civil rights filibuster in Congress and honor "Florida freedom fighters."

Leaders of the march called a news conference to announce the split between the NAACP, originators of the march, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) who disagreed over the route of the march and other planning.

Rev. C. K. Steele of Tallahassee, a member of the national advisory board for CORE and also president of the local NAACP branch, said CORE was pulling out of the march and would have nothing to do with it.

Asked if CORE planned something on its own, Steele said, "They may. I don't know." He said the local head of CORE, Florida State University student Frank O'Neil of Jacksonville, went to Nassau last night after calling CORE chapters around the state and telling them not to come to Tallahassee.

Steele estimated this would take about 1,500 persons away from the march, including students from the University of Miami and other colleges.

The local CORE chapter, dominated by white and Negro university students, insisted on a parade route that would give the demonstrators more public exposure by circling the Capitol Building in downtown Tallahassee.

Robert Saunders of Tampa, NAACP field secretary, and Mrs. Ruby Hurley, regional NAACP director, said the march would go as planned, from Florida A&M University's campus to a state-owned baseball field three blocks south of the Capitol.

Saunders dropped his earlier estimate of 10,000 marchers to a maximum of 3,500.

He also said that plans to end the demonstration by sending a group of 300 Negroes to the south lawn of the Capitol for closing ceremonies had been abandoned. He said it would be difficult to pick 300 from the 3,500 and it also was believed that fear of trouble in the downtown area contributed to the decision.

On the surface, Tallahassee appeared quiet as busloads of demonstrators from St. Petersburg, Jacksonville and elsewhere began pulling into the gathering area at A&M three quarters of a mile from the center of town.

But there were very few people downtown, and highway patrolmen and police cruised the town.

There were seven patrolmen stationed at the south door to the Capitol and a couple in the corridor leading to the governor's office.

"We want an orderly demonstration," Saunders said, "the kind we had in Washington where the people cooperated." He said the march would be directed by marshals with loudspeakers.

Mrs. Hurley said, "Our marshals will direct our people. If somebody does something else, we'll leave that up to local officials"—obviously referring to a fear that CORE-directed demonstrators would break from the parade route.

The so-called "Tallahassee March" was planned before the racial upheaval in Jacksonville earlier this week, and, although they weren't expecting trouble, police here took extra precautionary measures.

Gov. Farris Bryant, who plans to return to this Ocala home for the Easter weekend, said yesterday he doesn't believe the march "will be any different than a meeting of a group of bird watchers or peace lovers."

"These people have a right to meet and express their views," the governor said.

Accuse 5 Of Burning Store

Five Negroes were accused today of setting fire to a grocery after burglarizing it Tuesday night.

Thomas Grocery at 834 Baker St. was destroyed by the fire, according to city police.

The five suspects were arrested Wednesday night. Warrants charging them with breaking and entering, grand larceny and arson were issued today.

Detective Sgts. E. B. Mattox and K. R. Brown said the five entered the grocery with a crowbar and took $120 worth of merchandise.

Then two of the suspects poured gasoline on the floor and lit it, detectives said.

Police identified the five as Carl Williams, 17, of 1841 DeCotte St.; Elijah Riley, 24, of 814 Baker St.; Clifford J. Simmons, 17, of 2155 Woodside St.; Charles LeRoy Robinson, 18, of 728 Robinson St., and Jimmy Lee Henderson, 19, of 776 Robinson St.

Burglary Suspect Nabbed On Rooftop

Two teen - agers who heard

Ortiz was charged with break-candidates did not mention the race trouble—a hot issue of late in the governor's race.

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Miami Mayor Robert King High was the second candidate to criticize the commission, particularly for its court action against a Tampa dairyman selling milk below the commission-set minimum.

"If one dealer can sell milk under the price recommended by the milk commission and still make a profit, why should parents, many with large families, be compelled to pay the higher price?" High asked in campaigning in Hialeah and later before the Gold Coast Democratic Club at Pompano Beach.

High reiterated proposals made earlier to seek a state minimum wage of $1.25 an hour to cover some 500,000 workers of all sorts in Florida who are not covered now by the federal minimum wage law. He pledged he would veto any tax on groceries or medicine and said consumer taxes could be reduced if the state began taxing "special interests."

Earlier in the day, Rep. Fred Karl of Daytona Beach lambasted the commission at Fort Myers, charging that it has "damaged the cause of free enterprise."

Former Sen. Fred O. Dickinson of West Palm Beach released a statement reiterating his vow not to release any statement which might inflame again the Jacksonville racial situation.

Dickinson said, however, that he would not want Burns "to think that I have forgotten his incredulous and irrational charge that I was involved in the promotion of the chaotic race disturbance."

He said he plans to examine the charge publicly "with every vestige of my ability."

Sen. John Mathews of Jacksonville also attacked Burns for similar charges against him and then turned his talk at Live Oak against "pie in the sky" campaigning by his opponents.

He particularly criticized Sen. Scott Kelly of Lakeland for promising to eliminate the in-

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Crash Probe

GAINESVILLE (UPI)—Federal aviation officials have ended their probe of an air taxi crash which killed 10 persons, but said a probable cause of the crash will not be determined for some time.

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Witnesses told the investigators the plane may have been tail-heavy because of modifications made on the aircraft and due to the way it was loaded before taking off from the Gainesville airport for Jacksonville.

The twin-engine craft, owned by South Central Airlines, plunged to the ground shortly after clearing the runway here, killing the pilot and all nine passengers.

Miami Federal Aviation Agency (FAA) investigator Henry C. Faller said at the hearing yesterday that he would not have flown the plane because its center of gravity was too far to the rear as a result of modifications to the craft and the way it was loaded.

He said the location of the center of gravity would make the craft tail-heavy and "uncontrollable."

Other witnesses said the plane appeared to stall after climbing a few hundred feet, plummeted to the ground and burst into flames.

But the two, Bruce Bribley of Yale and Robert Tomlinson of Penn State, later were released without being charged. Tomlinson told police he went to the school "just to talk with the teachers and some of the students."

Jones, who said he coaches "everything" at the school, believes the demonstrations were planned on the buses when the students rode to school.

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School principal Richard Murray told sheriff's deputies he dismissed classes at 1:30 p.m. because he was afraid the demonstrations were getting out of hand and would develop into a riot.

Republican 'Paul Reveres' Here Tuesday

Three Republican congressmen will be here Tuesday to discuss domestic and foreign issues in the coming political campaign.

The three — who make up one of seven panels formed into "Paul Revere Teams" — are James F. Battin of Montana, Page Belcher of Oklahoma and Patrick Minor Martin of California.

They will hold a press conference at 12:30 p.m. in the Seminole Hotel and then attend a rally and reception from 5 to 8 p.m. at the hotel.

Steele estimated this would take about 1,500 persons away from the march, including students from the University of Miami and other colleges.

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Burglary Suspect Nabbed On Rooftop

Two teen-agers who heard voices from the roof of a Main Street lumber company were responsible for the arrest of a burglary suspect early today.

Frank Anthony Ortiz, 24, was arrested on the roof of the Putnam Lumber and Export Co. at 4560 Main St. by city patrolmen F. W. Cauley and B. R. Ridenour.

Cauley said the unidentified youngsters were walking home from a drive-in theatre at 2 a.m. when they heard voices and called police. The officers said a window in the office had been broken and a desk drawer ransacked.

Ortiz was charged with breaking and entering and was held for further investigation.

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Jacksonville Journal
Editorials

Published by Florida Publishing Company Every Afternoon Except Sunday

400 West Adams Street, Jacksonville 2, Florida

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

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If the welfare of the community is at stake, and there seems little doubt here that this is the case, then any measures taken which might accomplish public safety would seem little enough to try.

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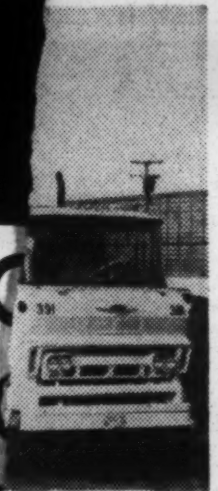
Mass arrests are not the answer. Neither are mass demonstrations. The answer lies in a common effort to quell any demonstrations which might invite counter-acts of violence and send the entire community into terror.

Surely, if the faith is there and the honesty is there, the leaders of the Negro and white races in this city can reach an understanding without further resorting to the sort of degrading acts that have smeared Jacksonville this week.

Much blame has been placed on the youth of the city for starting the outbreak. But the youth of any community merely reflect what is thought and advocated by those older. As the twig is bent, so shall the tree grow was never truer than in the case of a youth who is spurred on to show disrespect for the law.

We pray that Mayor Burns and the committee use their influence and their wisdom to bring full harmony to our city.



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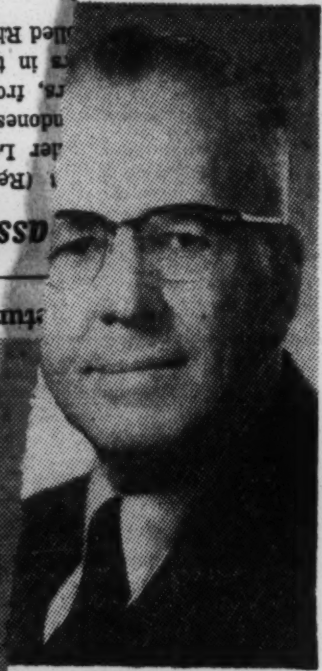

ALFRED M. BAILEY
Naturalist, Speaker

Film Series By Audubon

Goals of Community Relations Unit Given

(Continued from Page 17)

All actions are to be taken by the full committee."

The chairman distributed to newsmen a list of 30 members of the full committee who attended yesterday's meeting. It included 17 white members and 13 Negroes.

The full text of the statement approved by the full committee is as follows:

"Jacksonville in recent years has made some progress in relations between the races and in civil rights. Colored citizens now work in jobs that they could not have held some years ago. They are served in many restaurants which some time ago were segregated. They are welcome in public facilities where they were once denied admittance. There is a Negro assistant county solicitor and a Negro assistant public defender. A program of pupil integration has begun in the first grade of our public schools. There has been some progress in other respects.

Divided on Pace

"Many of our citizens feel we must make much more rapid progress. Many of our citizens feel we should proceed more slowly.

"There has been a period of unrest—a period when respect for law and order has been ignored.

"No citizen can afford this situation. It is caused by a lack of communication between the races, and a lack of our ability, in the words of President Johnson, 'to sit down and reason together.'

"This committee was formed to resolve these problems.

"OUR GOALS:

"1. The Community Relations Committee recognizes that respect for, and protection of, the rights of all individuals and their property is the paramount purpose of law.

"2. There are communities which have resolved these problems in one way or another, and we believe there are lessons to

but that much more should be done. The building of the economic status of the Negro in the community is an important goal. Such an improvement would contribute significantly to the overall economy of the Jacksonville community. The committee will study, therefore, avenues of increasing employment and concurrently avenues of training citizens of the Negro race to qualify for better employment and increased income.

"4. It is agreed by the committee that the study, discussion and analysis above proposed, and the decisions to the questions which have been above set forth, will be concluded at the earliest possible date.

"This information can be obtained most rapidly, and it is recommended that the first of these reports be made to the full committee by April 10, or sooner, if possible. It is hoped that continuing reports will be made to the full committee, so that a program of action may proceed.

Calmness Urged

"5. This committee cannot function with any degree of success in an atmosphere of violence, and it urges upon all citizens calmness and patience, which provide the only atmosphere conducive to progress. Nothing in this statement of policy is intended to restrict or oppose the lawful rights of individuals or groups to participate in peaceful protests."

Immediately after the press conference, Pearson, the NAACP head, issued a statement to newsmen in which he said he endorsed the committee's general objectives but insisted that no studies of the experiences of other communities are necessary to immediately desegregate public facilities here.

Pearson said:

"Having endorsed the general objectives of the Community Relations Committee and assuming that these objectives will be forthwith implemented, and at the request of Mr. Robert Millius, I have temporarily accepted

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ALFRED M. BAILEY
Naturalist, Speaker

Film Series By Audubon Unit to End

The final film in the 1963-64 series of screen tour presentations sponsored by the Audubon Society of Duval County will be shown tomorrow at 8 p.m. in the Prudential auditorium.

Dr. Alfred M. Bailey, a well-known naturalist and director of the Denver Museum of Natural History since 1936, will present "Ecuador's Enchanted Isles," a full-color film made during a cruise through the volcanic islands of the Galapagos Archipelago.

Dr. Bailey's film contains pictures of some of the unique species found by Charles Darwin during his visit to the islands in 1835. The Denver museum's field party made the expedition under Dr. Bailey's direction in 1960 and the film to be presented here is one of the outgrowths of that trip.

The film includes land and marine iguanas, giant tortoises, flightless cormorants, Darwin finches, Galapagos albatrosses, as well as underwater photographs of colorful fish, sharks and manta rays.

Dr. Ray Edwards is president of the local society and Harold Clark has served as chairman for the tours

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"OUR GOALS:

"1. The Community Relations Committee recognizes that respect for, and protection of, the rights of all individuals and their property is the paramount purpose of law.

"2. There are communities which have resolved these problems in one way or another, and we believe there are lessons to be learned from their experience.

To Gather Data

"The committee has therefore determined immediately to gather information and data based upon this experience, particularly from other Southern cities which have experienced similar conditions:

"(a) To ascertain to what extent and how they resolved similar unrest and differences existing in their communities.

"(b) To determine what course of action (including the power of reason and persuasion) can be undertaken to bring about a voluntary desegregation in our community of all establishments serving the public;

"(c) To determine, if possible, what laws, if any, the committee, can undertake to have repealed, or passed, in the hope that they will help bring about a permanent resolution of the unrest and differences presently existing;

"(d) To determine what recommendations can and should be made to the duly constituted authorities of our city and country and immediately to make such recommendations as may be deemed desirable in a further effort to accomplish such purposes.

Gains Noted

"3. The committee further recognizes that in this community there have been gains in the area of employment of Negroes,

er communities are necessary to immediately desegregate public facilities here.

Pearson said:

"Having endorsed the general objectives of the Community Relations Committee and assuming that these objectives will be forthwith implemented, and at the request of Mr. Robert Milius, I have temporarily accepted appointment to the committee's executive board.

"In respect to public accommodations, I am persuaded that no further studies, outside of the information and experiences of Jacksonville, are necessary or important for their immediate desegregation.

NAACP Position

"It is the position of the NAACP that these services can be desegregated without further ado, study, analysis or consideration. If the NAACP has at hand any experience or statistics that will be helpful in giving momentum to this body and will aid in the speedy desegregation in places of public accommodation, it shall forthwith submit such information to the committee."

Aside from Milius and Pearson, executive committee members attending the press conference were Thomas Hargraves, executive secretary of the James Weldon Johnson Branch of the YMCA and the committee's elected secretary; I. H. Burney II, vice president and secretary of the Afro-American Life Insurance Co.; Dr. W. W. Schell Jr., physician and chairman of the board of the Jacksonville Urban League; and Earl M. Johnson, an attorney, all Negroes; and Charles W. Campbell, senior vice president of the Prudential Insurance Co. of America; Robert R. Feagin, vice president of Florida Publishing Co.; and Claude J. Yates, vice president of Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Co., all white members.

Members Listed

When he distributed the list of names of full committee members voting at yesterday's meeting, Milius said there were others who have accepted appointment who were not able to be present yesterday. Aside from those members of the executive committee attending the press conference, the list distributed by Milius included:

Dr. Arnett E. Girardeau, Frank Hampton, Wendell P. Holmes, Rev. J. S. Johnson, Dr. C. B. McIntosh, Leander J. Shaw Jr., Eric O. Simpson, and Rev. Landon Williams, all Negroes; and Fred J. Abood, C. A. Alexander, Rear Adm. Robert Goldthwaite, Ernest E. Lent Jr., Richard J. Lewinson, William H. Maness, Dr. A. McKenzie Manson, Roland Mumford, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Patrick E. Nolan, Prime F. Osborn, Franklin G. Russell, Crawford Solomon, and Nathan H. Wilson, all white members.

Milius pointed out that the committee membership includes outstanding community leaders of both races in a wide range of fields of endeavor.

Police Note Continuing Decline in Vandalism

No new incidents of racial violence were reported in Jacksonville yesterday for the second straight day.

Police said there was no widespread vandalism or rock throwings—acts which had caused concern earlier in the week. The Jacksonville fire department reported only five false alarms which was "about normal."

Yesterday morning, Bernard A. Thomas, 29, of 1150 Community Court, was convicted of turning in an unlawful fire alarm. Judge John Santora sentenced Thomas to pay a $250 fine or spend 30 days in jail.

Ultraviolet Trap

An officer who testified in court said police and firemen had spread a paste on many fireboxes. The paste shows up under ultraviolet light. The officer testified Thomas was arrested at Jessie and Franklin streets at 9:15 p.m. Friday. There was a false alarm turned in on Jessie Street near the railroad about 30 minutes earlier.

Officers shined ultraviolet light on Thomas' hands after he was arrested and said the normally invisible paste showed up.

Thomas told the court he shook hands with a number of his friends Friday night and had not turned in a false alarm.

Beach Boule Accident V Out of H

Constance Jenrette, 1
Peach Drive was releas
Baptist Memorial Hospita
day. She had been admi
day following a two-car
at Beach Boulevard and
Road.

Duval County Patrolma
Biondi said a car driven
Carroll Graham, 58, of 81
on Ave. was traveling onto
Boulevard from an acces
and attempted to make
turn across the thorou
Graham's car collided wi
driven by Harry Jenrette,
the Peach Drive address. H
traveling west on Beach
vard.

Three other persons inju
the wreck were released
treatment at the hospital.

It was erroneously report
the Florida Times-Union y
day that Jenrette had been
ing his car onto Beach
vard from the access road.

Burns

(Continued from Page 17

dress to state convention of
ida League of Women Vote
6 p.m. (all candidates invi
While in Orlando meet with
resentatives of the Florida
neering Society. Return to M
Wednesday night.

Thursday — Campaignin
Dade County; appear on live
vision with Mrs. Burns,
Irene Menzer of Vero Beach
Mrs. Fred Rouse of Miami,
latter two being state and D
County women's division ch
men of the Burns campaign,
spectively; leave Miami for T
pa at 5 p.m.; address Hillsboro
County Education Association
8 p.m.

Friday—Fly to Fort Pierce
reception and luncheon and
campaign in St. Lucie and
chobee Counties; leave for
Lauderdale at 3 p.m. for re
tion given by Mrs. Pat DuP

Saturday — Campaign in B
ard and Palm Beach cou
and attend a fish fry and
in Boca Raton Saturday a
noon.

Sunday — Attend after
rally in Pompano Beach. Re
to Jacksonville Sunday nig

THE WASHINGTON

By James V. Allday

Special to The Washington Post

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — "Jacksonville's police chief charged today that 'hoodlums and vandals' are responsible for this port city's racial violence."

That accusation from Police Chief Luther Reynolds is three years old, but sounds as if it were written yesterday in the light of Jacksonville's racial flare-up that struck last Monday.

Somewhere in the mess of confusion and bloodshed, there's a reason for the renewed violence in this city that bills itself as the "Gateway to Florida." The Negroes were the source of most of the activity, but the man in the middle is 52-year-old Haydon Burns, Mayor for 14 years.

Saturday, March 21, Burns requested television and radio time from every station in the city to issue a statement on the growing racial unrest that manifested itself the previous Friday as a mass demonstration in front of the municipal court where 20 "sit-inners" were being tried for violating Florida's anti-trespass law.

"Certain adults have told Negro youths that they have the civil right to force their presence upon certain hotels, restaurants and other businesses. As mayor of all the people, I want to set them straight."

Burns waved his finger into the TV lens and said, "you do not have such civil rights and I will not tolerate any further demonstrations."

IN THE PRESENCE of the city-wide audience, Burns then administered the oath of office to 496 firemen to serve as special law officers. Each of the men raised his right hand while standing in front of his television set and listening to the Mayor.

The reaction from the Negro community was immediate, intense anger. Rutledge Pearson, a Negro school teacher in Jacksonville and State President of the NAACP said, "I've never seen people (Negroes) so mad before. The man (Burns) is just asking for trouble."

Pearson, who re-organized a "direct action" program against segregation following the collapse of a Chamber of Commerce sponsored bi-racial committee began to lose control of his young flock.

Members of the NAACP Youth Council, emotionally inflamed over the Mayor's remarks, began to organize an unofficial school boycott for the following Monday.

Monday morning, a crowd of about 150 Negro students, playing hooky from school, marched arm in arm downtown singing traditional freedom songs. When they reached Hemming Park, the center of downtown and site of the 1960 riots, they began to get a little unruly.

TWO LARGE BUSES used to haul prisoners to the city's prison farm, were soon filled with screaming, kicking Negro youngsters.

By nightfall, incidents of violence began to pop up in rapid fire sequence. A Negro woman was killed by a pistol shot while she searched the roadside for her purse. A Cuban refugee was creased in the skull by a bullet.

Burns promptly blamed his political opponents on the outbreak of bloodshed.

For a man who stands an odds-on chance of becoming Florida's next governor after the May 5 Democratic primary, this sounded at first like political suicide.

Four years ago he entered the gubernatorial race as a political unknown as far as the state was concerned, and, with a limited campaign budget, fell just 12,000 votes short of getting into the runoff. This was enough to convince Burns that next time around he would be the people's choice.

Burns has a talent for politics that began when he was 16 years old. In fact, it's the only business in which he has succeeded. Early in his adult life, he entered the appliance business and failed. A plumbing partnership wasn't much better.

WHEN HE WAS 16, Burns stepped in the campaign for his ailing father who was running for an obscure city post.

A public relations man, who for years was a top-notch political reporter in Jacksonville, says, "Nobody, but nobody, advises Burns or tells him what to do. When he makes a decision, it's all his."

Back in 1949, Jacksonville was known as a fleshpot, and not much of a seaport. Burns decided he wanted to be mayor and won the support of Edward Ball, chairman of the board of the Florida East Coast Railway, and a political power to be reckoned with in the state.

Burns won election to a two-year term, and started to work on what is now known as "The Jacksonville Story." He's been in office ever since and has succeeded in lengthening the term to four years.

Burns has helped clean up the once miserable Bay Street waterfront area. When he took office, Bay Street was a continuous line of shady taverns and prostitute hangouts. Today, Bay Street contains a new City Hall that bears a deliberate resemblance to the United Nations building, a magnificent multi-million dollar civic auditorium and a municipal parking lot.

As mayor, he assisted the Chambe of Commerce and did a lot of the selling himself, helping to bring in businesses and beautiful buildings whic add to the new breathtaking effect o Jacksonville's skyline.

Burns's opponents claim he goes to far in taking all the credit for thes accomplishments.

The negro attitude toward th Jacksonville story is another stor

THE WASHINGTON POST
Sunday, March 29, 1964 E3

nd the seat of much of today's disontent.

NAACP President Pearson said, Burns doesn't care a hoot for the inlividual. All he cares for is concrete."

When the Jacksonville Expressway vas built at the urging of the Mayor, iundreds of Negro families were disocated.

Negroes seem to feel that Burns's ersonal ambition has destroyed the egro's chances in Jacksonville.

Ruby Hurley, regional secretary of he NAACP who came to the aid of Pearson last week, said, "Burns simply refuses to recognize the fact that there is a racial problem here. None of this (violence) would have happened if it had not been for Burns who is one of the most stupid men in the South."

What Negroes want most now is what Burns refuses to give: a bi-racial committee with the official sanction of the city government. Burns has repeatedly stated he will not form a bi-racial committee, but on Wednesday, when vandalism and violence had reached a peak, he called a press conference to urge "responsible citizens" to form a committee of both black and white, which he said would not necessarily be a bi-racial committee.

Mayor Burns has been inaccessible to reporters since making his suggestion to form the committee.

HE VOWED TO listen to the advice of such a committee. Here again, what first seemed like political suicide was turning into a political coup for candidate Burns.

The man who had sounded so bitter five days earlier was now picturing himself as willing to reason with any man, regardless of race.

The Burns name already has become a rallying cry in most of Florida. Since losing out in the first primary election for governor four years ago, Burns has been steadily building a statewide organization that will be very tough to beat next May.

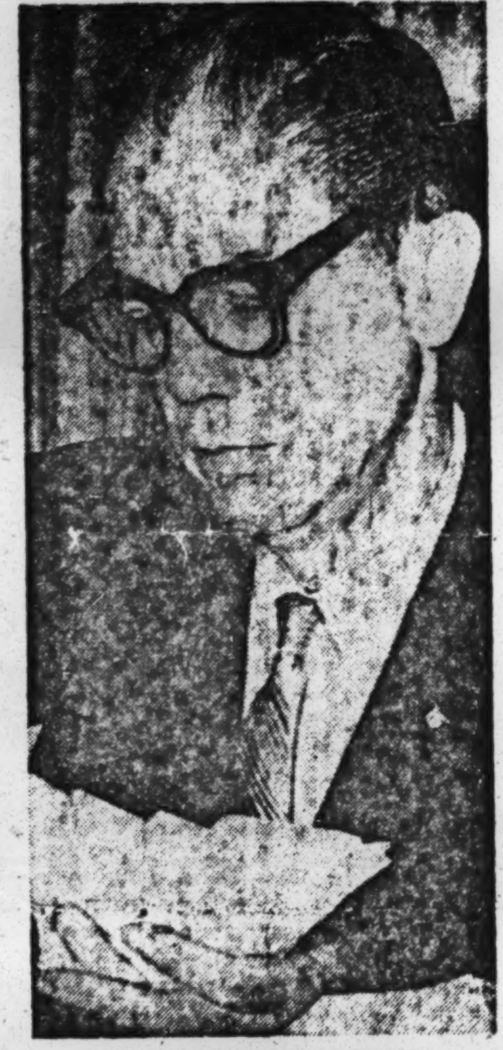
The last time he ran for re-election as mayor, his opponent was John Lanahan, a prosperous lumberman who was serving on the City Council.

The campaign was an adventure in mud slinging. Lanahan accused Burns of profiteering from the police department and requiring personal allegiance from high police officials.

Burns cried foul and entered a $75,000 libel suit against Lanahan which is still pending. He was reelected by a 2-1 majority.

The FBI once investigated Burns for certain activities in connection with the regime of the late Dictator Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. It was suggested that Burns had failed to register with the State Department as an agent of a foreign power. Nothing ever came of the investigation that the public has been told.

NOR HAS ANYTHING been told about the weeks of investigation by a Federal grand jury in Miami of Jacksonville policemen believed to be conducting clandestine activities while supposedly performing their police duties.



MAYOR HAYDON BURNS
. . . wants to be Governor

Burns is a politician who wants to win and it is probable that should he think the public attitude favored immediate integration, he would promote it.

When the movement for racial equality in the South produced its first rash of bombings, Burns organized a southern conference on bombing and succeeded in drawing up lines of communications between cities to exchange intelligence information and put an end to further acts of violence. Since then, only one Negro home has been bombed in Jacksonville.

The new bi-racial committee that is shaping up at the suggestion of Burns may have some effect in solving the racial dilemma of Jacksonville, whose Negro population numbers 44.9 per cent of the total of 201,000 persons.

It looks like a long hot summer for the south and its racial problems. But for candidate Burns, who in three short days shot himself into the Nation's eye, it looks like his followers will have to order an extra supply of membership buttons.

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The cred

Report L-47
April 16, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Jackson 2-8764

THE QUESTION FROM JACKSONVILLE

The Easter Week outbreak in Jacksonville of racial violence, predominantly from Negro sources, raises this question: was it something peculiar to Jacksonville, scene of one of the few and worst instances of raw rioting during the 1960 sit-ins; or was it a portent of terrible things to come, symptomatic of a mood and emotional climate to be expected over the South this Spring and Summer, as the great turning point of federal civil rights legislation is reached?

* * * * *

The immediate build-up to Jacksonville's rioting began the week of March 16. Negro demonstrations seeking desegregation of restaurants and hotels were stepped up. Instead of placid picketing which had, with a new impetus from participation of Negro ministers, become since February a regular thing on downtown city sidewalks, there began sit-ins. At some, a hit and run tactic was used; at others, demonstrators remained to be arrested. By Thursday and Friday of that week, roving Negro teenagers were moving through the downtown and its fringes, some demonstrating, some, according to most accounts, merely making their presence felt -- walking slowly in front of traffic, acting boisterously. Part of this seemed to be in reaction against arrests, and against Negroes being barred from a hearing on the arrests. At one point on Friday, March 20, 100 or so of these youngsters gathered at Hemming Park in the center of the downtown, the center of the 1960 rioting.

Various observers said the activity Friday afternoon had led them to expect a confrontation with white racists at the park that night or Saturday, and possibly a riot. This did not materialize either time. But Mayor Haydon Burns had communicated to newspapermen before 1 a.m. Saturday his plans for a television speech Saturday night on the racial situation, based on a warning that a riot was immanent.

The mayor's statement Saturday night was later reproduced by him as a full page advertisement in the city's newspapers.

The Mayor asserted he had full responsibility for the city, and declared "I refuse to delegate or to relegate this responsibility to anyone or any bi-racial committee or any other groups, it is my responsibility and I will face it." (A week before, he had been approached by representatives of the Jacksonville Council on Human Relations and urged to form a bi-racial committee with official sanction, or to do something positive in the face of growing Negro restiveness. This same recommendation had been made by others previously.)

The mayor's statement also pointed out that publicly owned facilities were desegregated, and maintained that Negroes had no "civil rights" to seek service at private hotels and restaurants and other businesses. "...If such were not the law, then why is the Congress considering the Public Accommodations law at this time?"

The statement then went on to say that, under twelve city laws, "demonstrations like last week" (presumably sit-ins) and "gatherings other than by permit" (the collecting at Hemming Park) would be prohibited. The laws cited included one "against conspiracy." To supplement "508 colored and white police officers," including "45 specially trained members of the Emergency Corps that are capable of meeting any situation, "the mayor said he was "right now going to give the oath and swear in as Special Police Officers 496 Firemen who at this moment are assembled at their respective stations under the direction of their senior officers."

Observers said that they stood back and waited for the lid to blow. It did not Sunday. But on Monday morning, March 23, a crowd of demonstrating Negro youths gathered at Hemming Park. They were dispersed, some arrested, some chased by police who had circled their gathering in motorcycles with sirens and motors roaring. After the rout, Jacksonville entered its two nights and two days of violence and vandalism.

Negroes threw rocks, bricks, and bottles at cars and store windows in the pie-wedge Negro section that points into the heart of downtonw, and tossed fire bombs at white and Negro stores and businesses, perhaps half a dozen, including Mayor Burns's Negro gubernatorial campaign headquarters. Negroes were arrested in possession of fire bombs and other weapons. False alarms, as many as 17 in 25 minutes, kept up during the period. Something like 76 police cases of vandalism were reported between Monday night and Wednesday morning.

A Negro woman was shot to death along a road from a passing car, in a Negro area. Police at the time and since said they had no clues and no way to know whether the shooting was connected with racial strife. A car containing one white and two Negro sailors was fired into, apparently by Negroes. The white sailor and one of the Negroes were slightly injured. A tourist car was fired at, its occupant cut by glass. A man who claimed to have been tied up and cut with razor blades by Negroes turned out to be the same man who claimed the same thing happened to him during the 1960 rioting at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan. Police said his story was false.

At one point, police kicked in the door of the NAACP headquarters and arrested students there. The police said they were throwing bottles out the window. An NAACP spokesman denied it. He also charged that desk drawers in the office were rifled.

Virtually all of the vandalism was confined to the Negro section. It was sporadic and involved individuals or small groups. Something more nearly approaching mob violence occurred Tuesday at New Stanton High School, a Negro school which includes students from the "best" Negro homes. The school was emptied by a bomb threat. (Previously, bomb threats had provided school yards full of youngsters from which the hit and run demonstrators sought recruits.) Students vandalized (details are not clear) a bread truck driven by a white nam. Police were called, and a small contingent arrived. A Negro officer arrested one youth. While one group of students engaged the police, razzing them, others freed the arrested youth. A Negro officer fired a pistol into the air. A help call went out, and re-enforcements arrived, including, according to the sheriff's office, about 15 cars of state troopers, 30 men, of a group which happened to be in a training session in Jacksonville. The pistol shot, and the sight of the troopers and their weapons, angered the already dangerous crowd of 1,500 students. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police and newspapermen, and at Negro teachers and other Negro adult on-lookers. The police pulled out. (They later said they thought it the best way to calm the crowd.) The crowd turned on the newsmen, overturning their car and setting it on fire, chasing three (while adult Negro on-lookers sat on their porches laughing.) They caught one, pummeled him, and, according to one of the three chased, robbed him. The man was rescued by Negro teachers who took him into the school for safety and treatment. Another reporter, arriving on the scene, was quickly pulled into a grocery store whose door was then guarded by Negro adults until he could get out of the area safely.

Similar -- though less violent -- mob scenes occurred at two other Negro schools emptied by bomb threats. At Matthew W. Gilbert Junior High School, police and fire vehicle windows were broken, and at Northwest High School rocks were thrown at two grocery stores.

In the midst of this, on Wednesday, Mayor Burns called for an "unofficial" bi-racial committee to regain "peace and harmony and understanding." (At a press conference, he said this was not inconsistent with his previous stand. The committee was "community action"; he was still responsible for law enforcement.) Friday afternoon pickets were walking peacefully downtown, and by Easter Morning, with sunshine bathing the Confederate monument in Hemming Park, the riot tension seemed over.

The bi-racial committee, headed by important members of the city's business elite, was understood to be ready and equipped to act; it could conceivably be the instrument for Jacksonville's peaceful acceptance of a fair deal in race relations. Backsliding, however, could mean more trouble.

Continued picketing and a boycott to keep pressure on the new committee was the policy the NAACP announced that Easter Sunday afternoon.

* * * * *

Which was it? A legacy of violence cropping up again in Jacksonville or a new phase in the South's struggle to be rid of segregation?

A comparison with the similar Negro vandalism that occurred in 1960 shows extreme differences in the degree of provocation. Then it had come from whites swinging axe handles at sit-in demonstrators.

This time, the Ku Klux Klan was quiescent, and a speech by a visiting U. S. Nazi Party nabob drew an audience of ten, six of whom were police. The provocation seemed to center around impatience with the lack of desegregation progress, resentment of a gradually getting-tougher handling of demonstrators in Municipal Court, and an immediate flare-up of resentment over the mayor's speech. (Some said the speech was political; the mayor is one of six candidates for governor. He claimed the stepped-up Negro activity was inspired by his political enemies. He might be right, to the extent that Negro leaders may have wanted to show the state that they were not happy with what his 15 year old administration had produced for them.)

A factor common to both riot situations was gangs of juvenile and older Negroes who, under such colorful names as the "High Hats," "Boomerangs," and "Untouchables," are in normal times "involved in other matters that keep the Negro crime rate high" (in the words of Chief Deputy Sheriff William F. Whitehead). He, city police sources, and the NAACP attributed most of this year's Negro violence -- as in 1960 -- to such elements in the Negro community taking advantage of the civil rights tension to let go some of their own broader guage hostility. As an indication of this kind of anger in operation, some of the rocks and some of the fire bombs were thrown at Negroes and Negro businesses.

At the schools, another element entered. George Harmon, Jacksonville Journal assistant city editor, was one of those chased, and he said that the majority of the crowd was in a mood of excited, almost gleeful excitement, while there was violence in the mood of a hard core group at the center of the crowd. It was panty-raid, spring feverishness degenerated into mob violence, he said. Furthermore, no physical provocation to compare with the Birmingham police dog and fire hose treatments of Spring, 1963, ever occurred.

To say all of this is still not to get at a real understanding of a situation such as Jacksonville's, or of the roots of violence in such a southern Negro community. To understand is to begin with the stench and dilapidation of the Negro slums, and to try to comprehend the hopelessness that is compounded out of the thudding impact upon the human consciousness of being poor, and being blocked by the very conditions of this poverty and by the weights of discrimination from any possible escape. This is hopelessness deepened by the new knowledge that the old dream of escape to the North is false -- that up there it's just more of the dreary old same. "Our young," say Negroes in Jacksonville and elsewhere over the South in 1964, "don't care any

To know this is to know the extreme: the already defeated, desperate young -- fatherless or sons of men who have no jobs -- who have no model except within themselves, and who find their meaning in life in gangs, with their medieval and prehistoric overtones, their war councils, and their internecine battling. These gangs were there in 1960 as they have been at other southern racial crises, watching from the sidelines. They saw the non-violent demonstrators beat, and believed that the police failed to protect them, arresting them, and not their aggressors. This rankles, and is a part of what had been festering in the black ghettos of Jacksonville.

So, too, is the memory of what happened when the gangs ran violent after seeing the treatment of the non-violent in 1960, their own violence turned outward instead of upon self and one another. They recount to each other and to new initiates still the old war stories, of how for a few hours there they took over, controlled the expressways into town, and faced down cops, Negro and white. "And we came upon this white policeman, and man, he was so scared of us, that he gave us his gun, without our asking for it..."

Also, to understand is to know that a Negro community in a city like Jacksonville is not monolithic -- that while it is united in a drive to end segregation, it is fragmented in dispute over how best this might be achieved, whether by violence, or non-violent direct action, or peaceful, dignified negotiation. Such a community, just like its white counterpart, is torn, too, by the plain old human rivalries of class and age and personality: the scorn of the leader, who lives amid his people in the slums, for the "black bourgeoise," moved like the white man to a suburb that hides them from the harshness of the life of their people. The contempt of the professional man, who has fought his way up to a fine home with a swimming pool, for the upstart young militants who won't listen to the experience and skill and wisdom that got him where he is and was used in the long painful past of racial advancement that helped lead to the recent breakthroughs.

These are among the dynamic elements that are operating in such a situation as Jacksonville's, influencing actions, setting terms, in a context far more complex than the surface appearance of black against white, good against evil.

There had been some progress in the city. Now, there is a bi-racial committee, and more ground for hope.

"Yes," says the middle-class Negro leader, "there is hope -- because the white men know they've had two strikes. The third strike, and Jacksonville is out." In the background lurks the gang member, with a ring in his ear, a half articulated murmur in his brain. "Why not? There is no hope for me. Why should there be hope for anybody else? Boy this next one is going to be a BIG rumble..."

Rutledge Pearson, 34, Negro schoolteacher, is head of the Jacksonville and Florida NAACP branches, and the leader of the city's civil rights drive. He and other NAACP leaders worked all night Monday and Tuesday (including a television appeal) urging against the violence, telling the people that the effective thing to do was follow non-violent leadership. Mr. Pearson cites efforts by various groups to persuade the mayor to give official status to a bi-racial committee. He and others describe the long record of the previous bi-racial committee, established by the Chamber of Commerce after the 1960 riots. (Even in name, it tended not to admit being bi-racial; it was called the Community Advisory Committee and its Negro Counterpart.) It was hampered by lack of official recognition, and such things as a failure to keep minutes, according to Dr. W. W. Schell, who patiently and persistently worked as chairman of the "Negro counterpart." It was considered generally ineffective in the crucial, last-ditch efforts to desegregate public accommodations and jobs.

Like most southern cities, Jacksonville has desegregated most publicly owned facilities, including theoretically its beach. It closed its swimming pool. Thirteen Negro first graders entered five previously all-white schools in the Fall of 1963. A half dozen restaurants have desegregated; hotels accept Negro conventioners; theatres limit Negro customers to eight a night.

Thus, the wellsprings of Jacksonville Negro civil rights discontent seemed to be general dissatisfaction with tokenism -- a profound frustration growing out of a feeling that the city's civic leaders were not joining in good faith with those Negroes who were trying to find accommodation by peaceful means. The violence, which may have been diminished but could not be stopped by responsible Negro leaders, would seem to have sprung from youthful hysteria and mob spirit at the schools, and otherwise from criminal elements and others in the Negro community who sensed a ripe opportunity for expression of dangerous fury, out of a lifetime of deprivations.

And violence-proneness is not one-sided in the city. White racists may have been quiescent during the crisis, but they have in beatings and bombings (a recent case resulting in arrests) made their presence felt since 1960.

"...They were after anybody white," said a Negro mother sadly of the school rioters..Prince McIntosh, Jr., 21, public relations director of the Jacksonville NAACP (who was arrested while taking pictures of the demonstrations) said the local NAACP Youth Council does not at all condone violence, but -- "at the same time we feel just calling for the cease of violence will get nowhere... We need to try not so much to stop violence as to root out the evil that is the cause of the violence -- segregation."

* * * * * * * *

Whether Jacksonville is a special case ultimately rests with the South, as new opportunities for good-faith dealing between white and Negro people loom ahead for each community in this year of national decision making. In 1960, in a special publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, the Southern Regional Council stated:

> The South is not an anarchy. It is not a region where government is weak. It is not a region where the lines of political and economic power are loosely held. The breakdowns in law and order in the South are an outcome of public policy -- no less because it is sometimes oral and traditional rather than written in statutes and police manuals.

The words still apply, as each community in the South faces the decision of whether to obey the prospective federal law on public accommodations and other civil rights.

In the years following 1954, the South chose to violate the American tradition of obeying the Supreme Court's reading of the Constitution.

The question for 1964 is whether the spirit of lawfulness has returned to the Southern political leadership, to that leadership which drummed up the orgy of massive resistance and which had always, as it has now even throughout the Deep South, power to maintain order.

In great areas of the South today, that leadership has been overthrown and replaced.

In those states and cities where it still exists, it acts still as the real agent provocatuer of turbulence and violence.

But the lesson of Jacksonville is also that wherever the white civic leadership -- religious, business, and political -- allows a racial crisis to develop and spill into the streets (whether by indifference or inattentiveness to the justified impatience of Negroes with tokenism or less, or by rebuff of Negro efforts to effect change through discussion and joint planning, or by other failures), then it invites violence in.

Beyond prudent doubt, the next six months will be packed with crisis and decision for the South and for the nation. Every indication points to protest activity of an extent and an intensity without precedent, not only in the South but in the North as well. The Senate filibuster wears on. When it is finally over and defeated, and a law is passed, the issue in the South will be compliance. In both Summer and early Fall, some of the most recalcitrant school districts of the Deep South will be under court order to desegregate. And in the background of all this, there will be the excitement of the Presidential campaign and many state races.

With the lesson of Jacksonville in mind, the expectations for this Spring and Summer for every community of the South seem to hinge around such questions as the following:

- What guarantees are there that a racial crisis might not set off the energies of mobs, whether of white or Negro students full of spring feverishness, or of white or Negro victims of impoverishment, sullen in their slums?
- What policies and tools (such as an honorable biracial committee) give responsible Negro leaders any hope that their just demands will be met, short of the creation of a race crisis?
- And finally, what is the unspoken communication of community leadership toward violence? In Jacksonville, it seemed to be the

message that violence works. The two days of rioting accomplished the creation of an apparently effective biracial committee, something that weeks of urging had not accomplished. They seemed on their way to accomplishing in the field of public accommodations desegregation and the meeting of civic responsibility what three years of patient negotiation had not been able to achieve. Is this the message that will come from other communities, to shape the emotional climate and mood during the crucial, turning-point Spring and Summer coming upon the South?

File: Jacksonville

PA✓
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THE HARD CASE OF DESEGREGATION

By

William H. Maness

(This address was delivered by Judge William H. Maness, Chairman of the Community Relations Committee of ~~Jacksonville~~, Florida, at the weekly luncheon meeting of the Exchange Club of Jacksonville on April 29, 1964.)

Expressing views and opinions on current social, economic and religious problems of our day is a grave responsibility. Yet, to remain silent on these same issues when opinions are being formed and decisions are being made is destructive of our Democratic way of life. Silence is the deadly enemy of freedom. Too long we have tried to solve racial problems without taking public stands. Too long we have tried to protect the public generally from the reality of racial tensions in our city that have boiled over at least twice in major proportions. There can be no understanding or acceptance of the problems or of the solution without involving the general public; without appealing to the citizens of this community. I have utmost faith in the ability of both the Negro and white citizens of this community to make the right decision if we trust them with the problems.

This is why I have chosen as my subject "Law Day and the Hard Case of Desegregation." The views I express are not necessarily those of anyone else, even my wife. They are my own. I think they are right; but, I would be less than frank if I did not admit room for error. I'm kinda like a man who came to see me about ten years ago to engage my services for an adoption. He wanted to adopt a boy he claimed to be his son but who had been born to the wife of another man. I inquired, "John, are you sure this is your child?" A broad grin broke across his face as he replied, "I ain't sure but I'm satisfied." This is my situation as I try to find answers for my own convictions. "I ain't sure but I'm satisfied."

It is often said by judges that "hard cases make bad law." This is true. Too often the particular circumstances that make a particular case most difficult are human factors. As we approach May Ist, Law Day U.S.A., we should remember that the great freedoms guaranteed by both our State and Federal Constitutions posed no problem for the courts when they were invoked by men of good repute. The privilege against self-incrimination, the right to a write of habeas corpus, the protection against unreasonable search and seizure, the right to be confronted by one's accusers, of trial by jury, and the right to counsel are just a few of long-cherished and taken-for-granted rights of "good" men. But when the courts extend the same rights to "bad" or unpopular men, the hue and cry goes up that "the crooks get all the breaks." Few people realize that these rights developed out of a necessity to provide a more realize that these rights developed out of a necessity to provide a more reliable method of determining "guilt or innocence" under law, a procedure that would insure the same impartial treatment, whether or not one is in current favor. The popularity of the accused would be a poor test to determine his rights. A faulty concept of "good" and "bad" or "right" and "wrong" is a constant danger in a civilization such as we have developed, a civilization characterized by a high level of education of the masses, many forms of communication, a highly mobile and constantly moving population, and the exploitation of freedom of speech, assembly, and the press. More people have more information about more events in more places more quickly than at any time in the history of the world.

Against this background our attention is focused on a race whose heritage has been predominantly a role of servitude to a Nation predominantly white. In our midst from the beginning -- slaving, working, serving, "sometimes up and sometimes down," too busy doing the menial tasks of life to question his role, too poor to look beyond the source of his material existence, too loyal to question the justice of the men he served, too ignorant to know educational and cultural deprivation, too trusting to want a voice in Government -- the Negro has asked little of the men and women he has served through the centuries. So little, in fact, that those he has served regard him more as a dependent child who will never grow up, who is satisfied with the status quo.

But suddenly, in the last twenty-five years, this emerging race, the Negro, has shown signs of growing up. His master has largely replaced him with machinery and he is no longer so busy with the menial tasks -- not so much work to do, so he begins to question his role. He has been required to look for some other source for his material existence. He has been required to go to school. He is no longer ignorant of educational and cultural needs, but sees his own inadequacies and is seeking to overcome them. His loyalties are detached from a particular source. He looks for economic opportunities in other fields of service, but he finds an attitude of resistance.

The men he has served so long find it difficult to accept his new status. Like a parent who cannot accept the fact that his child is now grown, *presumed* capable and self-sufficient, those who have been served are having difficulty accepting the Negro as a person or as a race, as mature, capable, and self-sufficient, in a different role of economic endeavor. Many are having even greater difficulty accepting the idea of the "servant" eating with the family and patronizing the same public facilities.

So, for a time the Negro recoiled from such resistance to his new role and became disillusioned with the justice of his historical benefactors. "What rights do I have?" he wondered. Now there was time to study, to reason, to think, to look for new resources of assistance. The Negro now has found these resources and other assistance to provide the answers to all his questions. He is now aware of what he has not done, has not had, what he can do, and how to do it. "What do we want?" read the placard of a Negro picket pacing in front of the City Hall. "The same thing you want, *and get*," was the answer on the same sign.

The most compelling fact that we must now face in Jacksonville is filled with the same anxieties that we experience when our 16-year-old finally gets his license and we no longer have a *legal excuse* to deny him or her the use of the car alone. It is filled with the same emotions that well up within us when we realize that some day, perhaps tonight, we must let our daughter go out on her first car date. We wish we could put her request off for a week, a month, a year, forever -- but we can't. We must give in and trust and pray she will return safely. They usually do. So also, we must admit that the process of time and change has brought us to this compelling fact that we now must face, to wit: that discrimination against the Negro solely because he or she is a Negro must be ended. Racial discrimination finds no justification in the law of the land. The peaceful, law-abiding atmosphere we all desire will not be realized in any other way. The Negro is too well organized, too well financed, too well informed, and too determined to achieve his right to live *here, in freedom,* to stop short of his goal of equality under law. Furthermore, the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country (and I believe in Jacksonville) is on the side of the Negro in this demand. The courts of the State and the United States have many times defined his rights and many times upheld those rights by declaring a variety of laws unconstitutional in their application to a particular situation. The Congress of the United States is about to put on the law books of this country a civil rights act that should be repugnant to every freedom-loving person in this country, white or black, simply to demonstrate the extent to which it will go to support the

Negro in his fight for equal treatment under the law. Last, but not least, isn't it time to abandon our outmoded and unnecessarily paternalistic attitude toward the Negro race? Haven't we hesitated too long already in trusting him to stand on his own merits, in letting him accept both the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship?

If we go this route, if we accept this challenge to our own capabilities to live up to our reputation as worthy citizens of the greatest nation on earth, it should not be with any feeling of duress. It is true that we want first to restore the harmony between the races, but this would be only temporary and would not solve the problems that stir men up, create tensions, and cause nonviolent demonstrations to become violent. Yet, all the duress that can be brought to bear on our fair city should not cause us to yield unless the change we accept is right and just under the law and one which we believe the Creator of all men requires. This, it is.

In accepting the Negro in a new role in Jacksonville, we can demonstrate to a watching world that we can learn by the mistakes of others. South Carolina took advantage of the bitter experience of Mississippi in admitting the first Negro student to Clemson College. This fact won the admiration of men everywhere. Jacksonville can do likewise by taking advantage of the bitter experiences of Jackson, Mississippi and Birmingham, Alabama. The greatest blow we could possibly strike against communism -- as a community -- would be to show to the world that in a democracy, men can achieve redress and change without violence.

What will such change require? How will you and I be affected? It could be no different from the circumstances we have experienced on any trip to Washington, Philadelphia or New York, or on trains, busses, and planes to and from those places -- or on the busses here, the Municipal Auditorium, the ball park, the Coliseum, the Greater Jacksonville Fair, the zoo, and similar public facilities. We would see a few Negroes in restaurants, hotels, motels, and other places that cater to the public generally, as well as in churches. We should try to put ourselves in the place of the Negro and tie our nerve-ending to his or hers so that we will not yield to any temptation to leave or avoid a place just because it is also serving the needs of a Negro. We should try to put ourselves in the place of the owner of such restaurant, hotel, motel, or other place of business and realize that this is the means by which he and his employees earn a living for their families; we should be aware that this change in community relations is costing him considerably because some people have not been able to accept this change in deep-rooted customs and traditions. We should remember that such a sacrifice on the part of such an owner of a business is for the benefit of an entire community of over 450 thousand, and that he deserves our special support. Such changes will not be accomplished with trumpet sound or roll of stirring drums -- they will be discovered to have occurred. Such discovery is the signal for applause and cooperation.

When such changes come the Negro himself will be slow to take advantage of the new opportunities. He will probably be reluctant because of the ever-present possibility of being denied service for a sufficient reason other than the color of his skin. He will be the conscious of the economic effect his presence at first may have on the particular business. He will be concerned about the attitude of resentment that may be demonstrated by an employee, even though the management accepts him. But he will expect to pay the price, observe the standards, and conduct himself in keeping with others enjoying the same facilities.

At best, such a cooperative effort of all the citizens of Duval County as well as those from out of town will not be free from embarrassments, set-backs, and perhaps some strife. But we have too much at stake to recede from the most persistent effort of all times to put behind us this period of transition. Most of us share the views of Dr. Madison V. Scott, pastor of Morningside Baptist Church here in Jacksonville, who said in addressing a racially-mixed group gathered for the annual dinner meeting of the Greater Jacksonville YMCA:

> "Personally, I'm tired of our racial struggles. I think we have grown weary of the tension and the turmoil and the bitterness of this tragic and useless struggle. In the name of our future under God, Americans have something better to do than to fight each other in the streets and set race against race. This world is changing. Justice is coming for black and white. It is time that forced racial segregation died of fatigue. The struggle to maintain it isn't worth it. I have faith that our society can leave me room for personal, private preferences, while granting equality of opportunity to all races."

The pending Civil Rights Bill in Congress is a poor substitute for personal persuasion by concerned citizens. The greatest service we can render to our community, and to the businessmen who have created the economic opportunities we enjoy, is to eliminate the necessity for any such legal coercion. The Department of Justice should never have occasion to invoke any of the provisions for the enforcement of this act, much less ever obtain a conviction thereunder.

I'm proud of this community. Much progress has been made. The Negro has shown great restraint in pressing for well-defined rights. In 1954 when the Supreme Court of the United States departed from the separate-but-equal doctrine, I felt that in ten years the crisis would be over, either by the Court's receding or by Congressional intervention. But that was just a dream. The Court has not and will not recede. Congress has not and will not intercede. A Constitutional Amendment has not and cannot come out of Congress and would not be approved by the required number of State Legislatures. Our legal remedies were exhausted years ago in the fight to preserve our customs and traditions. The pendulum is swinging further and permanently away from any possibility of return to "the good old days." The good days are the days of opportunity now at hand to turn strife into stability, discord into direction, and bloodshed into brotherhood.

These lines from the great pageant of the Cherokee Indians, "Unto These Hills," form my closing thoughts:

> Out of the great womb of Destiny,
> Into the doorway of the world
> Come the souls of men;
> Created equal in the eyes of their Maker.
> When their day is done, they return, still equal,
> Into the bosom of the eternal.
> Somewhere in between, on the plains of human life,
> Caught in the monstrous mistakes
> That men devise to plague each other,
> It is the fate of some of them to suffer and to die
> And to be twisted on the rack of greed and hatred . . . . .

Of the monstrous mistakes we have made, none has been greater than the denial of equal rights to Negro citizens in the application of the guarantees of the State and Federal Constitutions, but, by the same token, it would be difficult to imagine a more monstrous mistake than could now be made if in our zeal to correct the injustice to the Negro we destroy or impair the equal rights of others. Only by the fullest cooperation of all of our citizens can we avoid both extremes.

The bad law that the "hard case" of desegregation has made and is making is the Civil Rights Bill. "Harder" still are the acts of the Executive Branch of our Government as it assumes the responsibility of making, by the strong arm of the law, social changes that we as loyal Americans should now voluntarily recognize and accept. This is not the responsibility of the Government or the church or the chambers of commerce, nor of professional groups or labor unions or any other particular group. But all these can help. This calls for soul-searching, individual action. It is the responsibility of every person who lives in or comes to Duval County.

Will you do your part? Will you help our community realize its great potential?

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Goals Outlined By Community Relations Body

Businesses Serving Public Due Emphasis in Study

Jacksonville's new Community Relations Committee yesterday adopted a program of objectives with priority given to exploring means of bringing about a voluntary desegregation of all establishments serving the public.

The committee also agreed to study ways to provide Negroes with more jobs, better types of employment and increased income.

The full committee's executive committee was given a mandate to proceed with a study of how to attain the objectives and to make an initial report no later than April 10.

A nucleus of the Community Relations Committee was formed Wednesday in response to a request by Mayor Haydon Burns that leaders of good will of both races meet to re-establish racial harmony in Jacksonville. Burns said that while the committee would have no official standing, he would be delighted to have any recommendations it would present.

Unanimous Backing

The statement of goals was formulated by the executive committee and then approved unanimously yesterday by the full committee. It was announced at a late afternoon press conference by the full committee's chairman, Robert Milius, president and general manager of May-Cohens department store.

Other members of the executive committee were on hand, including Rutledge Pearson, president of both the Jacksonville and Florida branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Pearson told newsmen that he has accepted temporary appointment to the executive group.

Milius said that the total membership of the full committee is in the mid-thirties. He said that the number of members of the full committee will be expanded greatly within the next few days.

No Power of Action

Milius also emphasized that the executive committee "has no power of action except as specifically delegated by the full committee of the Community Relations Committee. Our only power is to suggest and recommend.

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—Times-Union Photo

EASTERS' EASTER

For the first time in his 14 years Gary Alan Easters' birthday, March 29, falls on Easter Sunday this year. Gary, who lives at 3133 Cecelia St., is the son of Mrs. Elizabeth Easters and an eighth grade student at John Gorrie Junior High School. He was born in Jacksonville in 1950. As far as records can be traced, this is the first member of the family to have a birthday fall on Easter Sunday in six generations.

BRUNSWICK, GA.,

One Dead, 3 Injured in Jax Racial Strife

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. (AP)— Racial violence raged unabated today in Jacksonville where a woman was already dead from gunfire and three men lay wounded.

Negro high school students stoned newsmen and photographers who followed police units to investigate a bomb threat at Stanton High School, a new school for Negroes on the west side of town.

The bomb threat proved false but the more than 1,000 evacuated students began pelting the news representatives with rocks, said George Harmon, assistant city editor of the Jacksonville Journal.

A rented car which Harmon and journal photographer Bart Parker drove to the scene was set afire as they fled.

Mike Durham of Miami, a reporter for Life magaine who had gone with Harmon and Parker, said he was roughed up by some of the youths but escaped to the school principal's office.

Police took some of the youths into custody, bringing the number for two days to around 20. All but one are Negroes.

A gun fired from a passing car brought death to Johnnie Mae Chappell, 36, mother of several children. She was shot as she walked along U.S. 1, northwest of the city limits.

Two white men and a Negro man were shot and wounded, none seriously.

The shootings and at least 10 fire bombings came while a parade of young Negroes went before City Judge John Santora and, in most cases, headed for

The shootings and at least 10 fire bombings came while a parade of young Negroes went before City Judge John Santora and, in most cases, headed for $25 fines and seven-day terms at the city prison farm.

Virtually all the 140 defendants, arrested during a day of hit-and-run demonstrations and defiance of police orders to disperse, were charged with unlawful assembly.

More than 80 juveniles also were taken into custody. Those whose parents came for them were handed over.

The place where the violence first flared is an ancient two-story wooden building in a Negro section which houses a campaign sub-headquarters of Mayor Haydon Burns. He is one of six Democrats seeking the nomination for governor in May.

A fire there Monday night was the result of rags piled at the rear of the building and ignited, firemen said. Damage was estimated at $200. Sunday night, three kerosene filled bottles were smashed against the building but flames only scorched the structure.

Negroes were aroused against the mayor by a message he delivered on television and radio Saturday night pledging to halt selective sit-in demonstrations at downtown restaurants and hotels which have not integrated.

H. F. Branch, assistant police chief, said groups of Negroes began congregating in downtown Hemming Park in mid-morning Monday, and police moved them along several times but without making any arrests.

When the number grew to about 350, Branch said officers warned them to leave or be arrested. Those who didn't leave were taken into custody, he said.

Some of those who left congregated again at a Negro housing development several blocks away, but the group was broken up with more arrests.

Then groups of Negroes started going through Negro schools, gaining in size, Branch said. The largest number of arrests came at that stage.

A police detail forced its way into the headquarters office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and took several adults and juveniles into custody.

Branch said they had been throwing bottles and other objects from the second-floor NAACP office onto cars driving along Broad Street in front of the building.

1,500 Frenzied Negro Youths Attack Jacksonville Police

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. (UPI). Fifteen hundred screaming, rock-throwing Negro youths battled police, set fire to a car and beat a newsman Tuesday in continuation of a bloody but seemingly pointless uprising.

The violence appeared to be leaderless mob actions, rather than acts in support of any specific integration demands.

A Negro woman was mysteriously shot to death, a white man was tied to a tree and tortured with razor slashes and at least three other whites injured by sniper fire when the violence first erupted Monday night.

Nearly 200 persons have been arrested in the violence. Police took 45 juveniles and six adults into custody Tuesday, and 127 persons were arrested Monday night.

Police sealed off the Negro section during the night but violence flared again Tuesday morning outside New Stanton High School when the building was emptied because of a bomb scare.

The high school violence triggered still other acts of vandalism and incidents were reported throughout the city during the day. A truck line reported its vehicles were struck by rocks thrown by young Negroes, and police said three stones at passing cars from an expressway bridge.

The flow of traffic into the city was interrupted by a detour which police set up on the expressway to route motorists around the Negro district.

Many whites phoned police headquarters to ask whether it was safe to venture into the city. They were given qaulified answers.

The worst outburst of the day came at New Stanton High following an anonymous call that a bomb had been planted in the school.

Police rushed to the scene and

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1,500 Frenzied Negro Youths Attack Jacksonville Police

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tried to break up the mob by arresting one of the ringleaders, but this only infuriated the youths further.

They succeeded in freeing the Negro youth from a patrol car and continued their assault on police with rocks and bottles, despite pistol shots fired into the air by police.

In hopes that the Negro youths would quiet down if they left, the officers turned and walked away from the crowd.

ATTACK NEWSMEN

This left about a dozen newsmen facing the angry crowd, and the youths quickly switched their attack to the reporters.

Most of the newsmen succeeded in finding refuge in the school, stores and autos, but one reporter, Michael S. Durham, a Life corresondent based in Miami, was chased down and beaten.

Three of Durham's companions, George R. Harmon, assistant city editor of the Jacksonville Journal; photographer Bart Parker of the Journal and Florida Times-Union, and Charles Moore, a Time-Life photographer from Miami, fled on foot and took refuge in another car.

The vehicle which the four had used to get to the scene was overturned and set afire. A black column of smoke from the vehicle curled 300 feet in the air.

Several Negroes caught Durham between two houses and kicked and beat him about the face. "They really worked him over," said assistant Police Chief H. V. Branch.

Durham was taken to a hospital where doctors said he had suffered lacerations of the head, a sprained wrist and bruised leg.

WARNED TO LEAVE

United Press International reporter Nicholas C. Chriss was escorted off the street by Charles Brooks, principal of New Stanton High School. "Don't stay out here," Brooks warned. "It's dangerous for your life.

An Associated Press newsman took refuge in a store and the owner barricaded the door. Negroes surrounded him a short time later when a taxi arrived to pick him up, but he managed to slip inside the vehicle and was driven to safety.

Shortly after the violence outside the high school, anothe band of about 150 young rock carrying Negroes started t ward an outlying white busi ness district but police quickl stepped in and broke up th march.

Two busloads of the marche were carted off to jail.

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Violence soon broke out again. There were beatings of Negroes who got or sought service at public accomodations under the new law. SCLC said places resegregated, their owners appearing to have been intimidated, one appearing to have been beaten.

Dr. King returned to St. Augustine in mid-July briefly, and warned that such violence against the operation of the civil rights law, unrestrained by police, could become a pattern of resistance across the South. Onee more the Negroes went into Federal Court. Motels and restaurants were enjoined from further discrimination (only Howard Johnson's was desegregated before the new law), and individuals, including Hoss Manucy, were enjoined from violence. Then, and only then, was there general compliance, and a let-up in violence.

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Many things in the background of ~~the~~ this most blatant of southern breakdowns of law and order were of the norm and pattern of the abnormality of past crisis.

There was the familiar split within the Negro community, of moderate and militant leaders. Some, stressing their own devotion to the equal society, criticized Dr. Hayling for his methods and for a statement attributed to him last winter that Negroes should arm themselves in their own defense. Some important Negro leaders were thus aloof from the movement; as ever, many more "common people" supported it than marched. Dr. Hayling--who came to St. Augustine five years ago from his home in middle Florida on

make [illegible]

assignment in a professional training scholarship arrangement--remains that most baffling of Negro enigmas to much of the mentality of the South, simply a man who esteems himself possessed of all the attributes and rights of a man, no more but no less.

There was, also, the familiar wall of segregationist resistance in the white community. As in most such towns, this pervaded ~~the~~ high and low reaches ~~of all institutions~~. But as elsewhere, it was not monolithic. There were silent dissenters, the people of good will and of good business sense.

The difference in St. Augustine (as in Mississippi) was that those who disagreed with racism, either on conviction or, ~~ultimately~~ eventually, on economic grounds, were silenced. Those who wanted an end to the not~~e~~oriety and the shame of the crisis were, for too long a time, paralyzed.

identify?

Asking to be strictly anonymous, one local citizen ~~described~~ gave his version of the situation. Since it was in the 1890s developed as the "~~and~~ end of the line" tourist resort by Flagler, St. Augustine has been fighting progress, he said. It gladly takes all it can from tourists, but will do nothing for them beyond developing so-called attractions, occasionally moving some ~~of them from one site~~ "historical site" from one place to another. Daytona down the road developed tremendously after World War II; St. Augustine remains about the same. Some local people have tenaciously fought the quadricentennial restoration project, presumably out of fear of losing property to it. Into this naturally negativistic environment a few years ago came the far-right influence. One local man got interested in Birchism, wouldn't tie in with it, but formed a Coalition of Patriotic Societies. (At its headquarters, with a remarkably complete far-right library, the little old lady

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in charge had a simple solution to the problems of East-West international relations: "Drop the bomb on Russia.") Far-right speakers like Major Edgar C. Bundy and Billy James Hargis have been brought to town. People wear Confederate buttons, and cars long have had Goldwater stickers. A Sunday School teacher attacks the National Council of Churches; a high school teacher organizes a ~~Youth for Freedom~~ teen-agers' conservative group. Mayor Shelly is characterized as a "state rights conservative." ~~It was~~ In line with his logic of free enterprise and on his recommendation, ~~that~~ the city government refused in 1963 to deal in matters of business to the extent of forming the biracial committee that probably would have prevented 1964's disastrous crisis. The Klan (or Manucy's Raiders or Ancient City Hunting Club) emerged with the Negro-beating meeting last year, and ever since violence has been a part of the atmosphere of the city.

So people were afraid, he said. they faced violence, and they faced social and business ostracism, if they dissented. For some, the trap was of their own making. They had gone so far in public anti-Negro big-talk that they couldn't, once the consequence of their talk was evident in dreadful action, back down. The "power structure" was such--and this was a common description--that only two men, or even just one was big enough to buck such tides flowing in St. Augustine, and assert reason. The biggest man was a banker, deep in state and national Democratic party politics. He, for whatever his reasons (some said it was fear on his part, too, and some said conviction, and others said family ties), refused to act until the very end. When the big man wouldn't, the little men in the middle felt they couldn't.

Charles Arnade, professor of history at the University of South Florida, despairing of the quadricentennial which he had helped plan, said this of the community: "The unfortunate thing is that St. Augustine is dominated by a small, narrow-minded power structure which can't see anything. They are years behind in everything. They are totally unenlightened, some to the point of ignorance. They don't want to give an inch.

"The St. Augustine white community has not been able to produce moderate leaders. The tragedy is that white supremists suppress all moderates."

Pointing out that the city is the diocesan seat of the Roman Catholic Church for Florida, he said: "The greatest tragedy is that the church leaders have utterly failed to produce leadership in this crisis. They have taken the attitude that the problem does not exist."

The fear spoke out in many interviews. ~~Another~~ One man began the interview by saying he assumed it was realized that if his name was used, he would be ruined. He said the only people speaking were those with violent notions about "the Communist movement." "Moderates" saw no hope of accomplishing anything by speaking out, and didn't want to endure unpopularity for nothing. They were not showing cowardice, but common sense, he said.

State Senator Liston Pope and two bankers - H. E. Wolf and Frank Harrold - were the ones who apparently finally did assert reason. But at the height of the crisis, Senator Pope was saying only Mr. Wolf had power to act.

An owner of vast tracts of forest lands talked of how he had to be friends with the terrorists, because they could with one box of matches destroy everything he had spent a lifetime building.

The price of integrity was high, Father Charles M. Symour Jr., who at the insistence of vestrymen had refused Negroes at Trinity Episcopal Church in the spring, finally allowed some to enter the 11 a.m. services on June 21. Ultra-conservatives in the church were already against him for such heresies as defending the National Council of Churches against Klan and Birch charges of Communist domination. He also ~~and~~ denounced ~~ing~~ the Klan for the Negro beatings. The vestrymen demanded his resignation when he admitted Negroes to worship. His Bishop backed him, and so did many in his congregration. at last report he was staying on.

The only people who spoke out fully and insistently and continuously for America's meaning in St. Augustine were those in the Negro movement. ~~The Negroes~~

Dr. King had chosen St. Augustine as a re-testing ground of the strength and effectiveness of classical non-violent demonstrations. (With the passage of the civil rights law, the non-violent movement will never again be involved in exactly the same kind of campaggn as in St. Augustine.) The method and meaning of the movement, in very large measure, were found not wanting. Negroes were not engaged in civil disobedience, but time-honored and Constitution-protected methods of protest. They gave their bodies to terrible punishment in the name of American idealism, and showed the legnths to which some Americans will go in opposing that idealism.

Whatever elements of Negro violence lurked in the background (and there were repeated reports of Black Muslim influence), they were curbed or controlled by Negroes. The nation has come to know Negro lawlessness and violence, screaming out of intolerable conditions in northern ghetto slums. The achievement of Negro non-violence in St. Augustine (and still, generally, over the South), and the debt the nation owes it, is thus ever more evident in its grandeur.

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At the slave market, one sunny afternoon, three rows of ~~them~~ Negroes, from the elderly to tots, stood and sang: "We love everybody"..."Nobody knows the trouble I've seen." Hosea Williams, civil rights leader from the far more progressive seaboard city of Savannah, Georgia, got up and shouted, as the white hoodlum gangs stood muttering around: "We know we are the children of God...and citizens of the United States of America, the greatest nation in the world...Negroes have shed blood here that what Thomas Jefferson said might come true.

Negroes have shed blood here so that Lincoln shall not have died in vain. Negroes have shed blood here that Jack Kennedy shall not have died in vain, and Medgar Evers and the children in Birmingham. Yes they died and we may die, but we'll die with this in our mind...If the black man loses his freedom, no man will be free, We will bleed and die that America shall be free."

The standing Negroes hummed: We Love Everybody, as he cried: "We pray, oh God, for our white bretheren."

From the same place, J.B. Stoner shouted to the mob that night: "We whites are due more rights, not less...When the constitution said all men are created equal, it wasn't talking about niggers..."

Such contrasts were common and contained most of the truth of St. Augustine. Consider this scene, among the many when Manager James Brock of the Monson Motor Lodge stood in the doorway blocking sit-in demonstrators. The exchange is between Brock and Hosea Williams.

"This is private property. We do not choose at this time to serve colored people."

"You'll feed Communist Cubans, and Russians, and Germans that I fought against in the war. Why won't you feed us?"

"How come you're not including the American Indian? He's discriminated against."

"We don't believe in discriminating against him either, or anybody."

"Will you leave?"

"Germans who fought against me and against America eat here --

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but not me?"

"This is my right under free enterprise."

"You have a license to serve the public. And yet you turn down members of the public."

"Since Easter, I've removed 99 from here. I'll give you the honor of being the hundredth."

"One of the greatest ways to combat Communism and make a greater nation is to go to jail...So that you can't look at us like we are some animals..."

As police led Mr. Williams and his group away, as Brock with his thin moustache, glossed hair, heavy-top glasses, and checkered sports coat grinned triumphantly, one of the Negroes cried: "I love you, no matter how you treat us."

The whites watching, including ~~the~~ some tourists from over America, stood a bit, then went on back into the Monson restaurant, continued eating there, continued staying there.

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There are still ~~slide off into~~ other ~~levels of~~ meanings in such a situation as St. Augustine's. ~~There were many of these.~~

At the most elementary was the story told by a young man named James, who was 14 on July 7, who has five brothers and three sisters, whose mother and father are separated, whose mother does domestic work to support the family, who makes good grades in junior high school, who likes football, and who thinks he would like to be a doctor or a scientist when he grows up. He has been in the movement since last summer. He marched, with an older girl beside him, into the white mob. "I was kind of scared...But I want to be part of it, so when I get big, my children can go in a restaurant and eat like other folks."

~~At~~ Perhaps the deepest meanings ~~[illegible]~~ of all ~~were~~ in the confrontations of the white marchers with the Negro community. The obvious contrasts of the old Klan symbols of hate with "I Love Everybody" fell away to reveal something else. Here, one heard the teenage tough, with blond crew cut and tight t-shirt, connected with the Klan tell the teen-age tough, with long, curly, heavily oiled hair, connected with the Negro "gang" which had spread out ahead of the white marches to put down any potential violence from Negroes: Y'all did a damn good job policin' last night." Here, in the silence broken only by the marching feet, with a Negro outside a beer joint, "Big Daddy's Blue Goose," muttering, "They don't need no police protection down here; we won't bother them," and a white staring fearfully up the dark streets, ~~[illegible]~~ was a communication of a sorts. The white marchers prided themselves on maintaining their own non-violence. The Negroes were perhaps aware that they had ~~been succeeded~~ scored success in drawing ~~a~~ such an imitative response, however negative, from these whites. This, and even ~~on [illegible]~~

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the beatings, as far from the meaning of America or the intention of the civil rights law as they are, as bad as they were, are something better than the numb and cold lack of communication and contact ~~with~~ which characterizes so much of white America's dealings with ~~his~~ the Negro revolution.

If there has been a failure of the non-violent movement, ~~(which with the passage of the civil rights law will never again be involved in exactly the same kind of a campaign as in St. Augustine),~~ the failure has been ~~on the part~~ that of the ~~masses of~~ many Americans who ~~were somehow~~ have been incapable of responding to its ~~highest~~ appeals to conscience and ~~[illegible] a sense of~~ justice.

And if the elements of totalitarianism which showed, ~~its~~ dread, pale, and deathly, ~~lifelessly in face~~ for a time in St. Augustine, ever should ~~come to all of~~ overwhelm America, ~~any just estimate of blame would have to center~~ the blame would not be on the ignorant and shabby and essentially pitiable people who follow the limping step of a professional hate-monger through dark and narrow streets. We would have to examine instead the institutions and society which produced them, and produced also the more numerous others who for many years were unable to ~~react~~ act against to human need and ~~against~~ injustice, and were eventually incapable of acting for law, democracy, and ~~the order of civilization itself.~~ human Freedom itself.

For it was never clearer than in St. Augustine that the notion of a middle ground is a myth in the clash of human beliefs symbolized on the one hand by the Negro movement, and x on the other hand by the thought and methods of racism. The people who claimed to be moderates were indeed paralyzed and impotent; ~~for~~ the Negroes stood on the true middle, American position. Not just Negro x freedom or racial justice was threatened, but freedom and justice for all. Once more, ~~it was evident to white Americans that not to speak for the Negro's rights~~ it should have been evident to white ~~American~~ Americans that not to speak for the Negro's rights is to surrender their own.

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THE QUESTIONS FROM JACKSONVILLE

The Easter Week outbreak in Jacksonville of racial violence, predominantly from Negro sources, raises this question: was it something peculiar to Jacksonville, scene of one of the few and worst instances of raw rioting during the 1960 sit-ins; or was it a portent of terrible things to come, symptomatic of a mood and emotional climate to be expected over the South this Spring and Summer, as the great turning point of federal civil rights legislation is reached?

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* * * *

The immediate build-up to Jacksonville's rioting began ~~on~~ the ~~W~~week of March 16. Negro demonstrations, led ~~conducted by the NAACP~~ seeking desegregation of restaurants and theatres, were with a new impetus from participation of Negro ministers, stepped up. Instead of placid picketing which had, become since February a regular thing on downtown city sidewalks , there began sit-ins. At some, a hit and run tactic was used; at others, demonstrators remained to be arrested. By Thursday and Friday of that week, roving Negro teenagers were moving through the downtown and its fringes, some demonstrating, some, according to ~~the~~ most accounts, merely making their presence felt--walking slowly in front ~~[illegible]~~ of traffic, acting boisterously. Part of this seemed to be in reaction against arrests, and against Negroes being barred from a hearing on the arrests. At one point on Friday, March 20, ~~around~~ 100 or so of these ~~young people~~ youngsters gathered at Hemming Park in the center of the downtown, the center of the 1960 rioting.

Begin page

Various observers said the activity Friday afternoon led led them to expect a ~~crowd~~ confrontation with white racists at the park that night or ~~Fri~~Saturday, and possibly a riot. ~~The crowd~~ This did not materialize either time. But, ~~according~~

~~to George Harmon, assistant city editor of the Jacksonville Journal,~~ Mayor Haydon Burns had communicated to newspapermen before 1 a.m. Saturday his plans for a television speech Saturday night on the racial situation, based on a warning that a riot was immanent.

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The mayor's statement Staurday night was later reproduced by him as a full page advertisement in the city's newspapers. # The Mayor asserted he had full responsibility for the city, and de= clared "I refuse to delegate or to relegate this responsibility to anyone or any bi-racial committee or any other group, it is my responsibility and I will face it." (A week before, he had been approached by representatives of the Jacksonville Commission Human Relations ~~Council~~ and urged to form a bi-racial committee with official sanction, or to do something positive in the face of growing Nego restiveness. This same recommendation had been made by others previously.)

The mayor's statement also pointed out that publicly owned facilities were desegregated, and maintained that Negres had no "civil rights" to seek service at private hotels and restaurants and other businesses. "...If such were not the law, then why is the Congress considering the Public Accomodations law at this time?"

The statement then went on to say that, under twelve city laws, "demonstrations like last week" (presumably sit-ins) and "gatherings other than by permit" (the collecting at Hemming Park) would be prohibited. The laws cited included one "against conspiracy." To supplement "508 colored and white police officers," including "45 sepcially trained members of the Emergency Corps that are capable of meeting any situation," the mayor said he was "right now going to give

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the oath and swear in as Special Police Officers 496 Firemen who at this moment are assembled at their respective stations under the direction of their senior officers."

Observers said that they stood back and waited for the lid to blow. It did not Sunday. But on Monday morning, March 23, a crowd of singing and praying Negro youths gathered at Hemming Park. They were dispersed, some arrested, some chased by police who had circled their gathering in motorcylces with sirens and motors roaring. ~~(The NAACP says it is gathering affidavits on police brutality at at this rout and later; police deny any brutality.)~~ After the rout, Jacksonville entered its two nights and two days of violence and vandalism.

Rewrite police

Negroes threw rocks, ~~and~~ bricks, and bottles at cars and store windows in the pie-wedge Negro section that points into the heart of downtown, and tossed fire bombs at white and Negro stores and businesses, perhaps half a dozen, including Mayor Burns's Negro gubernatorial campaign headquarters. Negroes were arrested in possession of fire bombs and other weapons. False alarms, as many as 17 in 25 minutes, kept up during the period~~, perhaps, though nobody on the scene speculated about it, to keep the deputized firemen busy.~~ Something like 76 police cases of vandalism were reported between Monday night and Wednesday morning.

A Negro woman was shot to death along a road from a passing car, in a Negro area. Police at the time and since said they had no clues and no way to know whether the shooting was connected with racial strife. A car containing one white and two Negro ~~sailors and one white~~ sailors was fired into, apparently by Negroes. The white sailor

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and one of the Negroes were slightly injured. A tourist car was fired at, its occupant cut by glass. ~~according to police~~. A man who claimed to have been tied up and cut with razor blades by Negroes, turned out to be the same man who claimed the same thing happened to him during the 1960 rioting at the hands of the ~~KKK.~~ Ku Klux Klan. Police said his story was false.

At one point, police kicked in the door of the NAACP headquarters and arrested students there. The police said they were throwing bottles out the window. An NAACP spokesman ~~said it is impossible to throw anything out of the windows.~~ denied it. He also charged that desk drawers in the office were rifled.

Virtually all of the vandalism was confined to the Negro section. It was sporadic and involved individuals or small groups. Something more nearly approaching mob violence occurred Tuesday at New Stanton High School, a Negro school which includes students from the "best" Negro homes. The school was emptied by a bomb threat. (Previously, bomb threats had provided school yards full of youngsters from which the hit and run demonstrators sought recruits.) Students vandalized (details are not clear) a bread truck driven by a white man. Police were called, and a small contingent arrived. A Negro officer arrested one youth. While one group of students engaged the police, razzing them, others freed the arrested youth. A Negro officer fired a pistol into the air. A help call went out, and reenforcements arrived, including, according to the sheriff's office, about 15 cars of state troopers, 30 men, ~~who~~ of a group which happened to be in a training session in Jacksonville. The pistol shot, and the sight of the

Rewrite phrase

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troopers and their weapons, angered the already dangersou crowd of 1,500 students. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police and newspapermen, and at Negro teachers and other Negro adult onlookers. The police pulled out. (They later said they thought it the best way to calm the crowd.) The crowd turned on the newsmen, overturning ~~setting~~ their car, and setting it on fire, chasing three (while adult Negro onlokers sat on their porches laughing.) They caught one, ~~of the reporters,~~ pummeled him, and, according to one of the three chased, robbed him. The ~~This~~ man was rescued by Negro teachers who took him into the ~~to~~ school for safety and treatment. Another reporter, arriving on the scene, was quickly pulled into a grocery store whose door was then guarded by Negro adults until he could get out of the area safely.

Similar--though less violent--mob scenes occurred at two other Negro schools emptied by bomb threats. At Matthew W. Gilbert Junior High School, police and fire vehicle windows were broken, and at Northwest High School rocks were thrown at two grocery stores.

[illegible]

In the midst of this, on Wednesday, Mayor Burns called for an "unofficial" bi-racial committee to regain "peace and harmony and understanding." (At a press conference, he said this was not inconsistent with his previous stand. The committee was "community action"; he was still responsible for law enforcement.) Friday afternoon pickets were walking peacefully downtown, and by Easter ~~sunday~~ Morning, with sunshine bathing the confederate monument in Hemming Park, the riot tension seemed over. # The biracial committee, ~~was~~ headed by important members of the city's business elite, was understood to be ready and equipped to act; it could ~~be~~ conceivably be

Run in lead space

the instrument for Jacksonville's peaceful acceptance of a fair deal in race relations. Backsliding, however, could mean more trouble.

Continued picketing and a boycott to keep pressure on the new committee was the policy ~~[illegible]~~ the NAACP announced that Easter Sunday afternoon.

* * * *

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Which was it? A legacy of violence cropping up again in Jacksonville, or a new ~~look at~~ place in the South's struggle to be rid of segregation?

A comparison with the similar Negro vadalism that occurred in 1960 shows extreme differences in the degree of provocation. Then it had come from ~~[illegible]~~ whites ~~[illegible]~~ swinging axe handles at sit-in demonstrat~~[illegible]~~ors.

This time, the Ku Klux Klan was quiescent, and a speech by a visiting U.S. Nazi Party nabob drew an audience of ten, six of whom were police. The provocation seemd tocenter around impatience with the lack of desegregation progress, resentment of a gradually getting-tougher handling of demonstrators in Municipal Court, and an immediate flare-up of resentment over the mayor's speech. (Some said the speech was political; the mayor is one of ~~the~~ six candidates for governor. He claimed the stepped-up Negro activity was inspired by his political enemies. He might be right, to the extent that Negro leaders ~~might~~ may have wanted to show the state that they were not happy with what his 15 year old administration had produced for them.)

A factor common to both riot situations ~~were~~ was gangs of juvenile and older Negroes who, under such colorful names as the "High Hats," "~~[illegible]~~ Boomerangs," and "Untouchables," are in normal times "involved in other matters that keep the Negro crime rate high" (in the ~~[illegible]~~ words of chief Deputy Sheriff William F. Whitehead). He, city police sources, and the NAACP attributed most of this year's Negro violence--as in 1960--to such elements in the Negro Community taking advantage of the civil rights tension to let go some of their own broader guage hostility. As an indication of this kind of anger in operation, some fo the rocks and some of the fire bombs were thrown at Negroes and Negro businesses.

At the schools, another element entered. George Harmon, ~~the~~ Jacksonville Journal assistant city Editor, was one of those chased, and he said that the majority of the crowd was in a mood of excited, almost gleeful excitement, while there was violence in the mood of a hard core group at the center fo the crowd. It was panty-raid, spring feverishness degenerated into Mob violence, he said. Furthermore, no physical provocation to compare with the Birmingham police dog and fire hose treatments of Spring, 1963, ever occured.

To say all of this is still not to get at a real understanding of a situation such as Jacksonville's, or of the roots of violence in such a Southern Negro Community. To ~~really~~ understand is to begin with the stench and dilapidation of the Negro slums, and to try ~~with empathy~~ to comprehend the hopelessness that is compounded out of the thudding impact upon the human consciousness of being poor, and being blocked by the very conditions of this poverty and by the weights of discrimination from any possible escape, This is hopelessness deepened by the new knowledge that the old dream of escape to the North is false--that up there, it's just more of the dreary old same. "Our young," say Negroes in Jacksonville and eslewhere over the South in 1964, "don't care any more whether they die, if they've got to go on living like we have to now."

D To know this is to know the extreme: ~~The~~ already defeated, desperate young--the fatherless or sons of men who have no jobs--who have no model except within themselves, and who find their meaning in life in gangs, with their medieval and prehistoric overtones, their war councils, and their internecine battling. These gangs were there in 1960, as they have been at other southern racial crises, watching from the sidelines. They saw the non-violent demonstrators beat, and [redacted] believed that the police [redacted] failed to protect them, ~~but~~ arresting them, and not their aggressors. This rankles, and is a part of what had been festering in the black ghettos of Jacksonville.

So, too, is the memory of what happened when the gangs ran violent after seeing the treatment of the non--violent in 1960, their own violence turned outward instead of upon self and one another. They recount to each other and to new initiates still the old war stories, of how for a few hours [redacted] there they took over, controlled the expressways into town, and faced down cops, Negro and white. "And we came upon this white policeman, and man, he was so scared of us, that he gave us his gun, without our asking for it..."

Also, to ~~really~~ understand is to know that a Negro community in a city like Jacksonville is not monolithic-- that while it is united in a drive to end segregation, it is fragmented in dispute over how best this might be achieved, whether by violence, or non-violent direct action, or peaceful, dignified negotiation. Such a community, just like its white counterpart, is torn, too, by the plain old human rivalries of class and age and personality: the scorn of the leader, who lives amid his people in the slums, for the "black bourgeoise," moved like the white man to a suburb that hides them from the harshness of the life of their people. The contempt of the professional man, who has fought his way up to a fine home with a swimming pool, for the upstart young militants who won't listen to the experience and skill and wisdom that got him where he is and was used in the long painful past of racial advancement that ~~led~~ helped lead to the recent breakthroughs.

These are among the dynamic elements that are operating in such a situation as Jacksonville's, influencing actions, setting terms, in a context far more complex than the surface appearance of black against white, good against evil.

There had been some progress in the city. ~~But when the NAACP came home from the Washington March, it was with the bitter taste of the unrealized hope to be free in '63, and the leaders began to draw their plan of action~~. Now, there is a biracial committee, and more ground ~~fro~~ for hope. "Yes," says the middle-class Negro leader, "there is hope--because the white men know they've had two strikes. The third strike, and Jacksonville is out." In the background lurks the gang member, with a ring in his ear, a half articulated murmur in his brain. "Why not? There is no hope for me. Why should there be hope for anybody else? Boy this next one is going to be a BIG rumble...."

period

Rutledge Pearson, 34, Negro schoolteacher, is head of the Jacksonville and Florida NAACP branches, and the leader of the city's civil rights drive. ~~He blamed the violence on the mayor's speech and police handling of Negroes. He said it came from cirminal elements, the gangs, and described how he~~ He and other NAACP leaders worked all night Monday and Tuesday (including a television appeal) ~~to show these elements~~ urging against the violence, telling the people that the effective thing to do was follow ~~the~~ non-violent leadership. ~~of the NAACP.~~

Mr. Pearson cites efforts by various groups ~~since September~~ to persuade the mayor to give official status to a bi-racial ~~member~~

committee He and others described the long record of the previous bi-racial committee, established by the Chamber of Commerce after the 1960 riots. (Even in name, it tended not to admit being bi-racial; it was ~~called~~ the Community Advisory Committee and its Negro Counterpart.) It ~~This group~~ was hampered by lack of official recognition, and such things as a failure to keep minutes, according to Dr. W. W. Schell, who patiently and persistently worked as chairman of the "Negro counterpart." It was considered generally ineffective in the crucial, last-ditch efforts to desegregate public accommodations and jobs. Like most southern cities, Jacksonville has desegregated most publicly owned facilities, including theoretically its beach. It closed its swimming pool. Thirteen Negro first graders entered five previously all-white schools in the fall of 1963. A half dozen restaurants have desegregated; hotels accept Negro conventioners; theatres limit Negro customers to eight a night.

should name be in quotes?

Thus, the wellsprings of Jacksonville Negro civil rights discontent seemed to be general dissatisfaction with tokenism--a profound frustration growing out of a feeling that the city's civic leaders were not joining with in good faith those Negroes who were trying to find accommodation by peaceful means. The violence, which may have been diminished but could not be stopped by responsible Negro leaders, would seem to have sprung from youthful hysteria and mob spirit at the schools, and otherwise from criminal elements and others in the Negro community who sensed ~~an~~ a ripe opportunity ~~ripe~~ for expression of dangerous fury, out of a lifetime of deprivations. And violence-proneness is not one-sided in the city. White racists may have been quiescent during the crisis, but they have in beatings and bombings (a recent case resulting in arrests) made their presence felt since 1960.

"...They were after anybody white," said a Negro mother sadly of the school rioters.. Prince McIntosh, Jr., 21, public relations director of the Jacksonville NAACP (who was arrested while taking pictures of the demonstrations) said the local NAACP Youth Council does not at all condone violence, but "at the same time we feel just calling for the cease of violence will get nowhere... We need to try not so much to stop violence as to root out the evil that is the cause of the violence--segregation."

* * * *

Whether Jacksonville is a special case ultimately rests with the South, as new opportunities for good-faith dealing between white and Negro people loom ahead for each community in this year of national decision making. In 1960, in a special publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, the Southern Regional Council stated:

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> The South is not an anarchy. It is not a region where government is weak. It is not a region where the lines of political and economic power are loosely held. The breakdowns in law and order in the South are an outcome of public policy--no less because it is sometimes oral and traditional rather than written in statutes and police manuals.

The words still apply, as each community in the South faces the decision of whether to obey the prospective federal law on public accommodations and other civil rights.

In the years following 1954, the South chose to violate the

American tradition of obeying ~~a~~ the Supreme Court' reading of the Constitution.

The question for 1964 is whether the spirit of lawfulness has returned to the Southern political leadership, to that leadership which drummed up the orgy of massive resistance and which had always, as it has now even throughout the deep South, power to maintain order.

In great areas of the South today, ~~their~~ that leadership has been overthrown and replaced.

In those states and cities where it still exists, it acts still as the real *agent provocatuer* of turbulence and violence.

But the lesson of Jacksonville is also that wherever the white civic leadership--~~religion~~religious, business, and political--allows a racial crisis to develop and spill into the streets (whether by indifference or inattentiveness to the justified impatience of Negroes with tokenism or less, or by rebuff of Negro efforts to effect change through discussion and joint planning, or by other failures), then it invites violence in. ~~This has always been true,~~

Beyond prudent doubt, the next six months will be packed with crisis and decision for the South and for the nation. Every indication points to protest activity of an extent and an intensity without precedent, not only in the South but in the North as well. The Senate filibuster wears on. When it is finally ~~[illegible]~~ over and defeated, and a law is passed, the issue in the South will be compliance. In both Summer and early Fall, some of the most recalcitrant school districts of the deep South will be under court order to desegregate. And in the background of all this, there will be the excitement of the Presidential campaign and many state races.

people, just ~~as~~
~~it would to any other less emotional problem.~~ # With ~~this — and the~~ the lesson of Jacksonville in mind, the expectations for this spring and summer for every community of the South would seem to hinge around such questions as the following:

indent

What guarantees are there that a racial crisis might not set off the energies of mobs, whether of white or Negro students full of spring feverishness, or of white or Negro victims of impoverishment, sullen in their slums?

What policies and ~~apparatus~~ tools (such as an honorable biracial committee) give responsible Negro leaders any hope that their just demands ~~(backed by increased legal authority)~~ will be met, short of the creation of a race crisis?

And finally, what is the unspoken communication of community leadership toward violence? In Jacksonville, it seemed to be the message that violence works. The two days of rioting accomplished the creation of ~~a~~ an apparently effective biracial committee, something that ~~six months~~ weeks of urging had not accomplished. They seemed on their way to accomplishing in the field of public accommodations desegregation and the meeting of civic responsibility what three years of patient negotiation had not been able to achieve. Is this the message that will come from other communities, to shape the emotional climate and mood during the crucial, turning-point Spring and Summer coming upon the South?

1 —

The Questions from Jacksonville

~~JACKSONVILLE, FLA.--~~ The Easter week outbreak ~~here~~ in Jacksonville of racial violence, predominantly from Negro sources, raises this question: was it something peculiar to Jacksonville, scene of one of the few and worst instances of raw rioting during the 1960 sit-ins, or was it a portent of terrible things to come, symptomatic of a mood and emotional climate to be expected over the South this spring and summer as the great turning point of federal civil rights legislation is reached?

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Was not real beginning

The immediate build-up to Jacksonville's rioting began on the week of March 16. Negro demonstrations, [redacted] conducted by the NAACP, seeking desegregation of restaurants and theaters, were stepped up. Instead of [redacted] placid picketing which had become since February a regular thing on downtown city sidewalks, there began sit-ins. At some, a hit-and-run tactic was used; at others, demonstrators remained to be arrested. # By Thursday and Friday of that week, roving bands of Negro ~~teenagers~~ were moving through the downtown and its fringes, some demonstrating, some, according to most accounts, [redacted] merely making their presence felt-- walking alowly in front of traffic, ~~ax~~ acting boisterously. Part of this seemed to be in reaction ~~k~~ against arrests, and against [redacted] Negroes [redacted] being barred from a hearing on the arrests. At one point, Friday, March 20, around 100 [redacted] of these young people gathered at Hemming Park, in the center of the downtown, the seene of the 1960 [redacted] rioting. ~~The NAACP disclaimed these youngsters and their behavior.~~

~~Accordingxto~~ Various [redacted] observers said the activity Friday afternoon led them to expect a crowd at the park ~~Friday~~ that night or Saturday, and possibly a riot. ~~Accordingxto~~ The crowd ~~didn't~~ did not ~~xxxx~~ materialize either time. But, according to George Harmon, assistant city editor of the Jacksonville Journal, Mayor Haydon Burns had communicated to

Councilor

By him

newspapermen ~~that he would speak on tele~~ before 1 a.m. Saturday ~~had [illegible]d to newspapermen~~ his plans ~~[illegible]~~ for a television speech Saturday night on the racial situation, based on a warning that a riot was ~~[illegible]~~ immanent.

The mayor's statement Saturday night was later reproduced as a full page advertisement ~~in~~ the city's newspapers. ~~The lengthy statement~~ The mayor asserted ~~the mayor had~~ he had ~~[illegible]~~ full repponsibility for the city, and declared, "I refuse to delegate ~~or~~ to relegate this responsibility to anyone or any bi-racial committee or any other group, (sic) it is my responisibility and I will face it." (A week before, he had been approached by representatives of the Jacksonville Human Relations ~~Council~~ and urged to form a biracial committee with ~~[illegible]~~ official sanction, or to do something in the face of growing Negro restiveness. This same recommendation had been made by others previously.) ~~[illegible]~~

note Dickinson's charge

The publicly owned statement also pointed out that ~~public~~ facilities were desegregated, and maintained that Negroes had no "civil rights" to seek service at private hotels and restaurants and other businesses. "...If ~~If~~ such were not the ~~[illegible]~~ law, then why is the Congress considering the Public Accomodations law at this time?"

positive

The statement then went on to say that under ~~12~~ twelve city laws, "demonstrations like last week" (presumably sit-ins) and "gatherings other than by permit" (the collecting at Hemming Park) would be prohibited. ~~[illegible]~~ The laws cited included one "against conspiracy," ~~[illegible]~~ To supplement ~~[illegible]~~ "508 colored and white police officers," including "45 specially trained members of the Emergency Corps that are capable of meeting any situation," the ~~[illegible]~~ mayor's ~~[illegible]~~ said he was "right now going to give the oath ~~[illegible]~~ and swear in as Special Police Officers 496 Firemen who at this moment are assembled at their respective stations under the direction of their senior officers."

"R. Dickinson"

Observers said that after that, they ~~[illegible]~~ stood back and waited for the lid to blow. It ~~didn't~~ did not Sunday. But on Monday morning, March 23, ~~[illegible]~~ a crowd of singing and praying Negro youths gathered at Hemming Park. They were dispersed, some arrested, some chased by police who had circled the gathering in motorcycles with sirens and motors roaring. (The NAACP says it is gathering affidavits on police brutality at this rout; day later police deny any brutality.) After ~~it occurred~~ the rout, Jacksonville entered its two nights and two days of violence and vandalism.

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Conclusive that police right

At one point, police kicked in the door of the NAACP headquarters and arrested students there. The police said they were throwing bottles out the window. An NAACP spokesman said it is impossible to throw anything out those windows. He also charged that desk drawers in the office were ~~had been~~ rifled.

Virtually all of the vandalism was confined to the Negro section, ~~according to all reports.~~ It was sporadic and involved individuals or small groups. Something more nearly approaching mob violence occurred Tuesday at New Stanton High School, a Negro school which includes st dents from the "best" Negro homes. ~~From various eyewitness accounts and newspaper reports, here is what happened:~~ The school was emptied by a bomb threat. (Previously, bomb threats had provided schoolyards full of youngsters from which the hit-and-run demonstrators sought recruits.) Students vandalized (details are not clear) a ~~white bakery~~ bread truck driven by a white man. ~~A~~ Police were called, and a small contingent arrived. A Negro officer arrested one youth. While one group of st dents engaged the police ~~him~~, razzing them ~~him~~, others freed the arrested ~~pxxxxxx~~ youth. A ~~The~~ Negro officer fired a pistol into the air. A help call went out, and ~~xx~~ reinforcements arrived, including, according to the sheriff's office, about 15 cars of state troopers, 30 men, who happened to be in a training session in Jacksonville. ~~(A Negro student who saw it all said the~~ The pistol shot, ~~and~~ the sight of troopers and their weapons ~~[illegible]~~ angered the already dangerous crowd of 1,500 students. Rocks and bottles were thrown ~~from the crowd~~ at police and ~~whik~~ newspapermen, and at Negro teachers and other Negro adult onlookers. The ~~P~~olice pulled out. (They later said they thought it the best way to calm the crowd.) The crowd turned on the newsmen, setting their car on fire, chasing three (while adult Negro onlookers sat on their ~~[illegible]~~ porches, ~~[illegible]~~ laughing). ~~and~~ They caught ~~xxxxxxx~~ one of the reporters ~~[illegible]~~ and pummeled him, and, ~~and~~ according to one of the three chased, robbed him. This man was rescued by Negro teachers who took him to the school for safety and treatment. Another reporter, arriving on the scene, was quickly ~~xxxxxxNegroesxbehindx~~ pulled into a grocery store whose door was then guarded by Negro adults until he could get out of the area safely. ~~and back into town.~~

Similar-- t ough less violent-- mob scenes occurred at ~~the~~ two other Negro schools emptied by ~~xxxx~~ bomb threats. At Matthew W. Gilbert Junior High, police and fire vehicle ~~had~~ windows were broken, and at Northwest High School, rocks were thrown at two grocery stores. ~~Afterx~~

In the midst of this, on Wednesday, Mayor Burns called for an "unofficial" biracial committee~~xx~~ to regain "peace and harmony and understanding." (At a press conference, he said this was not inconsistent with his previous stand. The committee was "community action"; he was still responsible for law enforcement.) By ~~EasterxSundayxmorningx~~ Friday afternoon, pickets were walking peacefully downtown, and by Easter ~~Sunday~~ morning, with sunshine bathing the Confederate monument in Hemming Park, the riot tension seemed over. The biracial committee, ~~was~~ headed by important members of the city's business elite ~~power structure~~, ~~is~~ was a fair deal in race relations.

understood to be ready and ~~a~~ equipped to act; it could ~~conceivably~~ be the instrument for Jacksonville's peaceful acceptance of ~~federal civil rights legislation.~~

Continued picketing, ~~[illegible]~~ a ~~[illegible]~~ boycott, ~~and [illegible] watchful waiting~~ on the new committee was the ~~[illegible]~~ policy of the NAACP announced that Easter Sunday, afternoon,

Which was it? A legacy of ~~xx~~ violence cropping up again in Jacksonville, or ~~[illegible]~~ a new look in the South's ~~[illegible]~~ struggle to be rid of segregation?

A comparison with the ~~1960 violence~~ similar Negro vandalism that occurred in 1960 shows extreme differences in the degree of provocation. Then it ~~was in the form of~~ had come from Ku Klux Klansmen swinging ax handles at sit-in demonstrators. This time, ~~with~~ the Klan ~~(whose strength, according to the a spokesman [illegible] might be as high as [illegible] members)~~ ~~was~~ was quiescent, ~~with~~ and a ~~xx~~ speech by a visiting ~~N~~ U.S. Nazi Party nabob ~~drawing~~ drew was an ~~x~~ audience of ten, six of whom were police. the provocation seemed to center around impatience with the lack of desegregation progress, resentment of ~~[illegible]~~ a gradually getting-tougher handling of demonstrators in Municipal Court, and an immediate flare-up of resentment over the mayor's speech. (Some said the ~~xx~~ speech was political; the mayor is one of ~~xx~~ six candidates for governor. He claimed the stepped-up Negro activity was inspired by his political enemies-- and he might be ~~xxx~~ right to the ~~x~~ extent that Negro leaders might have wanted to show the state that they ~~weren't~~ were not happy with what his 15-year-old administration had produced for them.)

or more

the other work ADL

A factor common to both ~~xxx~~ riot situations were ~~[illegible]~~ gangs of juvenile and older ~~[illegible]~~ Negroes who, under such colorful names as the "High Hats," "Boomerangs", and "Untouchables," are in normal times ~~are~~ "involved in other matters that keep the Negro crime rate high," (in the words of Chief Deputy Sheriff William F. Whitehead). He, ~~xxxxx~~ city police sources, and the NAACP ~~xxxx~~ attributed most of this year's violence-- as in 1960-- to such elements in the Negro community taking advantage of the civil rights tension to let go some of their own broader-guage hostility. As an indication of this kind of anger in operation, some of the rocks, and ~~some~~ of the fire bombs were thrown at Negroes and Negro businesses.

At the schools, another element entered. Mr. Harmon, the Journal assistant city editor, was one of those chased, and he ~~described the whiskered~~

INSERT

To say all of this is still no to get at a real understanding of a situation ~~like~~ such as Jacksonville's, or of the roots of violence in ~~[illegible]~~ such a Southern Negro community. To really understand is to begin with the stench and ~~[illegible]~~ delapidation of the Negro slums, and to try with empathy to comprehend the hopelessness that is compounded out of the thudding impact ~~[illegible]~~ upon the human consciousness of being poor, and being blocked by the very conditions of this poverty and by the weights of discrimination from any possible escape. This is hopelessness deepened by the new knowledge that the old dream of escape to the North is false-- that up there, it's just more of the dreary old ~~[illegible]~~ same. "Our young," say Negroes in Jacksonville and elsewhere over the South in 1964, ~~[illegible]~~ "don't care any more whether they die, if they've got to go on ~~[illegible]~~ living like we have to now."

To know this is to know the extreme: the already defeated, desperate young-- the fatherless or sons of men who have no jobs-- who have no model except within themselves, and who find their meaning in life in gangs, with ~~their medieval~~ medieval and ~~[illegible]~~ prehistoric overtones, their war councils, and their internecine battlings. These gangs were there in 1960, as they have been at other Southern racial crises, watching from the sidelines. They saw the non-violent demonstrators beat, and saw that the police not only failed to protect them, ~~they~~ but arrested them, and not their aggressors. This rankles, and is part of what had been festering in the black ghettos of Jacksonville.

~~Negro demonstrations prior to this moment — alcoholism, sexual promiscuity, joblessness etc. — all inward. Expression now is outer-directed~~

So, too, is the memory of what happened when the gangs ran violent after seeing the treatment of the non-violent in 1960, their own violence turned outward instead of upon self and one another. They recount to each other and to new initiates still the told war stories, of how for a few hours there they took over, controlled the ~~[illegible]~~ expressways into ~~[illegible]~~ town, and faced down the cops, ~~whites and Negroes~~ Negro and white. "And we came upon this white policeman, and ~~[illegible]~~ man, he was so scared of us, that he gave us

INSERT p. 2

his gun, to us, without our asking for it..."

~~Just like "white community..." 9 candidates for Gov., for [illegible]..."~~

Also, to really understand is to know that a Negro community in a city like Jacksonville is not monolithic-- that while it is united in a drive to end segregation, it is fragmented in dispute over how best this might be achieved, whether by violence or non-violent direct action or peaceful, dignified negotiation. Such a community, just like its white counterparts, is torn, too, by the plain old human rivalries of class and age and personality: The scorn of the leader who lives amid his people in the slums for the "black bourgeoise" moved like the white man to a suburb that ~~[illegible]~~ hides them from the harshness of the life of their people... The contempt of the professional man, who has fought his way up to a fine home with a swimming pool, for the upstart young militants who won't listen to the experience and skill and wisdom that ~~[illegible] has~~ got him where he is, and ~~has been~~ was used in the long, painful past of racial advancement that led to the recent breakthroughs.

These are among the dynamic elements that are operating in such a situation as Jacksonville's, influencing actions, setting terms, in a context far more complex than the surface appearance of black against white, good against evil.

There had been some progress in the city. But when the NAACP came home from the Washington March, it was with the bitter taste of the unrealized hope to be free in '63, and the leaders began to draw their plan of action. Now, there is a biracial committee, and more ground for hope. "Yes," says the middle-class Negro leader, "there is hope-- because the white men know they've had two strikes. The third strike, and Jacksonville is out." In the background lurks the gang member, with a ring in his ear, ~~his~~ a half-articulated murmer in his brain: ~~[illegible]~~ Why not? There is no hope for me. Why should there be hope for anybody else? Boy this next one is going to be a BIG rumble. ...

~~abxbaxbixbxbngxfrbmbxbabxbxbxbxfbxbxbxb25xbxb30xpbxbxbxbixbxbxbxbxbb~~

said that ~~nokvaxixkhavu~~ the majority of the crowd was ~~more~~ in~~x~~ a mood of excited, almost gleeful exci~~b~~tement, while there was ~~than in the one of~~ grim violence ~~which~~ in the mood of ~~came from~~ a hard-core group at the center of the crowd. It was panty-raid, spring ~~xxxx~~ feverishness degenerated into mob violence, he said.

#Furthermore ~~Again,~~ no provocation ~~, [illegible], in~~ to compari~~son~~e with h ~~such standards as~~ the Birmingham police dog and fire hose treatment~~x~~ of Spring 1963 ever occurred. ~~possibly less out-of-hand crowds, seems relatively [illegible]~~ ~~comparatively less severe.~~

Insert

Rutledge Pearson, 34, Nergo schoolteacher, who ~~says he~~ ~~was blocked by segregation~~ ~~[illegible]y from being a professional baseball~~ career ~~player in Jacksonville,~~ is head of the Jacksonville and Florida NAACP ~~s~~ branches, and the leader of the city's civil rights drive. He blamed the violence on the mayor's speech and police handling of Negroes. He said it came ~~was~~ from criminal elements, the gangs, and described how he and other NAACP leaders worked all night Monday and Tuesday ~~nights~~ (including a television ~~tv~~ appeal) ~~for~~ to show these elements that the effective thing to do was follow the non-violent leadership of the NAACP.

~~Prince McIntosh Jr., 21, public relations for the Jacksonville NAACP, arrested taking pictures of demonstrations, said the local NAACP Youth Council does not at all condone violence , but "at the same time we feel just calling for the cease of violence will get nowhere... We need to try not so much to stop violence as to root out the evil that is the casue of the violence--segregation."~~

Mr. Pearson ~~said [illegible]~~ cited ~~in a newspaper interview in which [illegible]~~ efforts by various groups since Sptember to ~~get~~ persuade the mayor to ~~form~~ give official status to a biracial committee. He and others described the long record of ~~the~~ previous biracial committee, established by the Chamber of Commerce after the 1960 riots. ~~(which~~ (Even in name, it t~~e~~nded not to admit being biracial; it was called the Community Advisory Committee and its Negro Counterpart.) This group was ~~,~~ hampered by lack of official regognition and such things as a failure to keep minutes, ~~2~~ according to Dr. W. W. Schell ~~--~~ who pat~~ie~~ently and persistently worked as chairman of the "Negro counterpart"

It was considered generally ineffective in the crucial, last-ditch efforts to desegregate public accommodations and jobs. Like most southern cities, Jacksonville has desegregated most publicly owned facilities, including theoretically its beach. (It closed its ~~swimming~~ Negro pool.) Thirteen first graders entered five previously all-white schools in the fall of 1963. A half dozen restaurants have desegregated; hotels accept Negro conventioners; theaters limit Negro customers to eight a night.

~~It is one of the principle causes of dissatisfactio~~

~~Thus, to answer the question of whether Jacksonville is ~~xxx~~ peculair unto itself in a penchant for violence or whether it~~

~~Thus, it would seem that Jacksonville's Negro discontent sprang not so much from the degree of discrimination or from a more than normally harsh administration of Southern justice. What seemed to bother Negroes was a more profound feeling of frustration and hopelessness about further desegregation and a lack of good faith on the part of the city with whom they were trying by peaceful means to negotiate.~~

~~Without going into the~~ ~~Whether or not the penchant to violence is a peculiar idosyncrisy in Jacksonville is a question that really can't be answered. But whether it is, or whether it is typical of the new mood of Negro communities in the South, these further points would seem important:~~

~~1. A new demand for dealing in good faith will be upon every community in the South when and if federal civil rights legislation is passed.~~

~~That Negroes will [illegible] have federal law behind them [illegible] just one more [illegible]~~

~~2. Righteous indignation [illegible] dealing with them by Southern communities & one more [illegible]~~

~~Factor to~~

~~2. Every Southern Negro community has its own brand of the lawless, the angry, the holders of grudges against society. These are the products of discrimination and of poverty, ~~the~~ a new ~~[illegible]~~ vintage from the old grapes of wrath.~~

~~3. Mob violence is part of the unfortunate side of the human repertoire. It can move through a crowd of Negro high school students in Jacksonville; it moved through a similar crowd in a high school that same week in Saint~~

Thus, the wellsprings of Jackson ville Negro discontent seemed to be ~~that of~~ ~~the~~ general dissatisfaction with tokenism-- a profound frustration ~~hopelessness~~/~~about~~ ~~further desegregation~~ growing out of a feeling that the city's civic leaders were ~~power structure was~~ not journeying with ~~meeting~~ in good faith those Negroes who were trying to find accommodation by peaceful means. The violence, which may have been diminished but couldn't ~~couldn't~~ be stopped by responsible Negro leaders, would seem to have sprung from youthful hysteria and mob spirit at the schools, and otherwise from criminal elements and others in the Negro community who sensed an opportunity ripe for expression of dangerous fury out of a lifetime of deprivations. And ~~violence-proneness~~ is not one-sided in the city. White racists may have been quiescent during the crisis, but they have in beatings and bombings (a recent case resulting in arrests) made their presence felt since 1960.

"...They were after anybody white," said a Negro mother sadly of the high school rioters. Prince McIntosh Jr., 21, public relations director of the Jacksonville NAACP (who was arrested while taking pictures of the demonstrations), said the local NAACP Youth Council does not at all condone violence, but "at the same time we feel just calling for the cease of violence will get nowhere... We need to try not so much to stop violence as to root out the evil that is the cause of the violence-- segregation."

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* * * *

~~In the final analysis, the answer to the question of~~ Whether Jacksonville is a special ~~1964~~ case ultimately rests with the rest of the South, as ~~a~~ new opportunities for ~~dealing in~~ good faith dealings between white + Negro people loom ahead for ~~every~~ each community in this year of national decision making ~~the probability of the passage of federal civil rights legislation.~~

In 1960, in a special publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, the Southern Regional Council stated:

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"The South is not an anarchy. It is not a region where government is weak. It is not a region where the lines of political and economic power are loosely held. The breakdowns in law and order in the South are an outcome

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All Papers
Thursday
April 16, 1964

"The lesson of Jacksonville is --- that whenever the white civic leadership – religious, business, & political – is indifferent ~~to~~ or inattentive to the justified impatience of Negroes with tokenism or less, wherever ~~Negro~~ Negro efforts to effect change through discussion & joint planning are rebuffed, violence is invited in."

This is a conclusion of short report on the Jacksonville (Fla.) riots of Easter week, released today by the Southern Regional Council.

~~The report takes also the question~~

Beyond prudent doubt, the next six months will be packed with crisis and decision for the South and for the nation. Every indication points to protest activity of an extent and an intensity without precedent, not only in the South but in the North as well. The Senate filibuster wears on. When it is finally over and defeated, and a law is passed, the issue in the South will be compliance. In both Summer and early Fall, some of the most recalcitrant school districts of the deep South will be under court order to desegregate. And in the background of all this, there will be the excitement of the Presidential campaign and many state races.

ditto

of public policy-- no less because it is sometimes oral and traditional rather than written in statutes and police manuals.

The words still apply, as each community in the South faces the decision of whether to obey the prospective federal law on public accommodations and other ~~civil rights. as any others. With Jacksonville in mind, the expectations~~ civil rights.

In the years following 1954, the South chose to violate the American tradition of obeying a Supreme Court reading of the Constitution.

The question for 1964 is whether the spirit of lawfulness has returned to the Southern political leadership, to that leadership which drummed up the orgy of massive resistance and which had always, as it has now throughout the deep South, power to maintain order.

In great areas of the South today, their leadership has been overthrown and replaced.

In those states and cities where it still exists, it acts still as the real agent provocateur of turbulence and violence.

But the lesson of Jacksonville is also that wherever the white civic leadership-- religious, business and political-- allows a racial crisis to develop and spill into the streets (whether by indifference or inattentiveness to the justified impatience of Negroes with tokenism or less, or by rebuff of Negro efforts to effect change through discussion and joint planning, or by other failures), then it invites violence in. This has always been true; Jacksonville indicates an increase in the danger of violence.

When a southern community finally sits down to deal honorably with the problems that are the legacy of segregation and discrimination, it is not "giving in to Negro demands." It is merely addressing itself out of duty and self-interest (if not moral persuasion) to a community problem affecting all the people, just as it would to any other less emotional problem. ~~affecting all of the people~~ With this-- and the lesson of ~~Jacksonville in mind~~ Jacksonville-- in mind, the expectations for this spring and summer for every community would seem to hinge around such questions as the following:

~~Spring and Summer~~ ~~for every community~~ would ~~seem to hinge around the following, such questions: for~~ ~~such guarantees~~

What guarantees are there ~~ever~~ ~~[illegible]~~ that a racial crisis might not set off the energies of ~~[illegible]~~ mobs, whether ~~[illegible]~~ of white or Negro students full of spring feverishness, or ~~the~~ of white ~~and~~ or Negro victims of impoverishment, sullen in their slums? ~~[illegible]~~ What policies and apparatus (such as ~~a~~ an honorable biracial committee) give ~~[illegible]~~ responsible Negro leaders any hope that their just demands (backed by increased legal authority) will be met, short of the creation of a race crisis?

And, finally, what is the unspoken communication of community ~~power structures~~ leadership toward violence? In Jacksonville, it seemed to be the message that violence works. The two days of rioting ~~there~~ accomplished the creation of a ~~[illegible]~~ biracial committee, something that six months of urging ~~couldn't~~ had not accomplished. They seemed ~~[illegible]~~ on their way to accomplishing in the field of public accommodations desegregation and the meeting of civic responsibility what three years of patient negotiation ~~hadn't~~ had not been able to achieve. Is this the message ~~[illegible]~~ that will come from other communities ~~[illegible]~~ to shape the emotional climate and mood during the crucial, turning point Spring and Summer coming upon the South?

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#In the year following 1954 the South chose to violate the American tradition of obeying a Supreme Court ~~declaration~~ reading of the Constitution.

#The question for 1964 is whether the spirit of lawfulness has returned ~~as~~ to the southern political leadership, to that leadership which drummed up the orgy of massive resistance & which had always, as it has now throughout ~~the~~ even the deep South, power to ~~enact~~ maintain order.

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? #In those states & cities where it still persists, it acts still as the real agent provocateur of turbulence & violence.

n.a.t. #But the lesson of Jacksonville is also that wherever the white civic leadership - religious, business & political - is indifferent or inattentive to the justified impatience of Negroes with ?

Pat-

Exercising a woman's privilege I ~~=~~ yield on ~~th~~ press release. Second thoughts suggest ~~that~~ we let this stand alone. The good guys, hopefully, will do something with it

So let's send it out, with just a slip stapled on giving a release date: Thursday, April 16, All Papers - if OK with you. Vernon will get it out

Please make sure ~~that~~ Jacksonville papers, radio, & TV get it, & all good papers or big ones in Fla.

For Release: All Papers
Thursday, April 16, 1964

"Beyond prudent doubt, the next six months will be packed with crisis and decision for the South and for the nation. Every indication points to protest activity of an extent and intensity without precedent, not only in the South but in the North as well. The Senate filibuster wears on. When it is finally over and defeated, and a law is passed, the issue in the South will be compliance. In both Summer and early Fall, some of the most recalcitrant school districts of the deep South will be under court order to desegregate. And in the background of all this, there will be the excitement of the Presidential campaign and many state races...

"...The lesson of Jacksonville is... that wherever the white civic leadership-- religious, business, and political-- allows a racial crisis to develop and spill into the streets (whether by indifference or inattentiveness to the justified impatience of Negroes with tokenism or less, or by rebuff of Negro efforts to effect change through discussion and joint planning, or by other failures), then it invites violence in."

These were conclusions of a short report on the Jacksonville (Fla.) riots of Easter week, released today by the Southern Regional Council.

~~The report suggested that Negro vandalism and violence that shook the city for two days and nights had its roots specifically, and in resentment of lack of desegregation progress, lack of an effective, combined with officially sanction for the city's biracial committee, generally flareup of resentment over a~~

The report suggested that Negro discontent in the city had its roots in resentment of lack of progress on desegregation of public accommodations [redacted] and lack of official sanction [redacted] which cut effectiveness of the city's biracial committee, combined with a flareup of resentment over a [redacted] television [redacted] statement by Mayor Haydon Burns invoking [redacted] tight police powers against sit-ins and public assembly of Negroes. It also suggested that [redacted] Negro violence and vandalism which rocked the city for two [redacted] days had its roots in a precedent for this sort of thing which occurred under more severe phsycial provocation in 1960, in the [redacted] hostility festering in Negro slum areas, with criminal elements taking advantage of a race crisis to express broader-guage anger, and in youthful mob spirit not unlike that of a panty-raid.

The report~~yx~~ pointed out that now [redacted] as in 1960, "the breakdowns in law and order in the South are an outcome of public policy..."

[redacted] It went on: "In the years following 1954, the South chose to violate the American tradition of obeying a Supreme Court reading of the Constitution.

"The question for 1964 is whether the spirit of lawfulness has returned to the Southern political leadership, to that leadership which drummed up the orgy of massive resistance and which had always, as it has now through the deep South, power to maintain order..."

Then the report raised these questions for any community to ask itself: ~~possible keys~~ ~~the key to whether Jacksonville will set the pace and tone for the South during the Spring and Summer:~~

"What guarantees are there that a racial crisis might not set off the energies of mobs, whether of white or Negro students full of spring feverishness, or [redacted] of white or Negro victims of impoverishment, sullen in their slums? What policies and tools (such as an honorable biracial committee) give responsible Negro leaders any hope that their just demands [redacted] will be met, short of the creation of a race crisis?

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3

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✓BP - see 10
✓MA - see 10
ML - see Abram letter 10, back cover?
SB✓

Section 4 | NEWS BACKGROUND
EDUCATION—SCIENCE

The New York Times.

EDITORIALS
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR | Section 4

6, 10, 11

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THE NEWS OF THE WEEK IN REVIEW

Johnson's Way

And Nation's Mood

On the grim day five months ago when Lyndon Johnson inherited the biggest job on earth, there was deep uncertainty about what kind of President he would be. True, he had been an effective Senate majority leader, but was he cut to the size of the Presidency? The view in many quarters was that he was essentially a courthouse politician whose real talent was for wheeling and dealing, a provincial with no real grasp of world affairs, a "cornpone."

Today there appears to be a clear consensus that Lyndon Johnson is definitely on top of his job. His confidence, vigor and impact seem to be growing daily. While there are some who still object to his style and methods, there is no question that he has been getting results. There is widespread agreement that the mood of the country has changed, that the sense of crisis, transition and uncertainty has passed.

The President's activities last week underscored the energy with which he has been tackling his job and the record he has been building. He dominated the headlines in a week of speech-making and news conferences (he has had five in the past two weeks), of a trip to dedicate the New York World's Fair and to a Democratic fund-raising dinner in Chicago, of private consultations and public exhortations, with interludes of folksy humor and personal contacts with the electorate.

Two major developments stood out: The President scored a great coup—"a miracle," some called it—in helping to settle the five-year-old railroad dispute that had defied all previous efforts at solution; a strike that could have crippled the economy had been averted. And Mr. Johnson drew big, enthusiastic crowds in a dramatic tour of the Appalachia area in furtherance of his "war against poverty."

the Southerners in the hope of softening, if only by a jot, their last-ditch opposition; and toward Republicans whose votes are required to fill out the 67 needed for ending a filibuster.

Last week, Senator Mike Mansfield, the Democratic leader, and Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Republican leader, moved part way toward a Southern demand for jury trials in criminal contempt cases arising out of injunction suits under the bill. They offered an amendment providing that a person accused of willfully disobeying a court order could be tried with or without a jury, at the discretion of the judge. If the accused were convicted without a jury he could not be fined more than $300 or imprisoned for more than 30 days. Southerners want the jury trials on the theory that a Southern jury would be less likely than a judge to convict violators of civil rights laws.

Dirksen Amendments

Mr. Dirksen is also the sponsor of a series of amendments mainly designed to soften the fair-employment provisions of the bill, through such devices as providing for initial periods of voluntary compliance and permitting local and state, rather than Federal, enforcement of certain provisions. Last week Senator Dirksen introduced the most controversial of his amendments — a provision that complainants in fair-employment cases would file suit themselves. The House-passed version authorizes a Federal commission to file suit. Its supporters feel many Southern Negroes might not take cases to court for fear of physical harm or economic reprisal.

There is recognition that even if the civil rights bill passes more or less intact, all civil rights pressures and demonstrations will not end. The bill, for example, would scarcely affect the de facto segregation that was the main target of last week's New York demonstrations.

But the bill is expected to de-

United Press International

TO THE PEOPLE: President Johnson using the White House Rose Garden as a forum last Tuesday as he addressed visiting editors and broadcasters.

inner in Chicago, of private consultations and public exhortations, with interludes of folksy humor and personal contacts with the electorate.

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Personal Stamp

All of this had the strong personal stamp Mr. Johnson has put on his Administration, the new manner and image he has brought to the White House. It is in sharp contrast to the Kennedy style, but it seems to have won the approval of a large section of the electorate.

In retrospect it seems clear that the pace and spirit of the Johnson Administration were set at that moment in Dallas when, immediately after taking the oath of office, he said, "Let's get this plane back to Washington." In the five months since, President Johnson can point to a number of accomplishments, abroad and at home.

In foreign affairs, Mr. Johnson had barely picked up the reins of government before he was confronted with a multiplying series of crises. There was concern and misgiving because this was felt to be the area of Presidential responsibility with which Mr. Johnson was least familiar. Moreover, it was thought that Moscow might try pressure and provocation to test the will and mettle of the new President.

Mr. Johnson's own edginess and concern on that score may have accounted for what many thought was his initial over-reaction to the Guantanamo "water crisis." But he soon demonstrated greater assurance in dealing with that and other emergency situations — in Panama, Cyprus, in the air over East Berlin and in the seemingly unending struggle for Southeast Asia.

As for Russians, if they ever entertained any idea of trying to provoke Mr. Johnson they apparent quickly abandoned it as he made clear that he did not intend to be pushed around or preside over the dissolution of the Western alliance. In a nuclear cutback agreement with Moscow last week, he advanced another step—however limited—along the path of eased tensions on which President Kennedy embarked.

Continuing Pressure

In domestic affairs, Mr. Johnson has maintained steady, and thus far largely effective, pressure for Administration programs. He put down an incipient Congressional revolt to obtain passage of the foreign aid bill. The tax cut bill was passed largely intact and with dispatch, and it appears to be having the promised effect of stimulating further an economy that already was booming. Wheat and cotton legislation the President deemed essential to forestall a farm depression have been passed. The civil rights bill has moved from the House on to the Senate floor; whatever its ultimate fate, the consensus is that the bill's chances are at least as good, if not better, under the Johnson stewardship than they would have been under Mr. Kennedy's.

In putting his prestige on the line by personal intervention in the rail dispute, the President took a large risk that has paid off handsomely in credit for promoting the agreement.

The economic boom has given the President a powerful talking point and helped win the confidence of the business community. There may be some argument about how much he is personally responsible for the buoyancy in the economy. But he has constantly identified himself with it by repeated citations of facts and figures that spell prosperity.

In pursuit of his programs and policies, Mr. Johnson has developed highly individual approaches toward the two elements on which a President's effectiveness depend—Congress and the people.

'Let Us Reason'

Toward Congress, he has drawn on his years of experience and intimacy on Capitol Hill, his talent for persuasion and compromise ("Come, let us reason together" is his favorite saying), and his politician's instinct for the use of the carrot and stick.

It is doubtful if the members of Congress have ever been bombarded by so many Presidential phone calls, so many invitations to White House breakfasts, luncheons, dinners and kaffee-klatsches.

An Administration official said recently that in dealing with Congress, Mr. Johnson "likes to stay ahead and anticipate what will happen and how to meet it." The "meeting it" might include anything from a flattering invitation to a Congressman to share the spotlight at a White House ceremony to some carefully applied pressure on a minor matter dear to the hearts of a Congressman's constituents.

Toward the people, Mr. Johnson has displayed a formidable gift for keeping attention focused on the Presidency. If he is economizing on other lights in the White House, he certainly is not economizing on the spotlight. He has already held 16 news conferences and has made 20 appearances on TV. Moreover, whether greeting sightseers at the White House gates, reading a letter over TV from a little girl troubled about a possible rail strike, or touring poverty-stricken areas, the President has managed to project a politically potent image of homespun friendliness and compassion.

The change in the nation's mood about the President has been paralleled by changes in his own performance and sense of confidence. The New York Times White House correspondent writes, "Mr. Johnson was visibly leary of the press when he first took office. Slowly he has overcome his fear of live TV, and the week before last finally mastered the big, formal conference in the State Department auditorium. You could see him loosening up and enjoying himself."

The New York Times diplomatic correspondent writes: "Mr. Johnson is no longer afraid that the Russians might 'test' his mettle in this or that difficult situation. He speaks more frankly of the slow pace of events and the frustrations of foreign affairs. 'Nothing to throw your hat in the air about' in Latin America, no instant peace conference in the cold war, etc.'"

A number of columnists and commentators have remarked favorably on Mr. Johnson's performance and impact. Walter Lippmann has said President Johnson is "by nature a healing man" with a great talent for "finding the point at which a consensus—an agreement—is possible."

Arthur Krock of The New York Times has written that Mr. Johnson is exercising the powers of the Presidency "in a protean political performance of many diverse roles," and James Reston of The Times has called "the tireless negotiating skill" of the President "one of the vital natural resources of this country." Columnist Doris Fleeson writes that "the President has arrived and he has the Presidency working for him." Another columnist spoke of the President's talent for "digging down deeply into the basic urges of ordinary people."

Big problems remain. The civil rights issue has aroused strong feelings throughout the country and is certain to provide hard tests of the President's leadership in the days ahead. Mr. Johnson will be called upon to show results in the "war on poverty" as opposed to promises and exhortations. Unemployment remains high despite the boom.

In the foreign field, the problem of how to deal effectively with Castro and the war in Vietnam press for solution. President de Gaulle continues to be a potential source of conflict within the Western alliance. A switch in Soviet tactics could swiftly alter the whole international picture.

Nevertheless, the evidence is that President Johnson has strong support throughout the country. His five-state tour last week had something of the aspect of a triumphal procession. He was mobbed in South Bend, hailed by large crowds in Pittsburgh; he mingled with warm and enthusiastic well-wishers in West Virginia and Kentucky. Secret servicemen, in fact, were deeply troubled by the extent of the President's "exposure." At his news conference yesterday, Mr. Johnson said he was not "unduly concerned about meeting American citizens on the streets." But former President Truman, who was Mr. Johnson's guest at the conference, described himself as "very much concerned."

The President's week reemphasized a fact most Republicans ruefully acknowledge: barring a major setback in the domestic or foreign field, Mr. Johnson is going to be a hard man to beat in November. All the polls show him ahead of any prospective Republican nominee. He has managed so far to prevent the Republicans from developing any really big issue. Unless they are able to develop one or more such issues between now and Election Day, their chances of regaining the White House do not seem good.

Rights Issue

In Streets & Congress

In the civil rights struggle last week the danger that extremism might lead to racial strife and violence appeared to recede, even if only temporarily. The more moderate established leadership of the Negro movement seemed to reassert itself. Still it seemed plain that so long as Negro aspirations remained unmet the possibility of serious trouble would continue.

In Washington, the debate over the principal effort to meet those aspirations—the House-passed civil rights bill—proceeded in the Senate. Leaders of both parties offered amendments designed to soften some of the opposition's objections. There was hope that a bill, modified but still acceptable to the civil rights forces, would finally emerge.

The immediate cause of concern had arisen primarily over a threat to create chaos at the opening of the New York World's Fair last Wednesday. Dissident elements of the New York City chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality had planned a "stall-in" of cars that would run out of fuel on highways to the fair if the city did not take immediate action against racial discrimination on several fronts.

The plans were denounced by James Farmer, head of CORE. Most other prominent Negro leaders also voiced opposition, as did President Johnson, who was to speak at the opening ceremonies, and a number of Congressmen and others regarded as sympathetic to the Negroes' cause.

But the stall-in never materialized. At the fair itself, however, there were a number of demonstrations. Placard-carrying youths shouting "Freedom Now!" occasionally drowned out the President's speech. Whites far outnumbered Negroes among the demonstrators.

About 300 persons, inside and outside the fairgrounds, were taken into custody and four demonstrators and three policemen were injured in a scuffle when efforts were made to block a subway. Among those arrested at the fair were Mr. Farmer and Bayard Rustin, organizer of last summer's March on Washington. Both had sat down with other demonstrators on the steps of the New York State Pavilion and disobeyed police orders to move.

Mr. Farmer was released next day, and on Friday conferred with Mayor Wagner for an hour and 15 minutes. They discussed Negro demands for better housing and jobs, racially balanced schools and for investigations of alleged police brutality. Mr. Farmer said the talks were "more productive than any previous meeting because we got down to brass tacks."

As for the aborted stall-in, the leaders claimed "victory" on the grounds that only 92,000 persons showed up at the fair against a predicted opening day attendance of at least 250,000. But how many stayed away because of the stall-in threat and how many because of the miserable weather was impossible to say. It seemed evident that the stall-in leaders never had anything like the support and strength they claimed.

Moderates Criticized

New tests are expected between moderates and militants for influence in the civil rights movement. Leaders such as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Mr. Farmer have been coming under increasing criticism for not producing "results." The pressure appears strongest in the North, where discrimination is subtler than in the South, but for that reason often harder to overcome. Nevertheless, if the events in New York last week were any index, extremists are still in the minority among Negroes and the tactic of generalized protest against the entire white community does not yet have broad support.

Moreover, the mere threat of a stall-in may have left a lasting mark on the civil rights struggle. It appears to have reinforced the so-called "white backlash" against integrationist pressures that many political leaders have sensed in the electorate. To a degree at least that reaction is thought likely to persist even though the threat was not carried out.

Elsewhere in the North and West, demonstrations continued last week. At Chester, Pa., schools were closed Wednesday when violence developed during demonstrations against de facto segregation. Sporadic skirmishing between demonstrators and police continued all week, with scores arrested. The schools are scheduled to reopen tomorrow, and the Board of Education has applied for an injunction against further demonstrations.

In Oklahoma, nearly 100 whites and Negroes were arrested in racial battles at Guthrie, the state's first capital, during a state celebration of a land run 75 years ago. The small police force was overwhelmed, and Oklahoma City police had to race to the town's aid.

In the Senate last week—the seventh week of debate on the civil rights bill—the emphasis was on the kind and extent of compromises the civil rights forces would have to make to get the bill through. Their object was to prevent weakening of the bill to the point where it might be worse than no bill at all.

The compromises were being made in two directions—toward

cases would file suit themselves. The House-passed version authorizes a Federal commission to file suit. Its supporters feel many Southern Negroes might not take cases to court for fear of physical harm or economic reprisal.

There is recognition that even if the civil rights bill passes more or less intact, all civil rights pressures and demonstrations will not end. The bill, for example, would scarcely affect the de facto segregation that was the main target of last week's New York demonstrations.

But the bill is expected to deflect some of the civil rights agitation; and certainly if it does not pass, or if debate drags on through the summer, the agitation and the influence of the extremists are likely to increase.

Yet one of the cruel dilemmas of the civil rights struggle appears to be that increased pressure in the streets, with its accompanying white backlash reaction, may further jeopardize the bill's chances.

CORE
JOBS NOW
CORE
BOSTON CORE

United Press International

TO THE FAIR: Civil rights demonstrators at the opening of the World's Fair last Wednesday.

THE WORLD

Asian Questions

Ten years ago, Indochina was, to most Americans, a remote, little known land where the French were coming to the end of a cruel, losing war. Today, it is the arena of an increasingly complex struggle that has already taken a toll of American lives and treasure and is posing a test of American leadership of the forces of anti-Communism in the Far East.

Last week, the complexity of the struggle was reflected in events in two of the states involved, Laos and South Vietnam.

In Laos, a neutralist regime—a frail buffer in the East-West conflict—was swept aside by a rightist military revolt.

In South Vietnam, the pro-Communist guerrillas were intensifying their attacks, placing the U.S. under pressure to devise new responses.

The immediate crisis was in Laos. It grew out of the collapse, only the week before, of talks between the country's three leading figures—Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Premier and head of a small neutralist faction; Prince Souphanouvong, Deputy Premier and head of the pro-Communist Pathet Lao movement; and Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, Deputy Premier and commander of the pro-Western rightist camp.

Talks on Coalition

The three met in a tent on the Plaine des Jarres, the country's great central plain, for talks on restoring a coalition regime that had been set up by a 14-nation East-West Geneva conference in 1962 but which to all intents and purposes had fallen apart a year ago. "Red Prince" Souphanouvong, flying in from his military base near the North Vietnamese border, laid down a condition: immediate neutralization of Luang Prabang, the seat of the country's figurehead King. General Nosavan, whose Royal Army controls that city along with Vientiane, the administrative capital, refused. Souvanna Phouma said his efforts to hold the coalition together were at an end; he would resign.

He flew back to Vientiane—into the thick of a plot. A junta headed by Gen. Siho Lamphouthacoul, the rightist security chief, and Brig. Gen. Kouprasith Abhay, commander of the Vientiane region, placed him under house arrest last weekend. The rebels declared the coalition defunct, for having "failed to bring about unity." At that point, however, the coup stalled.

General Nosavan refused to join it. By Monday the junta leaders

CIVIL RIGHTS: POLITICS

Despite the Strong Cross Currents It Has Stirred The Rights Bill Is Expected to Pass

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 25—The civil rights movement produced the civil rights bill. Both are highly charged political issues—the more so with increasing evidence of a "white back-lash" in the North against "black" pressure. What effects are these counter-acting forces having on the bill in the Senate? What effects do the politicians see on the Congressional and Presidential elections?

Now comes a paradox wrapped in an enigma. The politicians of both parties, who are highly sensitive to political voltage, are for the most part relatively unconcerned—at least so far. This is because the pressures operating on most of them are so numerous and counter-balancing as to be imponderable.

Pressures Remain

On a national scale, of course, the pressures for and against civil rights (leaving aside the obvious Southern opposition) are plain enough.

Negro groups, most union leaders, many industrial unions (but by no means all of their members), the clergy, (but not all of their flocks) and the professionally liberal organizations are militantly behind civil rights.

The white back-lash is more amorphous, less organized, but plainly discernible from Congressional mail and the vote amassed by Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in the Wisconsin Presidential primary.

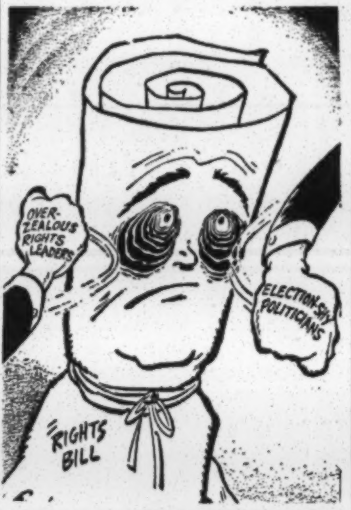
Assume for the moment a Senator or representative who is not a saint, ideologue or moralist, but just a garden variety politician. He translates these pressures into state and district terms. That is where the confusion sets in.

One Example

Take, for example, Ray J. Madden, the Democratic representative from Lake County, Ind., a heavily industrialized (steel, oil and chemicals), highly unionized area populated by a Polish-American majority and sizable groups of Negroes, white mountain folk from Kentucky and Tennessee, Hungarians, Mexicans and assorted Slavs and the Mississippi state government) has been advertising heavily in The Polish Daily Zgoda, a Chicago Polish language paper, which reaches up into South Milwaukee and over into Northern Indiana.

It would surprise no one here if Governor Wallace got a very heavy vote, even a majority, in Mr. Madden's district in the Presidential primary on May 5.

But would this portend trouble for Mr. Madden? Does it mean that a majority of the Democrats in his district, ignoring his consistent record in support of New Deal - Fair Deal legislation, would turn on him because of his vote for civil rights and elect a Repubican?



Morris, A.P. Newsfeatures

"Who needs enemies?"

Not Likely

Or that they would turn against President Johnson and vote for Governor Rockefeller, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge or Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania whose stand on civil rights is equally uncompromising or for Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who favors right-to-work laws and advocates a voluntary Social Security program?

This is believed possible, but not likely.

Take another example—Republican Senator Glenn Beall of Maryland, where Governor Wallace is also entered in the May 19 Presidential primary.

Mr. Beall is up for re-election. He has always been for civil principal strength lies in the Republican western counties and in the Baltimore suburbs. But he also needs all the spare votes he can get in the heavily Democratic industrial wards of East Baltimore and on the Eastern Shore, for he won in 1958 by a narrow margin.

East Baltimore is made up of pockets of Negroes, "hill-billies," Poles, Italians and what Baltimoreans still call Bohemians (Czechs). Politicians living in this district report intense anti-Negro feeling among the whites, and predict that in four of the wards Governor Wallace may get from 50 to 90 per cent of the Presidential primary vote.

The Forecast

The Eastern Shore is southern, with a past and recent history of racial conflict. The whites are normally Democratic conservatives of Southern stamp but there was evidence of some defections for Mr. Nixon in 1960. The forecast is that Governor Wallace will get a heavy vote among these whites.

The rural and small-town Negroes of the Eastern Shore tend to be anachronistic—they still adhere to the old "party-of-Abraham-Lincoln" tradition. It was largely owing to this Republican Negro vote that Mr. Nixon carried six of the Eastern Shore counties.

These are the forces Mr. Beall must try to balance. If Mr. Wallace gets the predicted heavy vote in East Baltimore and the Eastern Shore, Mr. Beall might be tempted to take a softer line on civil rights in the hopes of picking up normally white Democratic votes. But if he did this, he would certainly lose the traditional Negro Republican vote on the Eastern Shore, and probably some of the white Republican vote in the western counties, which have a Union background.

Best Course

On balance then, from a strictly pragmatic viewpoint and leaving aside his convictions, Mr. Beall would probably do better not to equivocate.

Turning to the Presidential election, few observers here be- selves on President Johnson, a Southerner, by voting for a Republican civil rights candidate.

There may be some danger of larger Southern defections if Mr. Goldwater is the candidate. But this, too, is doubtful. The Senator opposes Federal intervention to prevent discrimination in public accommodations and employment. But he has bluntly said he favors withholding of funds where states or localities practice discrimination in Federally-aided programs. ("Take away their road funds.") This is the part of the bill that the South probably fears the most.

Legislative Hopes

The hopes the Southern Senators place on the white-back-lash—in fact the whole thrust of the campaign of the Coordinating Committee of Fundamental American Freedoms—are not political but legislative. They are desperately hoping to emasculate the civil rights bill since they know they cannot kill it.

But even here the back-lash has not had any marked effect. The civil rights forces have agreed to amend the bill to provide jury trials in criminal contempt cases arising out of any of the bill's anti-discrimination injunctions where a judge imposes a fine of more than $300 or a sentence of more than 30 days. This is in line with the precedent set in the 1957 law on voting suits. It is not con- refused to acknowledge in criminal contempt proceedings.

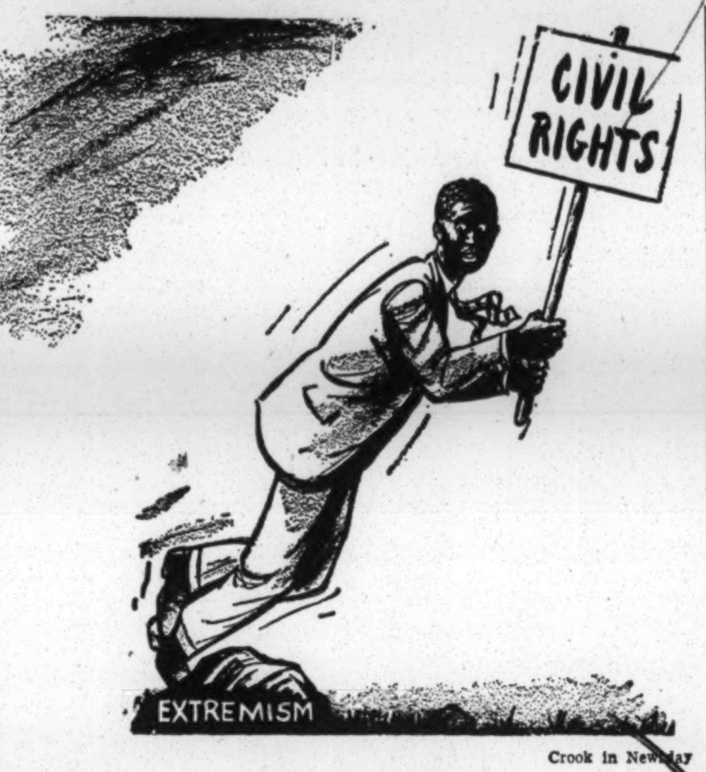
There is also agreement that the sections on discrimination in jobs and public accomodations shall be amended to give jurisdiction to state agencies for a limited time before the Federal Government steps in, and to give more opportunity for voluntary compliance before resort to court action.

Republican Position

These amendments will probably attain their final form during floor debate. But the feeling is that, though they may weaken the bill somewhat as it passed the House, they will not cut it.

This the Administration leaders cannot do nor connive at, and the Republicans dare not if they would. As a matter of fact, most of the Senate Republicans, while they may have doubts about further extension of Federal powers over private property and employers, are not disposed to chop the bill down to ineffectiveness.

After all, the Fourteenth Amendment was a Republican amendment. The Civil Rights Acts of 1875 (declared unconstitutional in 1883) were Republican statutes. A Republican administration sponsored in 1957 the first civil rights legislation in nearly a century. The Republican platform in 1960 had a strong civil rights plank,



Crook in Newsday

"Watch your step!"

CIVIL RIGHTS: LEADERS

Revolt Within the Movement Fails but It Opens Some Large Questions About the Future Course

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

The civil rights movement experienced a revolt within its revolt last week. It failed dismally but not without leaving bad scars and opening some large questions about the future of the movement.

The brief and abortive insurgency came from within the ranks of the Congress of Racial Equality in this city—the Brooklyn, Bronx and Manhattan chapters in particular. Significantly, of the 14 local chapters, these were the three with the largest Negro memberships. In defiance of the established leadership, they threatened to cause a monumental traffic jam on the opening day of the World's Fair.

Perhaps never before in the brief span of civil rights activism has a threat had such an impact, disquieting authorities on every level of what the activists call the power structure. But in the cold, rainy hours of last Wednesday morning, it became apparent that there would be no deeds to match the threat. All the words of anger and alarm seemed to dissolve in the rain and the saccharin music that bubbled from the loudspeakers at the fair. Outside on the broad highways, traffic moved with unexpected ease.

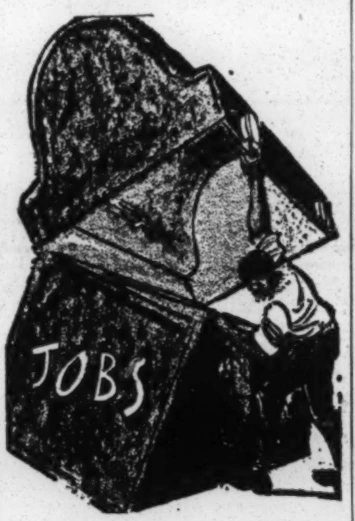
Invitation to Violence

The promised "stall-in" had been viewed by many as an invitation to racial violence. Even its proponents saw it as an unprecedented type of direct action—a technique of protest that was aimed at the whole community, those who passively accept the evils of discrimination as well as those who actually perpetuate them.

Self - proclaimed militants within the movement promised that the stall-in would be only the start. They charged that the protest techniques of the established leaders had not been effective; that the movement had been stymied. They promised to get it moving, first of all by dramatically halting traffic to a fair that had been built to celebrate the prosperity of a progressive United States.

The established leaders—CORE's James Farmer, Roy stall-in technique as "essentially revolutionary" and expressed concern over its possible effects on the civil rights debate in the Senate. At the same time, they warned government officials and whites in general that the new and extreme protest techniques were expressions of bedrock frustration and despair

As it turned out, it was James Farmer who became the first person to go to jail for demonstrating at the fair. And it was Mr. Farmer who drew the contrast between "the glittering world of fantasy and the real world of brutality, bigotry and poverty." As he was carried into the police van, the marchers—mostly college-age whites—were chanting "Farmer is our leader. We shall not be moved. Farmer is our leader . . ."



Ellinwood in The Tucson Daily Star

"Looking for a full dinner pail."

Under Pressure

But Mr. Farmer's deeds and their chants did not seem likely to forestall new challenges to the established leadership. The failure of the stall-in, say observers of the movement, can in no sense be taken as signifying an absence of frustration and despair at the grass roots of the Negro community. If anything, they say, it showed that these frustrations were too hard and deep to be reached easily by any would-be leader with an idea for a demonstration. If the dissident CORE chapters did according to these forecasts, some of them will succeed in staging drastically different kinds of demonstrations.

Such protests, like the proposal for the stall-in, would be generated out of the bitterness and alienation of activists who find that all their sitting in and marching gained little or nothing. In other words, they would be protests without the hope of progress.

Liberal political leaders and analysts have warned Negroes of a "hardening" of white attitudes under the pressure of extreme protests. They cite, for example, the strong showing of Gov. George C. Wallace in the Wisconsin Presidential primary earlier this month.

But civil rights leaders listen to these warnings, with considerable skepticism. White attitudes, they say, are not hardening—they are merely appearing without the camouflage of previously untested expressions of goodwill.

Deep Frustrations

Despite the warnings from liberals and Wednesday's failure on the way to the fair, it seems clear that the civil rights leadership remains under pressure to protest dramatically and to show results.

In the South—where established authority is hostile to the cause—protests do bring progress. In any case, there is no choice between activism and compliance. Negro voters have been and are being registered. Facilities have been and are being desegregated. Change comes painfully but with something like steadiness.

In the North—where discrimination is not ordained on the statute books—change frequently and paradoxically seems harder to achieve.

The failure of the stall-in indicated that the radicals in the movement may have no coherent alternative to offer to the established leaders. It did not prove, however, that the established leaders are here to stay. They still have to convince a skeptical Negro community that they can produce results. But, they quickly acknowledge, they cannot produce results without active white support.

Assume for the moment a Senator or representative who is not a saint, ideologue or moralist, but just a garden variety politician. He translates these pressures into state and district terms. That is where the confusion sets in.

One Example

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Mr. Beall is up for re-election. He has always been for civil rights and still is. But he is nervous, and understandably so, because the forces at work are complex and conflicting. His the hopes of picking up normally white Democratic votes. But if he did this, he would certainly lose the traditional Negro Republican vote on the Eastern Shore, and probably some of the white Republican vote in the western counties, which have a Union background.

Best Course

On balance then, from a strictly pragmatic viewpoint and leaving aside his convictions, Mr. Beall would probably do better not to equivocate.

Turning to the Presidential election, few observers here believe the civil rights issue will have any great affect. There is no expectation that the Southern states will avenge them- are not political but legislative. They are desperately hoping to emasculate the civil rights bill since they know they cannot kill it.

But even here the back-lash has not had any marked effect. The civil rights forces have agreed to amend the bill to provide jury trials in criminal contempt cases arising out of any of the bill's anti-discrimination injunctions where a judge imposes a fine of more than $300 or a sentence of more than 30 days. This is in line with the precedent set in the 1957 law on voting suits. It is not controversial and will spike the Southern charge that the bill denies the right of jury trial—a right the courts have steadily licans, while they may have doubts about further extension of Federal powers over private property and employers, are not disposed to chop the bill down to ineffectiveness.

After all, the Fourteenth Amendment was a Republican amendment. The Civil Rights Acts of 1875 (declared unconstitutional in 1883) were Republican statutes. A Republican administration sponsored in 1957 the first civil rights legislation in nearly a century. The Republican platform in 1960 had a strong civil rights plank, and House Republicans wrote the compromise bill that passed the House on Feb. 10 with three-fourths of Republican members voting for it.

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The established leaders—CORE's James Farmer, Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Whitney M. Young, Jr., of the National Urban League—branded the Farmer is our leader . . ."

Under Pressure

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The failure of the stall-in indicated that the radicals in the movement may have no coherent alternative to offer to the established leaders. It did not prove, however, that the established leaders are here to stay. They still have to convince a skeptical Negro community that they can produce results. But, they quickly acknowledge, they cannot produce results without active white support.

"One-tenth of the population," James Farmer has said, "cannot win this fight."

For many Negroes today this is a dispiriting realization.

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Next Steps on the Railroads

The railroad settlement, forged with such dramatic speed at the White House last week after five years of futile negotiations and Government involvement, provides the starting point for a relationship that could justify President Johnson's expressed hope for permanent labor-management peace in this pivotal industry.

But the floundering record of the whole dispute makes it plain that both sides have a lot to learn—or perhaps to relearn, since few industries have a longer history of collective relationships—before they can be counted on to make bargaining work without excessive dependence on Government help.

No agreement ever would have been reached had it not been for the unremitting pressure exerted by the President and the resourcefulness brought to bear by his special mediators. Even these factors probably would have proved insufficient if the President had not secretly pledged the railroads a sympathetic hearing on a costly tax problem. This appeasement of the employers through the prospect—though not the guarantee—of substantial tax savings helped break down their resistance to appeasing the unions by keeping some wasteful work rules.

And none of these maneuvers would have been of much avail if the stickiest element in the long conflict—how to eliminate jobs made useless by changing technology—had not already been decided through the award of the first compulsory arbitration board in the country's peacetime history.

The difficulty in the railroads is that both sides have got in the habit of exhausting all the cumbersome processes of the Railway Labor Act before they even begin to bargain. The appointment of a Presidential emergency board to make settlement recommendations is no longer a last resort in crisis situations; instead, it has become an almost automatic step in the negotiating process—a conventional jumping-off point in the most routine disputes.

If the present accord is to usher in a new era of self-reliance, the railroads and the unions will have to start working together on a year-round basis to seek answers for the many complex problems left unresolved by this contract and for the new ones being presented each day by technological innovation and the inroads of

but we are the one country on earth that has an opportunity to approach the goal of eliminating poverty within the next decade.

Thus, the race is with ourselves. Employing an artificial rabbit in the form of the Soviet Union merely demeans the efforts that we must be prepared to make.

The Atlantic Challenge

The most recent warnings of disintegration of the North Atlantic Alliance—heard nowadays with increasing frequency—were sounded a few days ago by a panel of which former President Eisenhower is sponsor and his brother Milton the chairman. The Critical Issues Council of the Republican Citizens Committee contains six former Eisenhower Cabinet members and two former NATO Supreme Commanders, one of whom, General Lauris Norstad, headed the group's NATO study. Its report obviously deserves close attention.

General Norstad warns against threatening American troop withdrawals to spur Europe to provide more divisions. He argues that there will be little chance of getting Europe to do more if the United States does less. And the possibility of building a true Atlantic community will be undermined.

Europe's revival, its desire for a larger role and its demand for a voice in nuclear decisions underlie much of the tension within NATO. Some Americans see, in the uniting of a revived Europe, a danger of "European nationalism" and "protectionism" that could escalate our conflicts with President de Gaulle to a larger scale. But America's best friends in Europe, those who want closest trans-Atlantic ties, are also dedicated to Europe's federal union; any weakening of American support for this concept would defeat American interests. Those in Europe who oppose federal union—chiefly the Gaullists and Communists—are even more opposed to integration with the United States in a larger Atlantic community.

What the United States must do, as General Norstad rightly indicates, is to strengthen trans-Atlantic bonds as Europe unites. The report proposes that policies on military strategy, control of nuclear weapons, trade, agriculture and monetary problems be harmonized. It comes to grips with the central issue when it states:

Washington

On the Care and Feeding of Lyndon Johnson

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, April 25—President Johnson recently appointed several distinguished Americans to a Committee for the Preservation of the White House, but what is needed more urgently is a Committee for the Preservation of the President.

The man is a high-compression machine and, as such, runs better at high speed, but lately he has been trying to settle every problem, shake hands with every visitor, confer with every Senator, attend every public dinner and dance with every lady in town.

"I'm the only President you have," he tells his visitors, but he doesn't act like it. He has made three speeches, held four press conferences, toured five states, opened the World's Fair and settled the railroad strike in the last eight days, and the week ended with a fourth speech to the Gridiron Club late Saturday night.

The Unending Filibuster

There hasn't been anything like this kind of explosive energy in the Republic since the Alaska earthquake, and the disturbing thing about it is that he burns up almost as much energy on small things as he does on big things.

A delegation of Congressmen complaining about the importation of foreign shoes gets the same intense treatment as the railroad negotiators. A reception for the editors is not a handshake and a drink, but a major speech, a tour of the White House, a series of monologues and a dance.

His press conference outdoors last Thursday was a filibuster, followed by a personally conducted tour of the White House garden, followed again by another informal press conference, while Secretary of Defense McNamara and a group of Senators and Representatives waited around behind the shrubbery to see him on other matters.

Even when he sleeps, which isn't often, he is restless. "Every night when I go to bed," he told a delegation the other day, "I ask myself: 'What did we do today that we can point to for generations to come, to say that we laid the foundation for a better and more peaceful and more prosperous world?' " This is not the sort of thing that sends a man off into dreamless peace.

Washington talks about this problem more than about anything else, and some old-timers even think

Observer

WASHINGTON, April 25—The American alarm-clock industry is circulating a long treatise on sleep in honor of the return of daylight saving time. It contains ridiculous advice on how to take the agony out of getting up.

For example: "The average sleeper goes through three steps in waking up: (1) the period of awakening when the alarm rings, (2) the period of relapse when the sleeper plays possum with himself, and (3) the period of re-awakening when the sleeper wakes himself up all over again . . . The second period is the trap—and one to avoid, by getting up at the first sound of the alarm."

How Not to Get out of Bed

Many people, of course, can get up at the first sound of the alarm without bad results, but these are not the kind of people who really enjoy sleep. They snatch it on the run, regarding it as a necessary impediment to dynamic living. People who are not so luckily constituted should take care.

These people, upon responding to the first sound of the alarm, invariably wind up before the medicine-chest mirror, swollen-eyed and creaky, seeing themselves and their lives with brutal clarity. In bad cases, they go back to bed and never leave it again.

There was a typical case some years ago in Newark, N. J. A normal, undynamic young man named Arthur, who dreamed of some day becoming president of his company (this was before young men lowered their goals to vice-presidencies), got up at the first sound of the alarm and sprang to his bathroom mirror.

There, with his normal waking illusions still dormant, he suddenly glimpsed himself as he was—sallow, unprepossessing, watery-eyed, slow-witted about business. In a fearful flash of truth, he saw quite clearly that the presidency to which he aspired would go to the boss's nephew and that he would be retired at 70 with a platform rocker.

Arthur went back to bed and took up reading the classics. Relatives took him in, and he became something of an authority on Italian Renaissance poetry and a drag on the economy. Had he not insisted on hopping out of bed at the first sound of the alarm, he might have enjoyed the life of a normal, self-sustaining taxpayer and be retired today with a platform rocker.

Garbage Won't Do

The alarm-clock industry also has this advice for difficult wakers: "Give yourself an impor-

Letters to The Times

Education for Whites

Need Seen for Learning to Fight Subtler Injustices to Negroes

TO THE EDITOR:

We must not permit our resentment against the tactics of certain civil rights groups to obscure the justified grievances of the American Negro. Most of these daily and continuing grievances rarely come to the attention of a majority of Americans. [Editorial April 23.]

Some have suggested the need for a massive education and training program for the great body of Negroes, who have been deprived by years of discrimination and community neglect. This may well be needed. As a personal reaction, I would like to suggest that many whites — certainly myself among them—have need of some education themselves, of an unusual kind.

Only recently a Protestant church group petitioned the Federal Communications Commission to deny reissue of a television license to a Jackson, Miss., TV station. The station was accused of not reporting Negro community affairs, never broadcasting Negro church services, never using Negro leaders on programs, failure to use courtesy titles in referring to Negroes, permitting local politicians and leaders to use the facilities to promote the local mores on the race question; in short, behaving as has been customary with radio and TV licensees in most Southern communities.

Failure to Protest

This is why I say that education of whites is also needed. For although I had lived as an adult in the South for 25 years and knew first-hand all the facts as charged, I had never raised my voice in protest against this particular type of discrimination. Certainly I had never thought of attempting to have a broadcast license revoked for failure to deal decently with one-third of the population when the airways belong to all the people.

True, I had spoken out and had acted against the more obvious forms of discrimination. But the point is that I, and other whites of goodwill who are concerned with discrimination, seem to have become anesthetized by habit, custom and circumstance.

The plain truth is that customs and traditions of discrimination so pervade our past, infecting North and South alike, that we have become desensitized to injustice unless it is brutal, overt or obvious. We

It is on people like them that we must depend to introduce to the geographically and politically limited Southerner the inevitable trends of contemporary American society.

The refusals by Mr. Spender, Mr. Gassner and Mr. Allen are detrimental not only to the students of the 27 colleges and universities attending the Southern Literary Festival, but also to the prejudiced mind. For it is only through reorientation by reasonable educators that the unreasonable can realize and accept the dignity and integrity of all men.

MARCHITA MAUCK,
VIRGINIA COLE.
Columbus, Miss., April 18, 1964.

Goulart Rule Assailed

Advocacy of Reforms Is Seen as Demagogic Bid for Support

TO THE EDITOR:

I find it difficult to see deposed President João Goulart as a martyr in the cause of much needed reforms, as the April 19 letter of Herbert Marcuse, Barrington Moore Jr. and Martin H. Peretz implied. Rather, Goulart and most of his associates can better be interpreted as political opportunists who went to great extremes to maintain and enhance their power.

There can be little doubt that Goulart's stop-and-go advocacy of basic reforms, especially land reform, was a generally inept demagogic attempt to rally popular support to a government that had failed even to try to solve the problem felt to be Brazil's most urgent—inflation.

Goulart, after becoming President, almost continually agitated the country. In 1962, during his drive to achieve full Presidential powers, he and his brother-in-law, then Governor of the big agricultural state of Rio Grande do Sul, even went so far as to disrupt for months the food supply of São Paulo and especially Rio de Janeiro. He had encouraged military men to speak out politically (as long as they agreed with him) and was at least not dismayed by the revolts of the sergeants in Brasilia and of the marines in Rio.

'Attack' on Inflation

Some of the specific "reform" measures Goulart had advocated in the last few months are illuminating. Unwilling to face inflation's roots, he had attacked its symptoms in ways absurd even for the Brazilian scene. He fixed rents at ridiculously low levels. He advocated price control of food from the farm level sides have got in the habit of exhausting all the cumbersome processes of the Railway Labor Act before they even begin to bargain. The appointment of a Presidential emergency board to make settlement recommendations is no longer a last resort in crisis situations; instead, it has become an almost automatic step in the negotiating process—a conventional jumping-off point in the most routine disputes.

If the present accord is to usher in a new era of self-reliance, the railroads and the unions will have to start working together on a year-round basis to seek answers for the many complex problems left unresolved by this contract and for the new ones being presented each day by technological innovation and the inroads of competitive forms of transportation. Better communications are especially needed to guard against a recurrence of the featherbedding dispute in two years—the time limit set by the compulsory arbitration law.

Steel and other industries, in which discord and strikes were once the rule, have found a useful vehicle for cooperation in the formation of joint committees to discuss their mutual problems in an atmosphere free of strike deadlines or other forms of economic coercion. The establishment of such a committee in the railroads would do much to make the hope voiced by the President—and earnestly shared by the country—come true.

Churchmen for Civil Rights

The roots of civil rights run deeper than man-made laws. Long before our own Constitution guaranteed equality of citizenship regardless of race, creed or color, most religions recognized that the dignity of man was not to be delimited. Neither religion nor law is skin-deep.

While the extended debate continues on the floor of the Senate on the eleven titles in the civil rights bill, an important commitment is being made on the bill's behalf by the spiritual leaders of the nation. A National Interreligious Convocation is scheduled for Tuesday in Washington, involving churchmen of almost every denomination. The gathering is designed to put spiritual strength and unity behind the legislative drive for civil rights.

The effect of the churchmen's meeting can be enormous, not only in Congress but in the country. For the interfaith response by the clergy to the need for enactment of this civil rights measure helps to place the whole subject above politics and beyond states and regions.

Surely there is no conflict between the basic ideas of social justice and the basic tenets of our religions. The Declaration of Independence holds that all men, not all white men, are created equal, and that their Creator has endowed them with certain inalienable rights. Our Constitution declares that we, the people, not we the white people, seek the blessings of liberty. By placing civil rights on a spiritual plane, the religious convocation is indeed getting to the heart and soul of the human guarantees and opportunities promised by the bill. They are making it doubly plain that this is a moral, not a political, issue.

The Poverty Race

Sargent Shriver's proposal to challenge the Soviet Union to a race to eradicate poverty warps the focus of the Administration's anti-poverty campaign. A statistical comparison makes clear that the vast majority of Soviet citizens live under what we regard as poverty, so that we begin with an enormous advantage. If all the United States has to do in the war against poverty is—in the American context—to beat the Soviet Union, then everyone can sit back and relax. Such a race would amount to no contest.

Eliminating poverty in the United States should not be depicted as a sort of Olympic sprint, with a medal going to the winner. It is a deadly serious battle to better the lives of all Americans, which demands a mustering of all the talents and resources that the nation can command. It cannot be accomplished in a hurry,

scale. But America's best friends in Europe, those who want closest trans-Atlantic ties, are also dedicated to Europe's federal union; any weakening of American support for this concept would defeat American interests. Those in Europe who oppose federal union—chiefly the Gaullists and Communists—are even more opposed to integration with the United States in a larger Atlantic community.

What the United States must do, as General Norstad rightly indicates, is to strengthen trans-Atlantic bonds as Europe unites. The report proposes that policies on military strategy, control of nuclear weapons, trade, agriculture and monetary problems be harmonized. It comes to grips with the central issue when it states:

"Our allies are demanding more than merely to be kept informed about decisions over which they have no control, more also than 'consultation' in which their views carry weight only if they conform with U.S. preconceptions. What they want is real participation, a true share, in the process by which decisions vital to all are reached. This is what they have every right to demand."

The Atlantic challenge of the 1960's can only be met by moving vigorously now to share sovereignty across the Atlantic between a uniting Europe and the United States.

Confusion in Laos

A week after the right-wing coup in Vientiane, confusion and squabbling continue to dominate the Laotian situation. The generals who seized power in that city are making no secret of their distaste for Western efforts to reconstitute the coalition government under Prince Souvanna Phouma. With utmost reluctance the rightist leaders have agreed to let him stay at the head of a government reorganized along lines that would greatly increase their influence. But the pro-Communist Pathet Lao has rejected a reorganization on such terms.

The one encouraging aspect is the cooperation of the United States and the Soviet Union in seeking restoration of the old balance. The United States can press the right-wingers with the threat of cutting off American aid. Whether the Soviet Union has equal influence over the Pathet Lao is more doubtful. The Laotian leftists are much closer to Peking than to Moscow.

Admittedly, the coalition has not worked perfectly. The right-wingers are understandably resentful at the Pathet Lao's nibbling away at their positions in a period of supposed stability. But restoration of the coalition—under conditions of more firmly supervised neutrality—is infinitely better for Laos than the resumption of full-scale internal war.

April Summary

Before April is gone and the first flush of spring becomes the colorful wealth of May, we might pause for a moment of summing up.

April has its whims, but it always is marked by warm names for old truths newly seen: Daffodil, anemone, violet, lamb, trillium, robin, oriole; and bud, blossom, flower, floret, bloom. April is color: Pussy willow gray, pollen gold, violet purple, marsh marigold yellow, grass green. It is all the greens in the spectrum, of course, but before it is green it is an astonishment of pastels, leaves fresh from the bud, still soft as baby's skin, and glowing pink and blue and lavender and yellow and golden tan. It is the lowlands rouged with swamp maple bloom, the meadows frosted with bluets, the woodland margin dainty with anemones and waxen white with bloodroot.

April is a young world, new as sunrise, in which miracles can happen, and do happen every day before sundown. Nothing is newer than an April morning, nothing more full of wonders than a bud or a seed. April is an old world made new again, a tired, disillusioned world of frost and ice and snow made innocent once more. It is a tempered wind and a warming rain, and almost fourteen hours of daylight.

And in April, man is here only to see and listen and participate, not to manage or administer. April doesn't need him; it tolerates him.

fense McNamara and a group of Senators and Representatives waited around behind the shrubbery to see him on other matters.

Even when he sleeps, which isn't often, he is restless. "Every night when I go to bed," he told a delegation the other day, "I ask myself: 'What did we do today that we can point to for generations to come, to say that we laid the foundation for a better and more peaceful and more prosperous world?' " This is not the sort of thing that sends a man off into dreamless peace.

Washington talks about this problem more than about anything else, and some old-timers even think something can be done about it, though they are not very sure.

One idea, for example, is that the Congress could pass a joint resolution simply affirming that the President is an essential instrument of the national welfare, and stating that it is the sense of the Congress that he should pay more attention to his wife.

Mrs. Johnson should obviously be chairman of any committee for the Preservation of the President, but she would need help.

The head of the Secret Service clearly should be a member of the committee. He is now charged with the security of the President but is not doing a very good job. He is supposed to be the one man in the Government who can tell the President what to do, but Mr. Johnson simply brushes him aside and plunges into the crowds, as he did in South Bend the other day, where he was almost suffocated by the crush.

Stan Musial, the resident physical-fitness chief of the Government, might also help. Lately the President has shown a vague interest in golf, but this makes things even worse. Golf is a plague, invented by the Calvinistic Scots as a punishment for man's sins, and nobody has yet found anybody in Washington the President can beat.

This merely adds to his frustration. As General Eisenhower discovered, it is easier to end the cold war or stamp out poverty than to master this devilish pastime, so Musial will have to find some other diversion.

Baseball is no good either. The President went to the opening game between the Washington Senators and the Los Angeles Angels but, as soon as he threw out the first ball, he gathered a quorum of the House and Senate around him, sat between Senator Dirksen and Minority Leader Halleck and began lobbying for his civil rights bill.

A Desperate Suggestion

Driving an automobile liberates the President and it is probably a mistake to deny him the pleasure. If necessary, the District of Columbia police could clear and rope off Constitution Avenue or the Shirley Highway once or twice a week and cut him loose.

This is a desperate suggestion, but something clearly has to be done. The President got back in town Friday night late after his tour of Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and West Virginia, and found himself with nothing to do Saturday before the Gridiron dinner.

So he called up President Truman at the Blair House and had him over for lunch and then, on the spur of the moment, summoned a press conference—his fifth in a little over a week.

In a way, of course, the press is his sport. Playing question and answer with the reporters is almost his only diversion, and he's getting better at it all the time, but after all even that is not a very satisfactory way of life.

nephew and that he would be retired at 70 with a platform rocker.

Arthur went back to bed and took up reading the classics. Relatives took him in, and he became something of an authority on Italian Renaissance poetry and a drag on the economy. Had he not insisted on hopping out of bed at the first sound of the alarm, he might have enjoyed the life of a normal, self-sustaining taxpayer and be retired today with a platform rocker.

Garbage Won't Do

The alarm-clock industry also has this advice for difficult wakers: "Give yourself an important job to do soon after arising (taking out the garbage, lighting the stove, etc.). This makes sure you get up."

The point here, obviously, is that waking with a sense of mission will help sleep-lovers to get past that awful moment before the mirror when intimations of mortality crowd in. Taking out the garbage and lighting the stove, however, will not do the trick.

Most men who wake up thinking, "I must rise and take out the garbage," will immediately go back to sleep thinking, "Garbage, schmarbage." What is needed is a truly important reason for getting up, and here is the rub.

The time to decide on an important reason for getting up is just before retiring at night. "I need an important reason for getting up tomorrow morning," a man may tell his wife. In most families there will probably be a blank exchange of stares. The wife will want to say, "The important reason for getting up is to get out and make the mortgage money."

The Ultimate Waker

A smart wife will not say this. She knows it will start that old rondelay which begins, "Is that all I have to live for?" It will occur to the husband that perhaps there is no important reason why he should get up tomorrow. He may brood.

In any case, there has been raised a question between them that should remain unasked. In extreme cases the husband may refuse ever to get up again until his wife gives him an important reason for it. And if she tells him the truth—about the mortgage money—they may both end at the marriage counselor's.

The alarm-clock people should forgo the advice and concentrate on producing the irresistible alarm clock. It should flood the room with sunshine collected from a childhood morning in June and give off the scent of honeysuckle.

In a no-nonsense feminine voice, it should evoke a zest to grab life by a leg and pish-tush all those gloomy suspicions that a foot put out of bed is merely a foot set on a treadmill. RUSSELL BAKER.

ure to deal decently with one-third of the population when the airways belong to all the people.

True, I had spoken out and had acted against the more obvious forms of discrimination. But the point is that I, and other whites of goodwill who are concerned with discrimination, seem to have become anesthetized by habit, custom and circumstance.

The plain truth is that customs and traditions of discrimination so pervade our past, infecting North and South alike, that we have become desensitized to injustice unless it is brutal, overt or obvious. We react against such injustice, but we are scarcely aware of those more subtle forms of discrimination that make life so difficult for the Negro. This is where education for whites is so important.

Until the majority of Americans come to have more sensitive consciences, we shall not rid ourselves of our most acute national problem. For we will not even be aware of so many of the forms in which it exists. MORRIS B. ABRAM,
President, American Jewish Committee.
New York, April 23, 1964.

Writers' Boycott Criticized

TO THE EDITOR:

Stephen Spender, John Gassner and Walter Allen recently canceled speaking commitments at the Southern Literary Festival at the Mississippi State College for Women, following the precedent set by other eminent personalities in regard to public appearances in Mississippi before segregated audiences.

Their cancellations imply an evasion of the responsibility inherent in the set of principles for which they stand. This set of principles, defined in various ways, "equality of opportunity for all regardless of creed or color," "universal brotherhood," etc., includes a need for the re-education of the prejudiced mind.

There are those of us on the Mississippi State College for Women campus who desire that the Negroes be provided equal opportunities with the whites. We are the minority group and feel the differences of attitude quite keenly. We believe that most of the hatred and prejudice is fostered by ignorance and the unawareness of the nature of mankind and anthropological fact.

It appears to us that these men have a more complex task than simply publishing a refusal to appear on the basis of "principle." In spite of the fact that they may have been pressured, precedent has offered them the easy way out.

Perhaps it has occurred to them, as it has to us, that their refusal to speak in the segregated South is depriving us of a cultural and educational opportunity which they are in an ideal position to present.

couraged military men to speak out politically (as long as they agreed with him) and was at least not dismayed by the revolts of the sergeants in Brasilia and of the marines in Rio.

'Attack' on Inflation

Some of the specific "reform" measures Goulart had advocated in the last few months are illuminating. Unwilling to face inflation's roots, he had attacked its symptoms in ways absurd even for the Brazilian scene. He fixed rents at ridiculously low levels. He advocated price control of food from the farm level to the consumer. Since the prices would normally be below cost to the farmers, the Government would have paid a subsidy to producers.

One recent "reform" was the nationalization by the state oil monopoly of all the domestic-owned oil refineries, even though state enterprise desperately needed to use its capital for exploration rather than to pay for the private companies' stock.

Goulart refused to compromise on the issue of land reform, not that his proposal was so radical in itself. But apparently Goulart wished to prolong the issue. Understandably, opposition to land reform was enhanced by the prospect that the Goulart Government would have administered it.

The fact is that the Brazilian left was generally divided, opportunistic and bankrupt of productive new ideas. It was not a left, for instance, that an American liberal could admire. This makes our Brazil policy doubly difficult, ostensibly committed as we are to basic reforms. GORDON W. SMITH,
Bliss Fellow in Latin-American Studies, Harvard University.
Cambridge, Mass., April 19, 1964.

Dangers in Air Pollution

TO THE EDITOR:

It doesn't require a span of 136 years to prove the destructive effect of air pollution on stone, as shown in the pictures of the Parthenon in Athens in The Times of April 13. In 1920 we were shown recent photographs of the exterior of European cathedrals which were in as bad a condition as those in Athens now. Interesting, however, is the fact that these cathedrals had been photographed before, some time around 1850, when cameras were a novelty. In these pictures, taken about 70 years earlier, the big stone figures were in almost perfect condition.

Is it too far-fetched to believe that the same element which can destroy stone could also attack a much more fragile substance, when with every breath we take we aid in the assault of our lungs?

F. ST. SAUVEUR.
New York, April 14, 1964.

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Rights Bill Concessions

Amendments Gained by the Minority Said to Stress Rule XXII's Value

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, April 25—The acceptance by the bipartisan Senate leadership of amendments to the equal rights bill as passed by the House, after vowing it would not consent to any substantial change, is the latest demonstration of the constructive value of the Senate rule which protects extended discussion of highly controversial legislation. This rule, No. XXII, permits a determined minority to filibuster until overcome by physical exhaustion or silenced by the invoking of closure (which fixes a time when debate must end and floor voting begin).

But it is extremely difficult to muster the "two-thirds of the Senators present and voting" that is required for closure by Rule No. XXII. One reason is the awareness of every Senator in the instant majority that he may at any time be in the minority on some legislative proposal he fundamentally opposes. Another reason is that his right of unlimited discussion, since it is exclusive to that branch of Congress, is especially cherished as recognition of the greater importance and responsibility of the Senatorial office than membership in the House.

Determined Minority

The result is that a determined minority, which has done its homework and is ably led, can generally force concessions from a majority, however unwilling, and despite loud and reiterated announcements that no amendments whatever would be accepted. The retreat of the majority is the more certain when there is sufficient time for the minority to arouse the public and the Senate rank-and-file to highly questionable effects of legislation that its advocates either have overlooked or sought to conceal by misrepresentation.

The rules of the House enable its majority to ram through measures before the public or,

no wheels, no deals, no compromise that will *fundamentally* alter this bill." And before and after that statement he confidently predicted that a measure meeting his description could "probably" be passed without invoking closure.

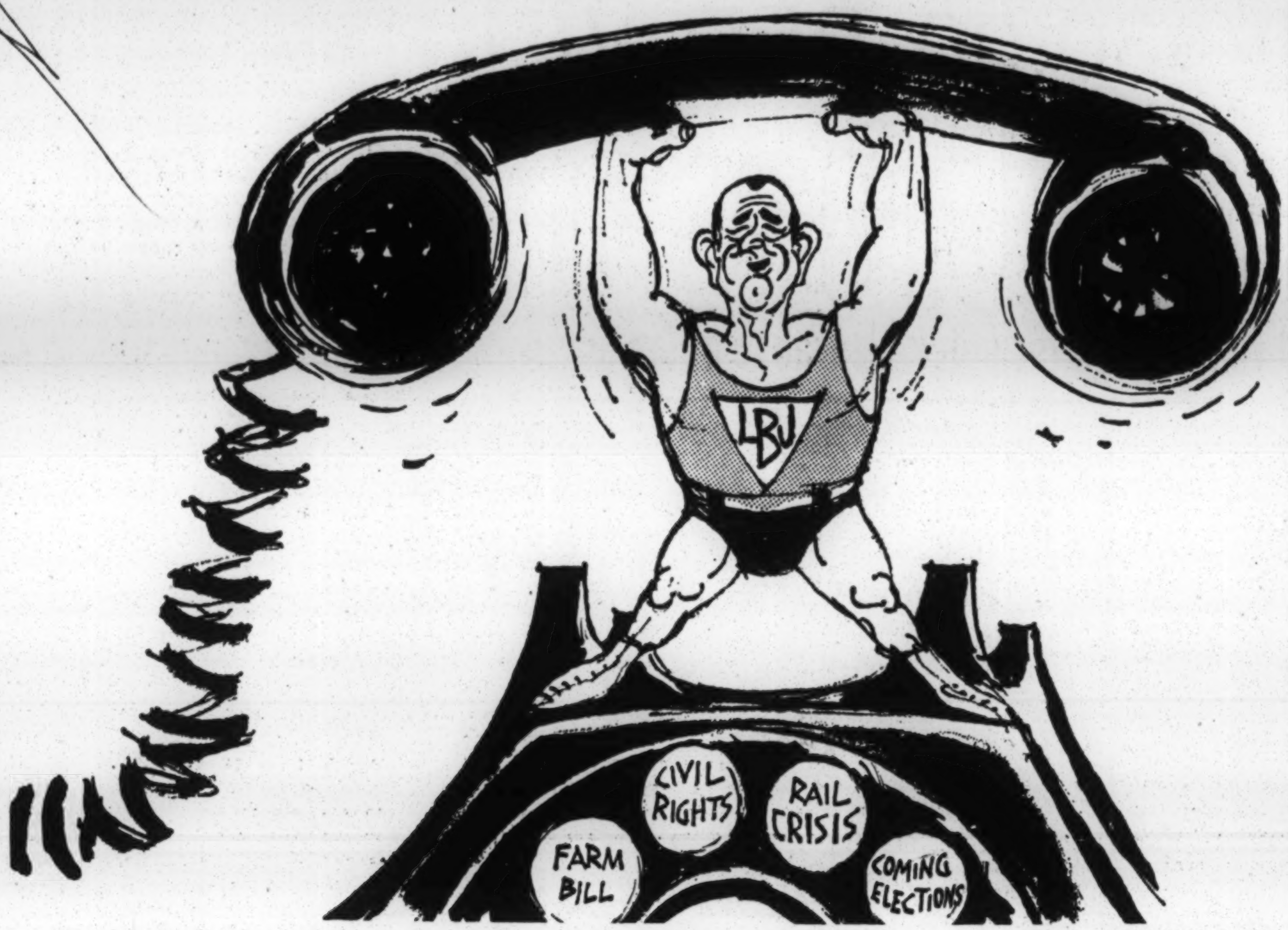
It is a question of definition whether the amendments on which the Administration and the bipartisan Senate leadership have yielded are "fundamental" alterations. To many, the change initiated by Senator Talmadge of Georgia will be so defined. The Mansfield - Dirksen substitute for the Talmadge proposal assures trial by jury if a judge inflicts a sentence more than that imposed for petty offenses on citizens under charge of wilful criminal contempt for violating any of the anti-discrimination compulsions in the equal rights bill. However, the proposal by Senator Saltonstall, on which agreement is forecast, can hardly be argued as fundamental."

Fixed Period

It fixes 90 days, instead of the vague allotment in the bill of "a reasonable time," for state and local agencies to obtain voluntary compliance to the anti-discrimination mandate of the public - accommodations section of the measure before the Attorney General can take to the courts a case arising under the section. But this is merely a mild restraint against a spirit of excessive enforcement zeal in the Department of Justice, while leaving in full force federally-compulsive integration.

Yet the history of the amendment process is that when it begins it tends to expand. There is some favorable sentiment

CIVIL RIGHTS HOPES
CONGRESS



"The Greatest."

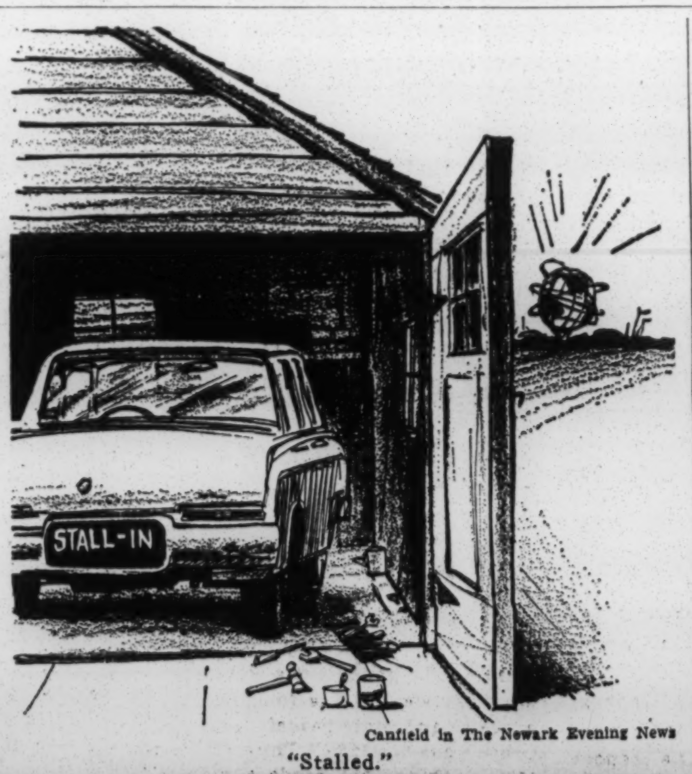
Peb in The Philadelphia Inquirer

Opinion of the Week: At Home and Abroad

RAIL SETTLEMENT

President Johnson's personal efforts and determination were given much credit last week for an accord reached in the long dispute between rail managements and rail unions which ended the threat of a national rail strike. Some doubts were expressed as to whether this had really saved collective bargaining in the rail industry. Following are comments from the country.

The Johnson method was to set the negotiators down to the task of finding their way out of their utter tangle of disagreement, all the while subjecting them to a relentless volley of exortation and cajolery to reason together and save the public interest. Apparently the tireless energy, persistence and persuasiveness of the President were a force that could not be resisted. It may well be that the negotiating railroads and unions are as surprised as the public is that their five-year-old dispute got settled.—SAN FRAN-



Canfield in The Newark Evening News

"Stalled."

. . . No one can tell to what

realistic approach to the evalu-

the "open diplomacy" concept as proclaimed by the United States has been dropped.—DIE WELT, *Hamburg.*

The impression should not arise that the defensive strength and will to defense of the West is weakening . . . One sometimes gets the impression that international tensions are now regarded as brought about not by pressure from the East but from the cohesion of the West. —HEINRICH KRONE, *Minister without portfolio and chairman of the West German National Defense Council.*

Italy salutes with satisfaction the announcement given simultaneously by President Johnson and Prime Minister Khrushchev . . . Peace within security is the ultimate end at which Italian foreign policy is aiming and this objective can be realized only through an effective and real easing of tension that obviously should be coupled to controlled reduction of armament. —GIUSEPPE SARAGAT, *Italy's Foreign Minister.*

U. N. Weathers the Storm

Recent Events Reflect an Enhanced Position for the World Body

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON

WASHINGTON, April 25—Four-fifths of the 12,000 letters Senator J. W. Fulbright has received in the last month endorsed his plea to Americans to abandon "old myths" and think "unthinkable thoughts" about the nation's foreign policy problems.

However, Senator Fulbright did not advocate any change in United States policy toward the United Nations. In fact, the Secretary General, U Thant, welcomed the Arkansas Democrat's speech and expressed the belief that the people of all nations—he singled out the Soviet Union and Communist China—should make their own reappraisals of foreign policy along the lines recommended by Mr. Fulbright, who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

There are other indications that the United Nations, which came under heavy attack in Congress in January, 1963, when the United Nations Congo Force was used to smash the secessionist movement in Katanga Province, has weathered the storm.

Two years ago, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, another Administration stalwart, made a celebrated speech in which he insisted that the United Nations must not become "a substitute for our own leaders as makers and movers of American policy" and urged a top-level review of the United States' role in the world organization.

No such review was made, but Senator Jackson has not returned to this suggestion. In any case, he demonstrated that he was not fighting the United Nations as such by joining the campaign for legislation authorizing the United States to buy $100 million of United Nations bonds to meet the deficit on the Congo and Middle Eastern Forces.

D.A.R. Silent on U.N.

But perhaps the most encouraging development has been provided by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Time was when a D.A.R. resolution demanding that the United States get out of the United Nations was as much a part of the Washington spring as the Japanese cherry blossoms along the Tidal Basin. Although reliable sources insist that the D.A.R. has not retreated, its national convention adjourned this week without saying a word about the United Nations. None of these developments

two-thirds of the General Assembly.

These, the smaller and poorer countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, do not vote as a solid bloc. However, the dominant position the United States held up to 1955, when there were only 60 members, has been weakened by the influx of Asian and African members, who make up more than half the present membership of 113.

In 1950, the United States, despite bitter Soviet opposition and the unspoken opposition of the other great powers, persuaded the General Assembly to assume jurisdiction over international disputes at the expense of the Security Council. Now, however, the United States would like to see the Council resume some of its original powers.

A second preoccupation of the United States is the $100 million, half of which is owed by the Soviet Union, in unpaid assessments for the Congo and Middle Eastern Forces. Unless this problem is solved, it is extremely doubtful whether the United Nations can act with sufficient vigor if it is confront-

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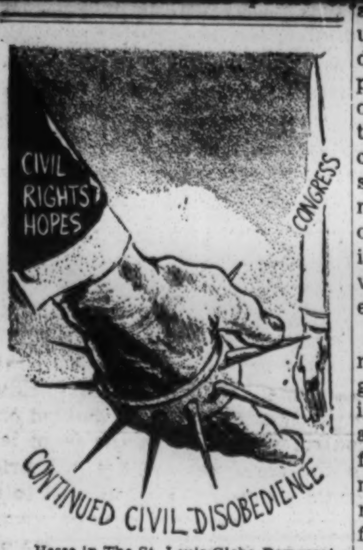
NO RIDERS



Hesse in The St. Louis Globe-Democrat

"Doubtful way to get a handshake."

the membership as a whole can be made fully aware of their effects. This was particularly true of the equal-rights bill when the House sent it to the Senate in the form of a bipartisan draft hastily substituted for a committee product that alarmed even President Kennedy and his brother, the Attorney General, by provisions as radical as any in the Reconstruction statutes. These required the Army to enforce compliance, and installed carpet-baggers and scalawags in the seats of government in the South.

Defects Exposed

But, though the substitute was vulnerable to the critical analysis of the Senate minority that has exposed defects which the bipartisan leadership has been obliged to acknowledge, President Johnson insisted *a priori* that the House bill must be approved intact by the Senate. At his news conference, Feb. 29 of this year, he said he was "fully committed" to the House measure. He realized, he said, "there will be some Senators who will want to strengthen it, some who will want to weaken it, but so far as this Administration is concerned its position is firm and we stand on the House bill."

A few days later, speaking on a television program, Senator Humphrey, the Democratic floor leader of the legislation, implied some modification of this total textual commitment. He pledged that "there will be

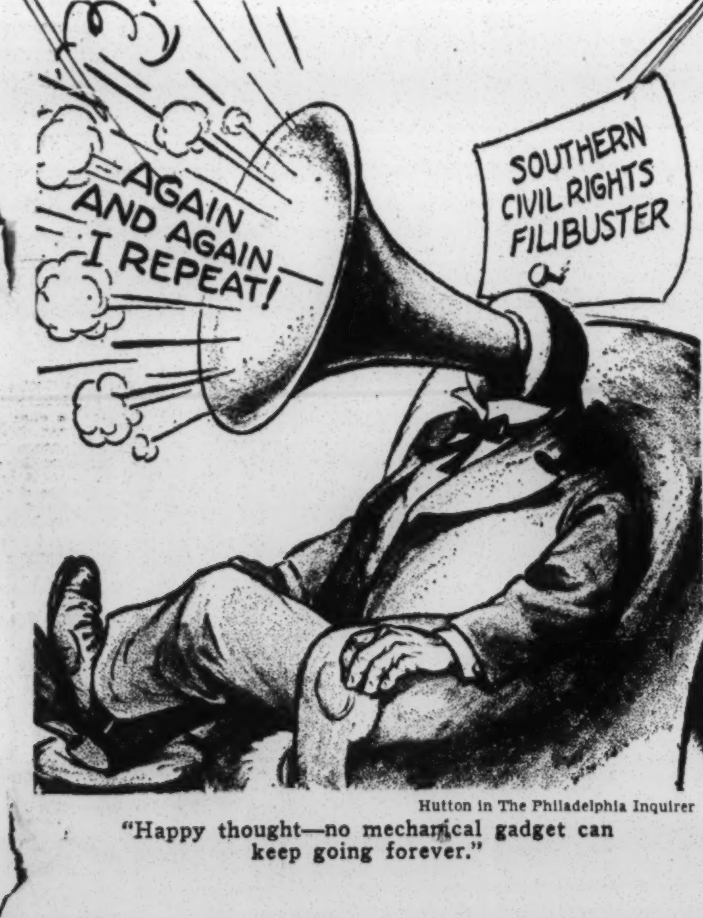
and local agencies to obtain voluntary compliance to the anti-discrimination mandate of the public-accommodations section of the measure before the Attorney General can take to the courts a case arising under the section. But this is merely a mild restraint against a spirit of excessive enforcement zeal in the Department of Justice, while leaving in full force federally-compulsive integration.

Yet the history of the amendment process is that when it begins it tends to expand. There is some favorable sentiment among non-Southern Senators for checks of a "fundamental" nature on the Federal bureaucracy established in the public-funds cutoff and the "equal employment opportunity" sections of the bill. Moreover, the clause in the House draft that authorizes employment discrimination against atheists is marked for excision as a violation of the First Amendment, a "fundamental" issue indeed.

But, though some Senate pulse-takers expect the failure of any motion for closure, with a possible consequence that the equal-rights bill will not be acted on in that body at this session of Congress, the prevailing belief is that if and when enacted the bill (A) will be compulsory and not voluntary in character; (B) it will include the paradoxical provision which sanctions discrimination in a public accommodation, whose owner lives on the premises, if it is no larger than four rooms; (C) it will invest the central Government, particularly the Attorney General, with police powers never before bestowed on a Federal officer; and (D) it will establish a vast new Federal bureaucracy.

Potent By-law

But whatever improvements of the House bill in the public interest there finally may be, and whether or not those which are "fundamental" extend to the compulsions in the areas of individual choice and property rights, none would have been possible without the Senate Rule XXII. If its only contribution is the change which would prevent the judge who cites a citizen in criminal contempt from also imposing severe penalties without reference to a jury, American democracy would owe a considerable debt to this by-law.



Hutton in The Philadelphia Inquirer

"Happy thought—no mechanical gadget can keep going forever."

The Johnson method was to set the negotiators down to the task of finding their way out of their utter tangle of disagreement, all the while subjecting them to a relentless volley of exortation and cajolery to reason together and save the public interest. Apparently the tireless energy, persistence and persuasiveness of the President were a force that could not be resisted. It may well be that the negotiating railroads and unions are as surprised as the public is that their five-year-old dispute got settled.—SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE.

We are glad to give President Johnson some of the credit for settling the five-year-old railroad work rules dispute and for ending the threat of a nation-wide strike. . . . Much credit, however, belongs to the series of mediation boards and to Congress, which last August passed a law prohibiting a strike and forcing the parties to submit the two principal issues to binding arbitration. — CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

Government has called the tune for so long that the unions are unwilling to listen to anything else. It has managed to settle this particular dispute short of seizure and nationalization. But we have the unhappy feeling that those eventualities have only been postponed; government crossed the railroad industry's Rubicon long ago.—PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE.

The dramatics [of the rail dispute settlement] notwithstanding, Mr. Johnson has apparently plucked a genuine white plume to wear throughout the campaign. The agreement serves almost everybody in the nation. Both sides were driven by forces which they had generated but over which they had lost control. They were rescued by Presidential prestige.—LOS ANGELES TIMES.

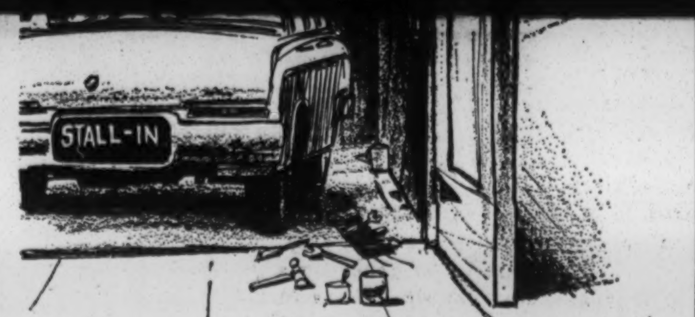
Before we applaud the supposed sudden rail harmony, it is essential to know whether even minor issues have really been settled for good or are only delayed to a more expedient political or economic period. Regardless, the real problem areas in modern railroad labor relations of diesel engines and train crew composition are still in a seemingly hopeless state of flux.—PHILIP ADLER JR., *assistant professor of industrial management, Georgia Institute of Technology.*

To President Johnson must go credit for persistence and effectiveness. He won a 15 day respite when a strike appeared to be certain. He set the negotiators to work and kept them at work, with the assistance of Secretary of Labor Wirtz and his most talented mediators. Johnson succeeded where both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy had failed.—MILWAUKEE JOURNAL.

NUCLEAR CUT-BACK

In simultaneous statements President Johnson and Premier Khrushchev last week revealed mutual agreement on plans to cut back production of enriched uranium and plutonium, basic materials for nuclear bombs. The news brought varied reactions from this country's European allies. These are comments from Europe and Soviet Russia.

The hope is that each non-controversial accord may bring the crucial one a little nearer



Canfield in The Newark Evening News

"Stalled."

. . . No one can tell to what domestic pressures Mr. Khrushchev may also be subjected; but at any rate he shows himself ready to resume with Mr. Johnson the coloquy interrupted by Mr. Kennedy's death.—DAILY TELEGRAPH, *London.*

The explanation may indeed be that there is already enough—and more than enough—of the deadly explosive in existence. But the hope must be that the process of reduction, once begun, will continue. And agreement, once begun, may become a habit.—DAILY EXPRESS, *London.*

The Governments of the three nuclear powers are taking measures that although not constituting actual disarmament, are a continuation of the line adopted during the conclusion of the treaty to ban nuclear weapons tests in the three media and conform to the vital interests of the peoples of the world. . . . The radical change in the balance of world forces is in favor of Socialism . . . A realistic approach to the evaluation of the balance of forces is taking root in certain Western circles.—PRAVDA, *Moscow.*

After having turned into an international treaty their decision to retain their nuclear monopoly, Americans and Russians have succeeded in a new magician's trick: they announce to the astounded peoples that, disposing of stocks sufficient to destroy the planet fifty times, they generously renounce a production they no longer need. Naturally, this amounts to two unilateral decisions that are not juridically binding on third parties. . . . The farce is ugly: it will not, however, stop the nuclear equipment of Europe which is indispensible for its independence and freedom and for which France is providing the nucleus. — PHILIPPE DE SAINT-ROBERT IN COMBAT, Paris.

While the disarament conference in Geneva was marking time, secret United States-Soviet talks went on also there. We welcome their result. Nevertheless the fact remains that

IDEAS AND MEN

We do not try to mask our national disguises. We do not try to disguise our imperfections or cover up our failures. No other nation in history has done so much to correct its flaws.—PRESIDENT JOHNSON, *opening the New York World's Fair.*

He saw through all windows, and he had in abundance the two great gifts of humanity—the gifts of laughter and compassion.—QUEEN ELIZABETH II, *in a message to the Shakespeare anniversary celebration at Stratford-on-Avon.*

We feel that the West is on Pakistan's side no matter what. —MRS. INDIRA GANDHI, *Prime Minister Nehru's daughter.*

We must learn the difference between being feared and being respected, between being admired for our power and wealth, for our automobiles, roads, washing machines and hospitals, and being emulated for our nobility. — DR. ROSWELL P. BARNES, *retiring as executive secretary in America for the World Council of Churches.*

The business and educational community must be able to rely upon the political leaders to support a new educational economy. It will involve a new level of cost, but it will also involve old values, such as the simple fact that one really original mind may be worth more than ten warehouses full of new scientific products.—GOV. JOHN CONNALLY *of Texas, addressing the Economic Club of New York.*

The Treasury are never happy; even in Paradise they will be worried about excessive imports.—BRITAIN'S SIR ALAN HERBERT.

Answers to Questions on Page 2

1. Labor — W. Willard Wirtz; Commerce — Luther H. Hodges; H. E. W. — Anthony J. Celebrezze.

2. Wilkins — N.A.A.C.P.; Young — Urban League; Farmer — CORE; King — Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

3. (c)—a ban on orbiting nuclear weapons. The nuclear-test treaty applies only to tests above ground; there is no agreement on such an exchange of observers.

4. (b) and (c) are true, (a) is false. It is Korea that is divided at the 38th parallel. There is no formal division in Laos, although neutralist, rightist and Communist factions occupy various parts of the country.

5. Isaiah II, iv: "And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

6. Michelangelo.

7. Justice Hugo L. Black.

8. Tanganyika, of which Mr .Nyerere is president, and Zanzibar, of which Karume is president.

9. Jobs. One hundred jobless men began the march in Massillon, Ohio, in 1894, under the leadership of Jacob S. Coxey, who predicted their number would reach 100,000. But only 500 got to Washington, and the effort ended in failure.

10. Crimean War (1854-56). The poet was Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809-1892).

of the West German National Defense Council.

Italy salutes with satisfaction the announcement given simultaneously by President Johnson and Prime Minister Khrushchev . . . Peace within security is the ultimate end at which Italian foreign policy is aiming and this objective can be realized only through an effective and real easing of tension that obviously should be coupled to controlled reduction of armament. —GIUSEPPE SARAGAT, *Italy's Foreign Minister.*

CORE FAILS AT FAIR

Demonstrations by some racial rights extremists on the opening day of the New York World's Fair failed when police arrested some 300 protesters. The incident, however, caused wide comment, some editorials condemning the extremists, others praising the peaceful Negro majority. Following are typical views from the nation.

The Negroes of New York kept their balance and sense of responsibility, and they refused to go down the deadend road of senseless violence. The victory in New York was not a victory of the white community over the Negro community; it was a victory of good sense among Americans who happen to be Negro.—PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

The country can be much relieved over the failure of the New York stall-in to disrupt seriously the opening day at the World's Fair. But even though the demonstrators did not succeed, the effects of their effort long will be weighed seriously by thoughtful people. . . . A minority that turns to this kind of reprisal is itself employing a kind of blind and undiscriminating racial hatred. The face of racism is no prettier when it is anti-white than when it is anti-black.—WASHINGTON POST.

Smugness and gloating are as premature and uncalled for as was the hellraisers' cocksure notion that they held New York in the palm of their hands. . . . Our society's future lies not with the supercilious, beady-eyed Wallaces or the frenzied civil rights rioters, but with the millions of decent-intentioned Americans between them, and in their painful but earnest efforts to find common ground. —DETROIT NEWS.

At the World's Fair 80 nations are cooperating to show what man can accomplish when he puts his mind on getting things done. We think that only a distorted idea of the relative importance of issues could move demonstrators to fight police in the hope of keeping other people away from so beautiful a demonstration. — CHICAGO'S AMERICAN.

The failure . . . of the extremist demonstrators to achieve their blockade of the World's Fair does not remove the shadow cast by this baneful threat. It is, or was, a plan of obstruction scarcely short of anarchy. . . . But the damage it is calculated to do to the fair is minor compared with the wound it so grotesquely leaves in the very Negro movement itself. For those Negroes who have sought no more than relief from grievances they construed to be valid, it could turn out to be a severe setback.—THE [COLUMBIA, S. C.] STATE.

D.A.R. Silent on U.N.

But perhaps the most encouraging development has been provided by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Time was when a D.A.R. resolution demanding that the United States get out of the United Nations was as much a part of the Washington spring as the Japanese cherry blossoms along the Tidal Basin. Although reliable sources insist that the D.A.R. has not retreated, its national convention adjourned this week without saying a word about the United Nations.

None of these developments indicate that the United States wants to conduct foreign policy exclusively through the United Nations. The Cuba missile crisis, the most dangerous of the post-war era, was settled by an exchange of letters between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev.

Of three subsequent agreements which involved the great powers, two were reached outside the United Nations — the nuclear test-ban treaty and the decision by Washington, Moscow and London to cut back the production of nuclear materials for weapons.

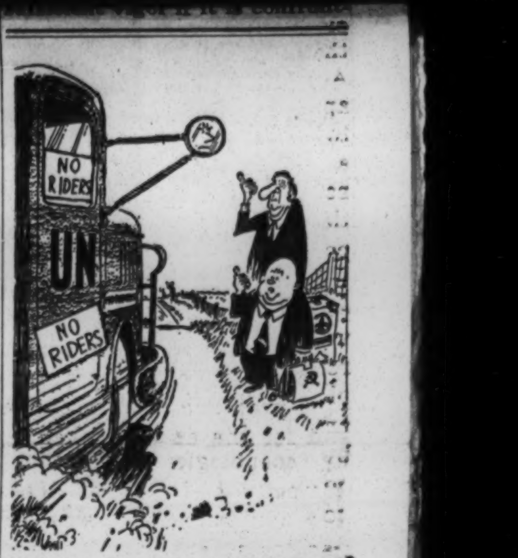
The third, the agreement not to install nuclear weapons in space vehicles, was embodied in a General Assembly resolution, adopted unanimously. But this was mainly a product of prior exchanges between Washington and Moscow.

According to the thinking in Washington, the United Nations of today can play an extremely useful role in helping find a solution for issues not directly affecting the security of the United States.

Full Role Opposed

However, there is little support for the idea that the United Nations should take over in every instance. For example, an influential sector of opinion is conscious of the all-out support that the neutralists in the organization intend to exert on behalf of the Greek Cypriotes and regrets that the Cyprus question was submitted to the Security Council.

In a speech last January, Secretary of State Rusk paid tribute to the organization's achievements but expressed concern over the fact that members with only 10 per cent of the world's population, and paying only 5 per cent of the bills, constituted



Reidford in The Globe and Mail, Toronto

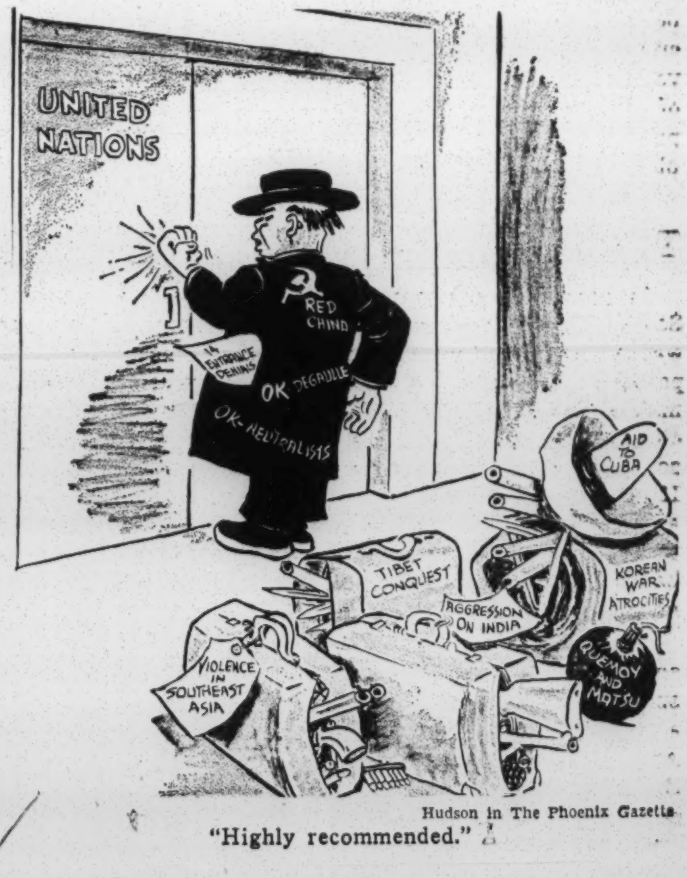
ed with another crisis on the scale of the Congo.

The compromise plan outlined by Adlai E. Stevenson in his recent Princeton speech would help solve both problems: The Soviet Union would pay the $8 or $9 million required to excuse it from the application of Article 19 of the United Nations Charter, but all future proposals for peace-keeping interventions would go to the Security Council in the first instance. A special scale of assessments for each such intervention would be recommended by a special Assembly committee weighted in favor of the members who pay most of the bills, including, of course, the great powers.

Article 19 denies a member a General Assembly vote if the member is in arrears for two years.

Since neither the United States nor the Soviet Union wants a head-on clash, least of all in the midst of the United States Presidential campaign, both have agreed to the postponement of the opening of the Assembly from Sept. 17 to Nov. 10, and acceptance of the delay by the membership is only a formality.

Both in Washington and the United Nations, it is agreed that by November a compromise will have been worked out that will avoid a bitter struggle over Article 19, a struggle that would wreck the present Washington-Moscow détente. But there is much more optimism in Washington than at the United Nations about the likelihood that the compromise will be on the terms outlined by Mr. Stevenson.



Hudson in The Phoenix Gazette

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REPORT ON BIRMINGHAM SEPT. 20, 1963

DEAR FELLOW-HELPER,

Many months have passed since I wrote you about the progress of the Committee. The reason is that the work load has become so heavy, particularly since The Demonstrations last Spring, that it is impossible to keep up with all of the rights violations.

The savage, brutal, murderous, and ungodly bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on Sunday morning Sept. 14, has revealed to the whole world the evil of racism. Those few terrifying moments of the blast said what we have been trying to say to the nation for years, that there exists in Alabama the most unconscionable disregard for man and God on the part of some. If white supremacy consists in the wanton and brutal destruction of worshippers of God in the very house of worship, then I must confess that the church bombers are the most supreme murderers and cowards the world has ever seen. Only the diseased mind can aspire to reach such depths.

On the morning of the bombing I stood across the street from the church behind carbine bearing policemen and watched as the covered bodies were placed into waiting ambulances. Policemen drove a small crowd off the street. I got on a nearby porch. Women seeing the covered bodies being brought from the church cried and screamed without restraint. I could not bring my mind to believe what my eyes saw. It still seems like a tale from some distant land where people know nothing about freedom and democracy.

On Sept. 19, 1963 I sent a telegram to President Kennedy cataloging some of the horrible incidents which have afflicted and continue to afflict our city and our citizens. I share that list with you.

1. March, 1963 - a Negro home destroyed by a bomb.
2. May 11, 1963 - the A. G. Gaston Motel bombed.
3. May 11, 1963 - the home of Rev. A. D. King bombed.
4. August 14, 1963 - a tear gas bomb dropped in Loveman's Department Store following desegregation of eating facilities.
5. August 20, 1963 - the bombing of attorney Arthur Shores' home.
6. Sept. 4, 1963 - the second bombing of Arthur Shores' home, injuring his wife.
7. Sept. 7, 1963 - the fire-bombing of the home of Dr. A. G. Gaston.
8. Sept. 15, 1963 - the bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, taking the lives of four girls and injuring several.
9. June 27, 1963 - the fatal shooting of Blain Gordon Jr. (16), a mentally ill youth, by Birmingham policemen.
10. August, 1963 - the fatal shooting of David Scott by a Birmingham policeman.
11. Sept. 4, 1963 - the fatal shooting of John Coley (20) by Birmingham police following the second bombing of attorney Shores' home.
12. Sept. 15, 1963 - the fatal shooting of Johnnie Robinson (16) by Birmingham police following the bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.
13. Sept. 7, 1963 - the shooting of Charles Gray by Birmingham police.
14. Sept. 5, 1963 - the shooting of a mentally ill youth Sylvester Alexander by Birmingham police.
15. Sept. 4, 1963 - the shooting of Lyman Thomas, who was near John Coley when he was killed by Birmingham police.
16. Sept. 15, 1963 - the shooting of Billy Charles by Birmingham police following the bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.
17. Sept. 15, 1963 - the beating of Ben Bolden on Sunday night by Birmingham police.
18. Sept. 15, 1963 - the injuring of George Benjamin Sr. on Sunday night by Birmingham police.
19. Sept. 15, 1963 - the shooting in the head of Charles Lane by State Troopers.
20. Sept. 15, 1963 - the firing of 12 shots into the home of Francis Garrett by Birmingham police attempting to make people get off the street and into houses.

Your continued interest and support is again solicited.

Sincerely yours,
Rev. C. Herbert Oliver
Secretary

April 7, 1964

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia Telephone: 523-1581

YOU ARE ALL WELCOME...Laws and customs change from day to day, sometimes from hour to hour. There are degrees of "segregation" and "desegregation"—"segregated" may mean no Negroes or it may mean Negroes and whites segregated within the same facility. It is customary to make changes in racial policies without public announcement, which is at times necessary and desirable. This does make it difficult, however, for those affected to secure accurate information. Periodically the COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA compiles a list of places which as far as we can determine, are open to all. We welcome additions and corrections. This list is accurate as of April 7, 1964, to the best of our knowledge. We have omitted those places where Negroes may have been served but where the management stated that the policy is not certain.

EATING PLACES

YWCA Cafeteria, Edgewood. & Ivy
YMCA Coffee Shop, Luckie St.
Stouffeur's, Downstairs Merchandise Mart
Top O' the Mart (Stouffeur's)
Rich's Magnolia Room and other eating places in the store
Davison's Tea Room and other eating places
Grant's
Jacob's Pharmacies (all branches)
Sears-Roebuck & Co. (all lunch counters in all stores)
H. L. Green
Kress (Broad and Peachtree)
McCrory's
Lane's Drug Stores
Franklin Simon's (lunch counters and restaurants)
Walgreen's (all have been given instructions to serve everyone)
Woolworth's
Newberry's
Emory University Food Service Center
Herren's
Yohannon's
Caruso's Italian Restaurant (Piedmont Road)
Johnny Reb's (Forsyth, W. Peachtree and Roosevelt Highway)
Crossroads (but not on Stewart Avenue)
Seven Steers (downtown -691 Peachtree St.)
Miami Buffet (downtown)
Dale's Cellar
S&W
Rex Fine Foods
All 4 Howard Johnson Restaurants
Davis Fine Doods (Luckie, Marietta, Pryor and Forsyth Streets)
Town House (Forsyth Street)
Escoe's Restaurant (2143 Peachtree Rd.)
The Golden Plam (Atlanta Americana)

Eating Places, Cont'd.

Hank and Jerry's (1006 Peachtree)
The Riviera (1630 Peachtree St.)
Dobbs House (all locations)
Shoney's Big Boy (all locations)
The Tiki
Fisherman's Wharf
Golden Goddess (Dinkler Plaza)
Red Velvet (Atlanta Americana)
Room at the Top (Atlanta Americana)
Wit's Ent
Rendezvous (Atlanta Biltmore)*
Oak Room (Piedmont)*
MOST HOTELS AND MOTELS WILL ARRANGE PRIVATE INTERRACIAL PARTIES

*Will serve Negroes who are registered guests.

HOTELS

Air Host Inn
Atlanta Americana Motor Hotel
Atlantan Hotel
Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta Cabana
Dinkler Plaza
Holiday Inn
Hilton Inn
Howard Johnson's Motor Lodges
Peachtree Manor
Piedmont Hotel
Riviera Hotel
Marriott Motor Hotel

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Atlanta Art Galleries
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Concerts
Actors Equity Production
Theater Under the Stars (at Chastain Park)
Jewish Community Center
Quaker House
Copa Atlanta
Wit's End
Atlanta Choral Guild
Atlanta City Golf Courses
Atlanta Public Library (all branches)
Decatur-DeKalb Library
All City of Atlanta owned and operated facilities
Recreational facilities operated by City of Decatur, excluding swimming pools

DOWNTOWN MOVIES

Fox
Rialto
Roxy
Rhodes
Peachtree Arts
Loew's

LEGITIMATE THEATERS

Pocket
Academy (including Shakespeare Festival)

NEIGHBORHOOD MOVIES

Gordon
Emory
Lenox Square
Cherokee
Hilan
Plaza
Atlantic
Techwood

DRIVE-INS

Bolton
Fulton Blvd.
Glenwood
Peachtree
Piedmont
South Expressway
Steward
Thunderbird
Starlight
Scott

STONE MOUNTAIN

All facilities, including Stone Acres Plantation, and Stable of Thoroughbreds (old autos)

HOSPITALS

DeKalb General, South Fulton, Kennestone and Aidmore provide separate wardd or wings for Negroes and whites. Grady's emergency clinics, ambulances and operating rooms are integrated; other services are still segregated. St. Joseph's is integrated. Emory Universty's Hospital accepts Negro patients referred by physicians who are members of the hospital staff.

CHURCHES

All Episcopal, Catholic, Unitarian-Universalists, Quaker House. Most others are open to visitors, but policies vary with individual churches.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

All colleges and universities in the Greater Atlanta area
Certain Atlanta public schools
Catholic Parochial Schools
Trinity Presbyterian School
Smith-Hughes and Carver Vocational Schools
DeKalb Area Trade School
Grady Hospital X-ray and Technical Schools

ORGANIZATIONS

Active Voters
Atlanta Association for Gifted Children
Atlanta Chapter, American Association for the United Nations
American Association of University Women
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches
League of Women Voters (of Atlanta, of DeKalb County)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Democratic Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Republican Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Alcholics Anonymous
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce - Junior Chamber of Commerce

EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

All locations of Georgia State Employment Service. Jobs listed in the Help Wanted ads of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION and the ATLANTA JOURNAL are not listed according to race.

TRANSPORTATION

No segregation on busses or in taxi service.

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
OF GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N . W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

BULK RATE
U. S. POSTAGE PAID
ATLANTA,GA
PERMIT NO. 281

APRIL NEWSLETTER

Mrs. Margaret L. Leonard
40 15 Street Apt. #1
Atlanta, Ga 30309

SEE PAGE 4--MEMBERSHIP DUES FOR 1964

COUNCIL on HUMAN RELATIONS of GREATER ATLANTA

NEWSLETTER

April, 1964
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: 523-1581

EDITORIAL

by Eliza Paschall

"Uncertain" is still the best description of the state of desegregation in Atlanta's public accomodations, according to a survey of restaurants and lounges in Atlanta by the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta made last week.

Of the 76 establishments listed in the Atlanta Convention Bureau's "Visitor's Guide" to Restaurants and Night Life in Atlanta", 28 are integrated, 28 are definitely still segregated, 10 will serve Negroes under varying conditions, three said they had no policy and did not want to be listed as integregated or segregated, and efforts to reach seven were not successful.

Among the "undecided", one restaurant replied that it will serve a Negro "sometimes if alone, usually if in integregated parties; no definite policy -- have refused and have served at different times." Another said it has served Negroes at one location and refused at another, and still another was described by the interviewer as "more cautious than against it."

Of the 15 establishments listed in the classified section of the Telephone Directory as "American Express Card Restaurants", nine have a definite policy of segregation. A total of 30 eating places located in major downtown restaurants and hotels and chain operations, plus sixteen locations in retail stores in shopping centers throughout the area, and ten lounges and night clubs are desegregated.

An up-to-date list of integrated facilities, including eating places, is available from the office of the Council.

ATLANTA SCHOOL TRANSFERS AND SUMMER SCHOOL

According to a release from the Atlanta Summit Leadership, the Atlanta Board of Education has announced that free summer schools will be available for all students who have been on double session this year. This includes students at Anderson Park, Bryant, Capitol Avenue, Clement, Cooper Street, Craddock, English Avenue, Fain, Gideons, Herndon, Hill, North Avenue, Pitts, Pryor Street, Rockdale, Stanton, Wesley, and Whiteford.

Summer school sessions will be held at the following grammar schools: Anderson Park, Capitol Avenue, Clement, English Avenue, Gideons, Herndon, Hill, Oglethorpe, Pitts, Slater, Towns, Whiteford and Wesley. Summer sessions for high school students will be held at Price, Harper, and five white schools. Transfers from one system to another are authorized by the State Board of Education with the state allotment money following the pupil, if the new Board agrees to the transfer, for one or more of these reasons -- higher accrediation, teachers with higher certification,

(Continued on Page 2)

particular courses offered, more practical and convenient transportation and better buildings, equipment, etc. Present information is that seventh graders will be able to state their preference for high schools, and that proximity to the school preferred will be a major factor in approving requests for assignment. It is probable that the Supreme Court decision will have no effect on this program. Listed are the Negro grammar schools with probable transfers to white high schools under the FEEDER system.

NEGRO GRAMMAR SCHOOLS	WHITE HIGH SCHOOLS
Faith, Reynolds	Murphy
Wesley, Whitford	Bass
North Avenue	Grady
Forrest	Bass
Oliver	Therrell or Southwest
Cox	West Fulton
Thomasville	Fulton
Dobbs	Fulton
Crogman	Roosevelt
Harnett	Sylvan Hills
Gideons	Brown
Whittaker	O'keefe
English	O'keefe
Oliver	Terrell

NEW MUNICIPAL STADIUM JOBS

The Personnel Department of Thompson and Street Contractors located at 2622 Piedmont Road, NE is hiring persons interested in working on construction of the new municipal stadium. Contact Mr. Taylor at the job site at the corner of Washington and Frazier Streets near the Capitol Building.

POLITICAL ISSUES FORUM

Every Tuesday, Central YWCA, Edgewood and Ivy, 12:30-1:30 - lunch in the Library with discussants - who talk about political questions. The first meeting's discussion "PROPOSED CHANGES in ELECTION LAWS". Second subject discussed was "PROPOSED NEW CONSTITUTION". Everybody welcome! Be an informed voter.

Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta//NEWSLETTER

Chairman -Mr. Morgan Stanford
Executive Director-Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Editor -Mrs. Harriett Adams

UNITED NATIONS MEETING

The Atlanta Chapter of the American Association for the United Nations is presenting Mr. Charles W. Yost, second ranking member of the U.S. delegation to the UN as guest speaker. Make reservations with Mr. Grady Randolph, 873-4471 (during the day) or Mrs. Eleanor Murphy, CE 3-6200 (during the evening. Mr. Yost will speak at the AMERICANAHOTEL BALLROOM, May 4, 1964, 12:30, tickets $2.25. The Council office will make reservations for any Council member interested in attending.

"THE NEGRO AS AN AMERICAN"

"The essential question is: Are we whether we be black or white, willing to call all men brother and to match this proclamation with our acts? If the answer is yes, we will save the honor of America, which from the beginning has been tarnished by a native corrosive racism. If the answer is no, and perhaps it is, then only darkness lies ahead. But, at the moment of truth, one thing is sure, the time for self-deception and hypocrisy has passed" Excerpt from "The Negro as an American", Lyndon B. Johnson, Robert C. Weaver, Joseph P. Lyford and John Cogley.

Letters

"Orientation U.S." Program
Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration-Washington

Dear Mrs. Paschall:

Miss Duvall of my staff has informed me of your valuable assistance in making hotel arrangements and planning a program for Ambassador Jayaratne of Ceylon and his party during their visit to Atlanta on March 16, 1964.

As you are well aware, the success of our "Orientation U.S." Program for foreign diplomats is largely due to cooperation from Americans such as you who volunteer to extend hospitality to our foreign friends regardless of the color of their skin.

Sincerely yours,
Pedro A. Sanjuan, Director
Office for Special Representational Services

"Understanding Ourselves and Others"
Young Women's Christian Association
72 Edgewood Avenue NE Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Frieds:

As ones who are interested about building understanding and establishing better communications between groups in our community, you will be interested in a CITYWIDE HIGH SCHOOL WORKSHOP scheduled for Saturday, May 9, from 11:30 am to 4 pm at the CENTRAL YWCA.

DR. MARGARET MEAD, world-famous anthropologist and author, will make the key-note address. Her talk on "UNDERSTANDING DIFFERENCES" will follow a showing of the excellent film "The High Wall", which dramatizes the general problems of prejudice as experienced by a Polish family in America.

**** **** ****

Sincerely,
Mrs. Edward L. Askren, Jr.

Understanding Ourselves and Others sponsored by YWCA Second Goal Club in cooperation with National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta. REGISTER FOR THE ENTIRE WORKSHOP AS AN INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP REPRESENTATIVE. SEND REGISTRATION WITH $1.00 FEE BY MAY 7 to YOUTH DEPARTMENT, YWCA, 72 Edgewood Avenue, NE - Atlanta, Georgia 30303. Advanced registration required - limited to those who can attend the entire workshop.

AL HORN writes: Our ANNUAL FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN has been in progress since April 15th and will continue through May 15th. It is our hope that all of you will contribute and will invite the participation of your friends. Because of our lack of funds, we were not able to retain our Assistant Director, Mr. Thomas McPherson. Only your interest, your contributions, your monthly dues can sustain the Council. There will be for many years the need of the Council - LAWS CAN CHANGE THE PATTERNS OF SEGREGATION, BUT ONLY HUMAN RELATIONS GROUPS can change the hearts of mankind.

Printings Available

These printings are available to you from the office:
Georgia Council Report on Albany
Synopsis of Civil Rights Bill
List of Desegregated Facilities in Atlanta

From Betty Vinson -

I am now working with the Partners for Progress organization and cannot do justice to the Council Newsletter. I bow out to a better editor, but this does not lessen my support in the Council.

Membership Card

If your membership card is not enclosed in this Newsletter, it means your 1964 dues are still outstanding. Kindly send them in as soon as possible

NAME ____________________

MEMBERSHIP CARD ENCLOSED____Yes____No

Dues for 1964 $________________

We Need

You to help us as observers at public meetings to report first hand - meetings of school boards, Board of Aldermen, County Commissioners, County Boards of Family and Children Services. You to visit the restaurant owners who have a stated policy of segregation and those who are uncertain. You to call employers listed by the U.S. Commerce Department holding government contracts-to procure information relative to job vacancies. You to call at health and social agencies concerning admission and employment practices. The list of public meetings, time and places is available to you in our office.

Wanted

Volunteer typists to copy research material from our office reference files.

We Can Give

Office space to a file cabinet and a strong-box. If you have seen any or know of any file-cabinets or strong boxes who do not have an office, we will give to them rent free for as long as they wish a nice location in our office!

> "Isn't this the most fascinating country in the world? Where else would I have to ride on the back of the bus, have a choice of going to the worst schools, eating in the worst restaurants, living in the worst neighborhoods - and average $5,000 a week just talking about it?"
>
> Dick Gregory
> From Back of the Bus - Avon Books

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

ERNEST ANGELL
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Board of Directors

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General Counsel

JOHN de J. PEMBERTON, JR.
Executive Director

ORegon 5-5990

Alan Reitman, *Associate Director*
in Charge of Public Relations

WEEKLY BULLETIN #2201

May 11, 1964

ACLU BACKS BROAD JURY TRIAL RIGHT IN CRIMINAL CONTEMPT CASES

The American Civil Liberties Union called last week for federal legislation guaranteeing a jury trial for all defendants charged with criminal contempt but said that if such a law could not be enacted it would support the Dirksen-Mansfield amendment to the civil rights bill which offers a limited right of jury trial.

The Dirksen-Mansfield amendment, , which has become one of the major issues around which the civil rights debate in the Senate is focussing, provides the accused in any criminal contempt proceeding with a jury trial at the judge's discretion. But if the charge is heard without a jury the fine to be paid and the sentence to be served cannot exceed $300 or 30 days in jail.

The Civil Liberties Union, in a letter written by the group's executive director, John de J. Pemberton, Jr., to the Senate Democratic and Republican leaders who are directing the civil rights debate, said: "While the Dirksen-Mansfield amendment is not as sweeping as the broader jury trial guarantee we urge, it establishes a good measure of protection against arbitrary judicial behavior, particularly where the penalties and sentences may be severe."

The ACLU letter was written to Senators Mike Mansfield and Everett M. Dirksen, Democratic and Republican Senate leaders, and Senators Hubert H. Humphrey and Thomas H. Kuchel, Democratic and Republic floor managers of the civil rights bill.

The civil liberties organization noted that it champions the right of jury trial in criminal contempt cases as a basic civil liberty and had filed a friend of the court brief arguing this point in the United States Supreme Court in the key, Barnett case. This case concerned a criminal contempt charge against the then Mississippi Governor, Ross Barnett, who defied a federal court order to admit James Meredith in the University of Mississippi. The Supreme Court on April 6 rejected Barnett's plea that he was entitled to a jury trial, but pointed out that "punishment by summary trial without a jury would be constitutionally limited to that penalty provided for petty offenses."

In urging the Congress to adopt broad legislation assuring jury trials in all criminal contempt cases, the ACLU said it would exclude only contempts committed in the presence of the court. "Since we regard the guarantee of a jury trial as such an integral element of our entire civil liberties structure, we believe it should be applied not only to one area but should be recognized as a fundamental safeguard whereever a criminal contempt charge occurs. The exception we have noted recognizes the necessary judicial power to deal immediately with contumacious behavior that may affect the fair and orderly process of a trial."

The ACLU letter also recognized the distinction the Supreme Court drew in the Barnett case concerning cases where the punishment would be minor. It said: "In considering criminal contempt legislation, should Congress decide to set up categories of contempts, with scales of punishment for these categories, we would not oppose the denial of a jury trial in those categories where the punishment to be imposed would classify the offenses as minor. This would be so, at least, as long as practice in the trial of statutory criminal offenses recognizes a distinction between minor and major offenses in affording a right of jury trial. This distinction, in the trial of criminal contempts as well as statutory crimes, would not burden the court while preserving the right of jury trial for those kinds of cases which subject the individual to possibly heavy penalties."

LM - rec 3
WB ✓ - rec 3
✓ J ✓ ML

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SB ✓

20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10018
BRYANT 9-1400

ROY WILKINS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: UPON RECEIPT

May 15, 1964

GOLDWATER'S RIGHTS STAND CHALLENGED BY ROY WILKINS

NEW YORK. — Senator Barry Goldwater's states' rights position grants "immunity to ... the use of the cattle prods and shotguns of Alabama state troopers, the armored tank and dogs and fire hoses of Birmingham police, the bomb murderers of little children in church in Alabama and the assassins in Mississippi," NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins charges in a telegram to the Arizona Senator.

The wire, dispatched May 13, challenges statements made the previous night by the leading contender for the Republican presidential nomination at a Madison Square Garden rally here.

"Those of your party members in the Senate who have been hair-splitting and fence sitting," Mr. Wilkins says, "might well join Representative William McCulloch and the 137 other House Republicans who voted for the civil rights bill and thus help other Republican Senators who are providing leadership toward the responsibility and common sense you say you covet."

The complete text of the telegram follows:

> YOUR DECLARATION IN NEW YORK SPEECH MAY 12 THAT ELECTION OF YOUR PARTY TO POWER WOULD COOL THE FIRES OF RACIAL STRIFE IGNORES THAT THAT STRIFE HAS GROWN OUT OF THE REFUSAL OF CERTAIN STATES TO INITIATE CORRECTIVE MEASURES THEMSELVES OR TO PERMIT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS RESIDING WITHIN THEIR BOUNDARIES.
>
> THE HISTORY ON THIS ISSUE IS CLEAR AND IS WRITTEN IN BLOOD, ALL THE WAY FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE ASSASSINATION OF MEDGAR EVERS IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, LAST JUNE 12. YOUR RECORD IS CLEAR ALSO. YOU HAVE STATED REPEATEDLY THAT YOU BELIEVE IN LEAVING CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS TO THE STATES.
>
> REGARDLESS OF HOW YOU RATIONALIZE YOUR POSITION YOU GRANT IMMUNITY TO, IF YOU DO NOT AFFIRMATIVELY SUPPORT, THE USE OF THE CATTLE PRODS AND SHOTGUNS OF ALABAMA STATE TROOPERS, THE ARMORED TANK AND DOGS AND FIRE HOSES OF BIRMINGHAM POLICE, THE BOMB MURDERERS OF LITTLE CHILDREN IN CHURCH IN ALABAMA AND THE ASSASSINS IN MISSISSIPPI. YOUR POSITION IS PART OF THE

COTTON BATTING COMFORT ACCORDED THIS REGIME OF BLOOD AND DEATH BY THOSE SENATORS NOW BLOCKING EVEN A VOTE ON A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

THERE IS NO BILL PENDING IN ANY LEGISLATURE WHICH, TO USE YOUR COMPLETELY MISLEADING LANGUAGE, SEEKS TO FORCE ANYONE TO LIKE ANYONE ELSE. THE PENDING CIVIL RIGHTS BILL SEEKS TO SECURE THE ELEMENTARY RIGHTS TO WHICH EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN IS ENTITLED WHETHER ANYONE LOVES HIM OR NOT.

YOU AND YOUR SUPPORTERS CAN CONTINUE TO PLAY POLITICS WITH THIS QUESTION IN WHICH IS WRAPPED LITERALLY THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL LIFE AND DEATH OF TWENTY MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO FOR MORE THAN THREE HUNDRED YEARS HAVE GIVEN THEIR COUNTRY THEIR LIFE'S BLOOD. IN RETURN THEY HAVE HAD THEIR MANHOOD RIGHTS DOLED OUT BY THE TEASPOONFUL. THE TIME HAS ARRIVED FOR THE ENDING OF ALL THAT. THE ROOT CAUSES ARE KNOWN. THE PREACHERS OF PATIENCE AND PATERNALISM ARE KNOWN. THE MACHINERY OF OPPRESSION, SUCH AS THE SENATE FILIBUSTER, IS NAKEDLY EXPOSED. NEGRO CITIZENS WILL NOT RETURN TO THIS 1900 LIFE IN 1964.

IF THEIR PLEAS CONTINUE TO BE MET WITH SOPHISTRY AND ANTEBELLUM ORATORY THERE WILL CERTAINLY BE VIOLENCE IN THE STREETS AND ELSEWHERE. THERE IS NOTHING LEFT. THERE IS NO PLACE TO TURN. SUCH PERSONS AS MAY WANT TO SEE GOVERNMENT MOVE ARE BLOCKED BY THE IGNORANT, THE CUNNING AND THE STUBBORN. THUS THE NEGRO IS FORCED BACK UPON HIS OWN RESOURCES. IN SUCH A STRUGGLE HE KNOWS THAT HE WILL BE AT A NUMERICAL DISADVANTAGE, BUT HE REASONS THAT HE IS ALREADY LOSING AND BEING SPAT UPON TO BOOT.

WE CAN AGREE WITH ONLY ONE PART OF ONE SENTENCE IN YOUR ENTIRE MADISON SQUARE GARDEN SPEECH QUOTE THAT EVERY AMERICAN, REGARDLESS OF HIS RACE OR CREED, WILL COME TO HIS SENSES IN TIME TO RESTORE SOME COMMON SENSE AND DECENCY TO THIS SITUATION UNQUOTE. THAT COMMON SENSE WOULD INCLUDE, OF COURSE, HAVING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ACT IN ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI AND SIMILAR STATES AS WELL AS IN VIET NAM. THOSE OF YOUR PARTY MEMBERS IN THE SENATE WHO HAVE BEEN HAIR-SPLITTING AND FENCE SITTING MIGHT WELL JOIN REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM MC CULLOCH AND THE 137 OTHER HOUSE REPUBLICANS WHO VOTED FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AND THUS HELP OTHER REPUBLICAN SENATORS WHO ARE PROVIDING LEADERSHIP TOWARD THE RESPONSIBILITY AND COMMON SENSE YOU SAY YOU COVET.

NAACP CONVENTION TO FEATURE WILKINS AS KEYNOTE SPEAKER

May 15, 1964

NEW YORK. — NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins will deliver the keynote address at the Association's 55th annual convention in Washington, D.C., June 22 to June 27, it was announced this week.

Mr. Wilkins will speak at the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church where all the convention mass meetings are scheduled.

More than 2,000 delegates are expected to converge on Washington from the Association's 1,725 units to make it one of the largest conventions in the history of the Association.

Major emphasis at this year's convention will focus on the poverty program and how NAACP units can best aid the federal government in eliminating this pressing social problem. Top experts in the field will spend an entire day discussing President Johnson's program for raising the economic level of the millions of deprived people in the nation.

Also on the agenda are workshops to review NAACP programming in the areas of political action, with primary emphasis on voter registration and lobbying for civil rights legislation, employment and school desegregation.

NAACP ASKS MEANY TO END WHITE PLUMBERS' WALKOUT

May 15, 1964

NEW YORK. — The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has called upon George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to institute "stern measures to end racist exhibition" by white plumbers who walked off a job in New York City when a Negro and three Puerto Rican plumbers were hired by the contractor.

In a telegram to the labor chief, dated May 8, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins cited the civil rights commitments of Mr. Meany and of the AFL-CIO. He also pointed out that the offending Local 2 is Mr. Meany's own union.

The white plumbers walked off the $25 million construction job in the Bronx on April 30. They said they would not work with the newcomers because they didn't belong to the union. However, the Puerto Ricans and the Negro had been denied union membership although qualified plumbers.

The continuing refusal of the white plumbers to work with the four minority group workers, Mr. Wilkins told Mr. Meany, "is naked racism in open defiance of AFL-CIO policy and of your own declarations calling for equality of rights and opportunities. This disgraceful spectacle of racial intolerance reflects not only upon the labor movement but also upon our national prestige and leadership of the free world.

"National Association for the Advancement of Colored People believes that situation calls for stern measures to end racist exhibition by members of Local 2. We urge you to take such steps and to condemn publicly the bigotry and defiance of the members of Local 2 involved in the walkout."

Meanwhile, the downtown offices of the local were picketed by Bronx NAACP members under the leadership of Bernard Jackson, president of the branch.

WILKINS WARNS SENATORS AGAINST DILUTED BILL

May 15, 1964

NEW YORK. — NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins warned the U.S. Senate that dilutions and restrictions of the civil rights bill would force the Negro population "to act in behalf of its own dignity in each locality in such ways as may seem effective to aggrieved local groups and to the leadership."

In telegrams to Senators Hubert H. Humphrey and Thomas H. Kuchel, Democratic and Republican leaders working for passage of the bill now lagging in the Senate, Mr. Wilkins reported that proposals to weaken "jurisdiction and action by [the] Federal Government has aroused sharp and cynical resentment in [the] Negro community."

The full text of Mr. Wilkins' telegram follows:

> GRATIFIED YOUR CONTINUED STAND AGAINST AMENDMENT PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD RENDER CIVIL RIGHTS BILL LESS EFFECTIVE. BELIEVE YOU WOULD WANT TO KNOW REPORTED PROPOSAL FOR ONE OR MORE TITLES OF BILL WHICH DILUTES, DELAYS OR RESTRICTS JURISDICTION AND ACTION BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS AROUSED SHARP AND CYNICAL RESENTMENT IN NEGRO COMMUNITY. THE FEELING IS THAT IF THIS IS TRULY FEDERAL LEGISLATION SEEKING TO PROTECT FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS THEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST BE EMPOWERED TO ACT PROMPTLY IN VIOLATIONS. ANY BUT THE MEREST CEREMONIAL BOWS TO THE STATES WILL PERPETUATE THE VERY SYSTEM OF SEGREGATION AND DEPRIVATION THEY HAVE MAINTAINED FOR A HUNDRED YEARS. IT WILL CRUELLY DISAPPOINT MILLIONS OF NEGRO AMERICANS.
>
> IF ONLY PATTERNS OF SEGREGATION ARE TO ENGAGE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THESE TO BE ESTABLISHED ONLY AFTER TORTUOUS SURVEY AND COURT DETERMINATION, THEN THE DESPAIRING NEGRO POPULATION WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO ACT IN BEHALF OF ITS OWN DIGNITY IN EACH LOCALITY IN SUCH WAYS AS MAY SEEM EFFECTIVE TO AGGRIEVED LOCAL GROUPS AND TO THEIR LEADERSHIP. NOW IS THE TIME FOR FORTHRIGHT FEDERAL ACTION. IT CANNOT BE HALFWAY ELSE MANY YEARS OF TENSION AND ABRASIVE RACIAL RELATIONS LIE AHEAD.

****

NEGRO HEROES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A Weekly Feature By

NAACP

****

OLIVER CROMWELL

As Thomas Paine, with his celebrated pamphlet Common Sense (January 1776), had aroused the American people to declare their Independence on July 4, 1776, similarly he was to rally George Washington's soldiers for the New Jersey campaign. Paine had come to the attention of American patriots through his initial writing in this country, an anti-slavery work.

At Newark, Paine wrote the first of his Crisis papers. Published on December 19, 1776, it blared forth: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

Among the patriots who did not shrink from the service of their country, but who stayed with Washington's dwindling army, was Oliver Cromwell. He was one of the soldiers selected to cross the Delaware River on Christmas night of 1776 to surprise and take the British garrison at Trenton, New Jersey.

Cromwell was born in Columbus, Burlington County, New Jersey, May 24, 1753. It is not definitely known, but it is believed that Cromwell was never a slave. He enlisted in the Second New Jersey Regiment under the command of Colonel Israel Shreve. Serving for nine years and six months, Cromwell was one of the war's few long-term soldiers. He saw action at the Battles of Trenton (1776), Princeton (1777), Brandywine (1777), Monmouth (1778), and Yorktown (1781). It was at Yorktown, as he often told his friends and admirers, that he personally witnessed the war's last casualty.

In addition to other recognitions for his long and honored military service, Cromwell also received a Federal Government pension of $96.00 a year. A farmer by occupation, he lived to be 100 years old. Cromwell died in Columbus, New Jersey, on January 24, 1853, leaving six children.

As Cromwell had crossed the Delaware River on Christmas night in the year of this Nation's Independence to participate in the stunning victory at Trenton, a few days later he crossed the river again into New Jersey with Washington's brave but desperate army. This latter crossing culminated in another American upset victory at Princeton on January 3, 1777. The Battle of Princeton cleared western New Jersey of British troops and stalled their advance on Philadelphia.

A student of the Revolutionary War has noted: "Independence was established in the present [New Jersey] campaign — in the year of its declaration; and more than to any others we owe this political privilege to the men who fought from Long Island to Princeton."

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May, 1964

TEN YEARS LATER

Ten years after the 1954 Supreme Court Decision on education, finds Georgia with token integration of public schools. After long and envolved court cases, Atlanta now has 185 Negroes in formerly white schools, out of a total of about 100,000 students. Athens with 7, Savannah 19, and Brunswick 6, makes a total of 185 in Georgia or about .01% of the school population. The majority of the students have done well, several receiving high honors.

Ten Georgia Colleges enrolled approximately 36 students during 1963 - 1964.

What will next year bring?

A federal district court ordered Bibb County to desegregate next September under a grade-a-year plan suggested by the board of education. A similar plan was approved by a court for Muscogee County. Four Negroes have been accepted for enrollment in all white schools in Columbus. A fifteen day period in February was the only opportunity given the students to transfer.

Albany, scene of past racial trouble, registered 81 Negroes to enter first and second grades in white schools this fall. Student assignment will be made on the basis of proximity to the school, student capacity and availability of transportation facilities.

Desegregation methods are being studied by a committee of the Richmond County (Augusta) Board of Education.

A federal appellate court heard arguments on whether desegregation should be speeded up in Chatham and Glynn counties. The NAACP lawyers asked for complete desegregation of the Glynn County system and desegregation of the first four grades in Chatham County plus two a year thereafter. No decision has been rendered.

If it takes Georgia 10 years to achieve .01% desegregation, how many years will pass before the supreme court decision is enforced in Georgia?

SCLC
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Newsletter

Volume II October - November Number 9

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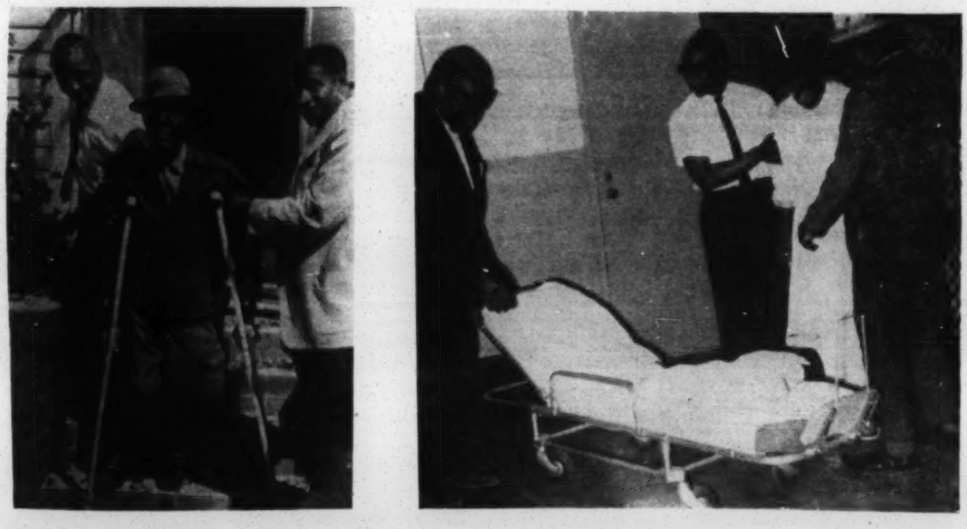
Dr. King To Receive Nobel Prize In Oslo, Norway December 10



AILING AND CRIPPLED GO TO POLLS—In Macon, Georgia, the determination of Negroes to vote was exemplified by George Jones (on crutches, left) and Mrs. Rose Roberts (right photo), who was carried to the polls on a stretcher. SCLC field staffer Willie Bolden (at left of left photo) helped direct voting drive that brought Macon Negroes out in record numbers.

SCLC Puts Might Of It s Organization Against "Goldwaterism" To Aid In Win

By Hosea Williams

In one of the most determined all-out voter drives, SCLC fused the full force of its organizational might against "Goldwaterism" in the November Presidential election and waged such an effective campaign that even the bedridden in many areas went to the polls on stretchers to cast their vote in the landslide Johnson victory.

Hosea L. Williams, SCLC's Director of Voter Registration, said: "it took 44 full time staff members working night and day and more than $10,000, but we turned out the largest percentage of Negro voters in the history of America."

SCLC coordinated its South-wide Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign through its Affiliates, Adult Citizenship Schools, Active Voter Registration organizations and bi-partisan and non-partisan political organizations. Dr. King requested 2,800 different community organizations across the Southland to join SCLC in its Southwide Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign, and 2,363 organizations responded favorably.

(Continued on Page 2)

SCLC 8th Convention In Savannah, Ga. Is Success Despite Rain

Despite a sudden rainstorm that forced cancellation of a scheduled civil rights mass rally at Savannah, Georgia's Grayson Stadium, SCLC was

(Continued on Page 3)

Parents, Staff Members To Witness Ceremonies

"It was almost like a dream. For a moment I was really feeling like I was dreaming. Then I realized I was not dreaming . . ."

This was the reaction of SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. from his hospital bed at Atlanta's St. Joseph Infirmary on Oct. 14 when he received the news that he just had been awarded the 1964 Nobel Prize For Peace. It is the world's greatest honor that man can bestow upon man, and Dr. King, at 35, became the youngest person ever to receive it as well as the 12th American and the third man of color in history. The other two were United Nations Undersecretary Ralph Bunche (1950), and South African Nationalist leader Albert John Luthuli (1960).

Gives Prize Money To Movement

The coveted prize, which carries with it a cash gift of $54,600 tax-free, was created as one among five such annual awards by 19th century Swedish Inventor Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, who at his death bequeathed $9 million for the perpetuation of the honors.

Told of the cash award, Dr. King immediately let it be known that the entire

(Continued on Page 3)

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Getting Out The Vote—People To People

Dr. King Tours Across Nation To Defeat 'Goldwaterism'

ADMONISHING VOTERS—On whirlwind tour across nation to get out the vote against "Goldwaterism," Dr. King points finger to emphasize message.

IN BALTIMORE—A huge welcome, like the one above in Baltimore, greeted Dr. King at every stop of the tour. Effectiveness of tour was evident in overwhelming Negro vote for President Johnson and defeat of Goldwater.

SCLC PUTS MIGHT

(Continued from Page 1)

The South-wide Campaign was launched by SCLC by sending out in full force its army of civil rights mass meeting speakers. Within two weeks they spoke at 242 mass rallies, reaching and inspiring more than 200,000 campaign workers across the South.

The program kept SCLC's printing department operating day and night for two weeks. More than 500,000 pieces of literature were mailed out to the 2,363 participating organizations. The material included two brochures (*How To Conduct An Effetive Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign and Vote For What You Need.*) A kit containing leaflets for blanketing each community the night before election, a "citizenship sermon" for local ministers, handbills on how to promote effective mass meeting and handbills on how to promote political awareness were also mailed out. Audio Visual aid played a big part in making the Campaign a great success. Many citizenship movies were shown south-wide. The movies, which portrayed the Savannah Movement, SCLC's Affiliate of the year for 1964, was the most effective.

ANCIENT RUINS OF ROME—SCLC Treasurer Ralph D. Abernathy is shown above amidst the ancient ruins of the Coliseum in Rome, Italy, where thousands of early Christians were put to death for their religious beliefs. The photo was made on Sept. 16, the day before Dr. Abernathy and Dr. King had an audience with Pope Paul VI.

Concentrated In Three States

SCLC concentrated the major portion of its full time staff in Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama. The South Carolina campaign was coordinated by The Rev. C. T. Vivian. Rev. James Bevel directed the Alabama program.

In Georgia, three to five full time staff members were assigned to each of the U. S. Congressional Districts. Each District had a local coordinator. The coordinators consisted of the top flight voter registration experts from each District. Each Coordinator used a SCLC staffer as director.

Georgia witnessed its largest (both in number and percentage) Negro vote in history. Although Goldwater carried the state, the Negro vote defeated a great number of Republican candidates who tried desperately to ride into office on Goldwater's coat tail. At predominantly Negro polling places lines were stacked up two blocks long when the polls opened. Several reports came in from all around the state that similar situations remained throughout election day and on into the night when the polls were closed.

Negro Vote Doubled

The effectivess of the Get-Out-The-Vote efforts can be seen by contrasting the 1960 and 1964 campaigns in Columbia, South Carolina's 9th Ward, where the late President Kennedy received 1,112 votes to Nixon's 280. Within four years the Democratic Presidential ticket support almost doubled. President Johnson received 2,203 votes to Goldwater's 55.

The Negro turnout was just as effectively covered by the hard-working SCLC crew. In Richland County's rural Gadsden precinct, in South Carolina, the influence of newly-registered Negro voters was also demonstrated. The count there was 301 for Johnson and 21 for Barry Goldwater. Four years ago that same precinct gave Kennedy only 64 votes to 30 for Nixon.

The great SCLC Voter Registration Drive showed up in heroic ways. Mr. Hope Williams, formerly of SCLC's Citizenship School program, registered 800 Negroes in Calhoun County in South Carolina. This year's election was the first time Negroes had the opportunity to vote in any sizeable numbers in that county since Reconstruction. A total of 729 voted.

Line Circled Block

In one Columbia precinct Negroes stood three abreast in a line circling a city block to vote. In Charleston's Ward 9 the vote was 781 for Johnson and 30 for Goldwater. In Charleston 12th Ward, First precinct, there are 1,469 white voters and 1,469 Negro voters. The final vote was 1,180 for Johnson and 833 for Goldwater.

"The election helped Negroes to become aware of more organization and less separate entities. The kind of organization and enthusiasm the Republicans put forth challenges us as Negroes to gird our loins now for 1966. We must then do a mammoth job with finance, hard work and spirit," said Mrs. Septima Clark, evaluating the election.

From The Pages of Negro History

The biggest slave-trading American colonies were not Southern, but Northern—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island.

AT BERLIN FESTIVAL—Invited to deliver the principle address at the opening of the annual West Berlin Festival on Sept. 11, SCLC's Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is shown with West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt, who extended the invitation. Dr. King later spoke before 20,000 at the Waldbuhne amphitheater, and before standing-room only crowd at Marienkirche, Berlin's oldest church. Also while behind "Iron Curtain," he delivered a sermon at Sophienkirche. At Berlin's East-West border, Dr. King and party were admitted without passports, the first known such entry on record. They had forgotten to bring them, but were permitted to enter when an East Berlin official recognized Dr. King from having seen him on television.

SCLC CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 1)

able to conclude its Eighth Annual Convention in this port city and count it among the most successful in recent years. The torrential downpour struck with such sudden force the night of Oct. 2 that the anticipated crowd of some 5,000 had to be re-directed by radio bulletins to St. Paul C.M.E. Church to hear the "Freedom" Message from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The rally was the second of two such scheduled meetings during the four-day convention (Sept. 29—Oct. 2), the first of which drew a near-capacity crowd at the First African Baptist Church on Sept. 29 to hear addresses by A. Phillip Randolph and James Farmer, two foremost civil rights leaders.

Theme Is 'New Directions'

Theme of this year's convention, coordinated by SCLC's Director of Affiliates C. T. Vivian, was: "New Directions In Nonviolence." Host for the meet was the Chatham County Crusade For Voters, an SCLC affiliate, whose president is SCLC Voter Registration Director Hosea Williams.

A spirited convention from the opening session and the keynote address by SCLC Second Vice-President Joseph E. Lowery of Birmignham, the four-day meet saw intense interest in panel discussions and workshop groups centering around the "New Directions" theme of the convention. Such participants as Bayard Rustin of the War Resistor's League, New York; Harry Golden, Editor of the Carolina Israelite and others contributed much in the way of interpretive thought toward projecting the future course of the civil rights movement.

As was true with last year's convention in Richmond, this year's annual "Freedom Banquet," held at the desegregated DeSoto Hotel, was a complete sell-out. More than 650 guests crowded into the ballroom banquet hall to hear a dinner speech by Former Brooklyn Dodger Baseball star Jackie Robinson and dine on Rock Cornish Hen.

Awards Given

Among other highlights of the successful meeting, awards were given to Dr. Aaron Henry of Mississippi; Mrs. Septima Clark, SCLC Supervisor of Teacher Training; and the Chatham County Crusade For Voters. Dr. Henry, an SCLC Board Member and head of Mississippi's Freedom Party," received the Rosa Parks Award, SCLC's highest citation and one given annually to the person who has made the most creative and significant contribution to the nonviolent movement.

Mrs. Clark, a former school teacher and principle for many years, was cited for her meritorious contribution to the freedom struggle. The Catham County Crusade For Voters was given the award of "Affiliate Of The Year."

A special award was also given to Wyatt Tee Walker, former Executive Assistant to Dr. King, now on leave with the Negro Heritage Library. He was cited for his contribution to the development and growth of SCLC.

Newsletter Now Being Printed In SCLC Office

For the first time in the three-year history of the SCLC Newsletter, this edition was printed on presses in the printing department of the Atlanta-based home office.

The move was necessitated by increasing production costs and the great demand for the monthly official SCLC organ, which first began publishing in 1961 as a four page publication. It is hoped that with the reduction in printing costs, the Newsletter will continue to be distributed free to SCLC's contributors and supporters.

NOBEL PRIZE

(Continued from Page 1)

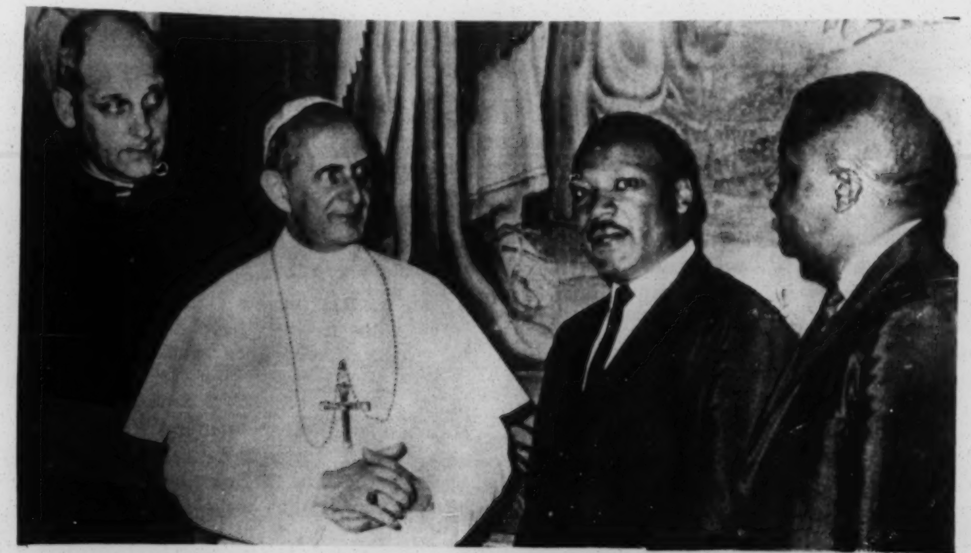
sum would be given to the civil rights movement.

Meanwhile, as the noted civil rights leader prepared to depart for Oslo, Norway and Stockholm, Sweden to receive the award in official ceremonies on Dec. 10, scores of well-wishers, friends and staff members began making plans to be on hand for the celebrated occasion. So great was the rejoicing at news of the Prize that many staff members who have been with him almost since the days of the Montgomery Bus Boycott promptly set out to secure funds to finance their trips, some even negotiating loans to pay their way abroad. In some instances, churches were getting up purses to help with the expenses of some SCLC staffers.

Officially, only Dr. King and his wife, Coretta, will make the trip at the expense of the Norwegian government. Others will be privately financed, either through churches or purses contributed by friends.

"I think it is wonderful that so many wish to witness the awarding of this great honor," Dr. King said, "but I do want to make it understood that not a penny of the prize money will be spent on travel. There is a great need for this money in the civil rights movement for the work we are doing all over the South, and that's where we intend that it be put to use."

Among those expected to make the trip with Dr. King, in addition to Mrs. King, are: Rev. and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr.; SCLC treasurer Ralph Abernathy and his wife, Juanita; Executive Director Andrew Young; Bernard Lee, special aide to Dr. King; Miss Dora McDonald, secretary to Dr. King; Mrs. Lillie M. Hunter, SCLC Bookkeeper, who has been with the organization since Montgomery; Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Citizenship School Director; and Miss Carole Hoover, Director of Promotions.



AN AUDIENCE WITH POPE—On a visit to Europe for September speaking engagements, SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. and Treasurer Ralph Abernathy had a 25-minute audience with Pope Paul VI (2nd from left) on Sept. 17 in the Vatican, Rome Italy. At right is Monseigneur Paul Marcinkus of Chicago, who was interpreter for the group. The Pope said he, personally, as well as the Catholic Church is in sympathy with the Freedom Movement and that he is "a friend of the Negro people."

SCLC *Newsletter*

Publisher, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone: 522-1420

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., *President*

F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH, *Secretary*

RALPH D. ABERNATHY, *Treasurer*

ANDREW YOUNG, *Executive Assistant*

EDWARD T. CLAYTON, *Editor*

AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SCLC

1. **To achieve full citizenship rights, and total integration of the Negro in American life.**
2. **To stimulate nonviolent direct mass action to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination.**
3. **To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of nonviolence through local and area workshops.**
4. **To secure the right and unhampered use of the ballot for every citizen.**
5. **To reduce the cultural lag through the Citizenship Training Program.**

Editorial

The President's Mandate

It is heartening to witness such an overwhelming expression of the will of the American people as was made evident on November 3 when President Johnson was reelected to the Presidency by such a great and decisive margin over Senator Barry Goldwater. It had to be thus. Any less a victory might have suggested that this nation had fallen dupe to "Goldwaterism," and would now be indecisive and unsure about solving its great national problems.

Fortunately, such was not the case. President Johnson was given an historically enormous victory, and with it a mandate of the same proportion to continue in the progressive direction his office has been pointed. There can be no mistaking in his triumphant reelection that the great swell of Negro voters in record-breaking numbers across the nation contributed immeasurably to the decisiveness of that victory. There can be no mistaking either that such a crushing defeat of "Goldwaterism" makes it crystal clear that the conscience of this nation has been reached, and that it is no longer content to exist half-free and half-oppressed.

It is indeed an awful mandate that President Johnson has been handed, and one he dutifully must accept as a challenge. He can not waiver from the course he has chosen; neither can he break faith with those allies who have demonstrated their great faith in him. It is not now enough to win the victory, but it is for the victor to remain steadfast to the faith so many Americans, black and white, have placed in him.

—*ETC.*

Nobel Prize Honors More Than Mere Racial Change

(*Reprinted by permission from the Atlanta Constitution of October* 15, 1964)

All Americans can take pride in the award of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of Atlanta.

His efforts to improve the lot of the American Negro could have come to naught if the American heart had not responded. He could not have moved people unless they had thought it right to be moved. So thinking, they braved the enormous difficulty of social change.

And recognizing their difficulty, his own thinking showed the bravery of understanding.

In a changing time fraught with threats of violence, he counseled peace.

Another kind of leader could have counseled violence, and had it. Many Negro leaders have been more militant, more impatient, more heedless than he. None have approximated the power of his unarmed example, among members of his own race as well as the other races of pluralistic America. The fact that he, more than any other Negro leader, best touches and moves the emotions of all Negroes is a measure of the peacefulness, steadiness and good will of his race.

Caught in the turmoil of change, many Americans have spoken of him harshly. These have not been easy days. But history will surely show the United States was fortunate to have a man of peace, not a man of violence, speaking for the Negro when this time arrived.

He has sought to unify, not to divide; to join the Negro to society, not to lead him out of it. He has trusted America and relied upon its institutions, leading not a revolution against his nation, but a demonstration of belief in it.

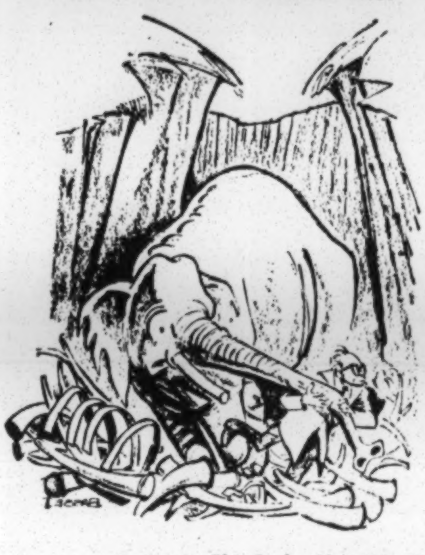
His speech last year before the Lincoln Memorial, telling " I have a dream," was a hymn of loyalty and faith in this country at a moment when others were tempted toward a dream of bitterness. When bitterness has led to Negro violence, his has been a voice raised against it, his the leadership saying no. Holding to his religion, he has moved a nation in peaceful ways, when it could have drifted, unmoved to violence, vengeance and despair.

This young man, a product of the Atlanta public schools, of Georgia heritage, and of Christian universality, has led without violence through a turbulent era and made a mark that transcends civil rights; he has shown that ways of peace are not futile, that surer factors than force do still shape human destiny.

He deserved the Nobel Peace Prize. The award of it to this American honors all Americans, for theirs was the spirit he moved.

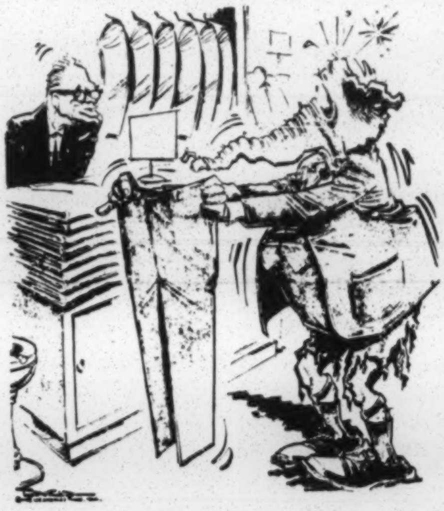
The Cartoonist's View

"Where Have You Taken Me?"



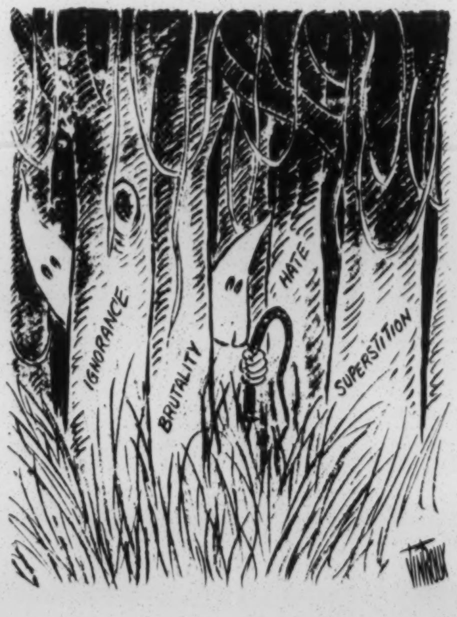
Basset In The Rocky Mountain News

"May I Help You . . . ?"



Conrad In The Los Angeles Times

American Jungle



Vinroux in The Charleston Gazette

ed clayton

Of a Jail Mate And a Nobel Prize

In the grey-dawn hours behind bars of southern jails there are often many untold dramas acted out with only the cell walk for a stage and the darting cold light of flashlights for a spotlight.

Such a stage was set for Martin Luther King, Jr. one early morning in 1960 while he was serving an eight-day sentence in Atlanta. He had been arrested while driving home author Lillian Smith (*Strange Fruit*) in a borrowed car from a friend whose license plates had expired. He already was under suspended sentence for another traffic violation in a neighboring county, and authorities there earnestly hoped for him to be arrested again. It would mean that they could seize him and he would have to serve six months at hard labor.

Thus the stage was set for one of jail's seldom told dramas.

One morning about four o'clock, as he slept on his cot, he was startled out of his sleep by the play of flashlights in his eyes.

"Get up, King, a guard ordered, prodding him in the side. There were several uniformed police officers accompanying the guard.

Placed In Chains

Martin looked at them dazedly, not knowing what to think. Then, as he raised himself in bed and finally drew himself up to full height standing, he was ordered to hold out his hands. The officers shoved him roughly, first one way and then another. There was a "click" quickly followed by another as handcuffs were snapped on. Then there was the clinking sound of a chain. Leg irons were clamped around his ankles.

Through all this a wizened little man had been watching from the cell next door, peering as best he could through the half blackness to see what was taking place.

He stretched out a black arm through the bars as Martin was being led away. In his hand was a dollar bill.

"Please take this," he pleaded. There were tears in his eyes. He had overheard Martin's wife, Coretta, asking him the day before if he had any money, and Martin had replied, "no."

"Oh, no, I couldn't take that," Martin said to his jail mate.

"Please take it," the little man urged. Tears began to glisten under the glare of flashlights on his black cheeks.

"Go on. Please take it. Here."

Martin looked at him for a moment, then reached out and took the money. "Thank you, and God bless you," he said.

"Come on boy," the guard barked. And he was led away.

Kennedy Calls

A few days later a United States Senator named John F. Kennedy, who at the time was running for President of the United States, called Mrs. King to see if she was all right, and if there was anything "I can do." Months later he became president.

Now, four years later, the man in handcuffs and leg irons has been awarded the world's highest honor—the Nobel Peace Prize. With usual humility he has declared that this honor must be shared by all who have been a part of the freedom struggle.

Surely among them must be an unknown little man who was holding an outstretched dollar bill one grey-black morning in an Atlanta jail.

For Human Beings Only

The "Danger" Of Intermarriage

By Sarah Patton Boyle

(The following is reprinted from Mrs. Boyle's new book, *For Human Beings Only*.)

Mrs. Boyle

Ask a tense-faced segregationist what he means by "the danger of intermarriage" and he is likely to retort, "The ultimate destruction of our country! Do you want us to become a brown nation?"

We could reply, "why not? It would save time and money now spent on getting suntanned." But as our colored population is only 10 per cent as most of its members already have noticeable amounts of Caucasian blood, even after complete amalgamation we probably still would have to resort to sunlamps and beaches for our attractive tans.

On learning this, our segregationist may cry, "when race mixing occurs, civilizations invaribly fall!"

Civilizations Do Fall

True. But of equal significance is the fact that people who move into brick houses, invariably die—all within a few decades, some within a few months! Civilizations do fall, but reputable modern historians find no connection between "race mixing" and their demise.

"Biology shows," our segregationist will declare, "that crossbreeding produces offspring inferior to those of pure racial strains."

The best reply to this fiction is to ask for one biology textbook currently used by accredited colleges that makes such a claim relative to races of man. Anthropologists inform us sharply that "pure racial strains" exist only in the imagination.' Race mixing began before the dawn of history.

'Hope I'm Dead'

"Well," the segregationist may sigh, "if intermarriage must come, I hope I'm dead when it does."

Congratulate him—he probably will be. While experts who venture prophesy on the subject disagree, the consensus seems to be that integration will not speed amalgamation much or soon . . . Even those who fear intermarriage must have little reason to use it as an argument against integration.

Indeed, some experts think that segregation more than integration leads to intermarriage. Anthropologists have estimated that about 20 thousand Negroes who are light enough to pass for white "cross over" every year to escape the handicaps of segregation. They marry unsuspecting whites.

'Horrified If They Knew'

"The irony of it," a social psychologist commented, "is that Negroes who cross over often prentend to be rabid segregationists as a safeguard against detection. The result is that they attract genuine rabid segregationists as mates—people who would be utterly horrified if they knew."

One of the logical replies to the question "Do you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" might well be "Do you want your daughter to know a Negro suitor when she sees one?"

From The Pages of Negro History

The first American woman to earn more than $1,000,000 on her own was "Madam" C. J. Walker, a St. Louis laundress, who in 1905 developed a 'hair conditioner" that created "a new world for Negro women in America."

Convention Highlights Caught By Camera

Delegates Register

Typical scene at convention headquarters in St. Paul C.M.E. Church on opening day of meet found delegates crowding registration tables to pick up credentials. Here, SCLC secretary Elizabeth Jones (standing right) assists two from Florida. Over 400 delegates were registered.

Holding Press Conferences

At press conferences during meet, newsmen were able to question principal participants for more in-depth reports. Dr. King is shown above in news conference on opening day. With him are Rev. Andrew Young and Rev. Ralph Abernathy. Below, A. Phillip Randolph (l.) and James Farmer are shown in joint news session.

Some Participating Speakers

Whether in workshops, panel discussions or public meetings, speakers were listened to intently by conventioneers. In photo at left, Harry Golden, editor of the Carolina Israelite, Charlotte, North Carolina, delivers an afternoon address. In center photo, Bayard Rustin of New York lectures on "Building Alliances" during a workshop. Right photo shows Rev. Joseph E. Lowery of Birmingham as he delivered the keynote address.

Awarded Rosa Parks Award

Honored as the person who has contributed the most in a creative way during the year to the nonviolent movement, Dr. Aaron Henry (r.) of Clarksdale, Miss., is given the Rosa Parks award, SCLC's highest honor. Making presentation are: Rev. Andrew Young, Mrs. Parks and Dr. King.

Affiliate Of The Year Award

Named this year as the outstanding SCLC Affiliate from among some 218, Savannah's Chatham County Crusade For Voters is presented a plaque by C. T. Vivian (l.), Director of Affiliates. Accepting is the group's president, Hosea Williams, now SCLC's Director of Voter Registration.

Closing Mass Rally

At convention's close, hundreds crowded into St. Paul C.M.E. Church to hear address by Dr. King after sudden downpour of rain brought a last minute cancellation of rally at Savannah's Grayson Stadium. Despite rain, church was filled to capacity after public was notified by radio bulletins.

Of The Nobel Prize

A Mighty Army Of Love

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin L. King, Jr.

After many months of exhausting activity in the civil rights movement I reluctantly checked into the hospital for a rest and complete physical check-up.

The following morning I was awakened by a telephone call from my wife informing me that she had received a call from a New York television network informing her that it had been announced in Oslo, Norway, by the Norwegian Parliament that I was the recipient of the Nobel Prize for Peace for 1964.

My eyes were hardly open, and I could not be sure whether this was merely a dream or if I was hearing correctly. I was stunned at first. I had known of my nomination for this honor, but in the rush of responsibilities of a movement such as ours, one does not have time to contemplate honors, so I was quite unprepared psychologically.

But then I realized that this was no mere recognition of the contribution of one man on the stage of history. It was a testimony to the magnificent drama of the Civil Rights Movement and the thousands of actors who have played their roles extremely well. In truth it is these "noble" people who have won this Nobel Prize.

"Tired Feet For Weary Souls"

This is a prize for fifty thousand Black men and women of Montgomery who substituted tired feet for weary souls and walked for 381 days until the sagging walls of bus segregation were crushed by the battering rams of these determined souls, walking in the might and power of God. It is an award given posthumously to "Sister" Pollard of Montgomery, an 80-year-old saint who walked to work daily and proclaimed, "my feets may be tired, but my soul is restful."

This foremost of earthly honors is a tribute to students, who, in sitting-in at lunch counters, were standing up for the best of the American creed, and who forced the nation, its courts and Congress back to the wellsprings of Democracy and made possible a new level of Freedom in our society for people of color.

In the final analysis, it must be said that this Nobel Prize was won by a movement of great people, whose discipline, wise restraint, and majestic courage has led them down a nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours.

The Herbert Lees, Fannie Lou Hamers, Medger Evers, Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner, and the thousands of children of Birmingham, Albany, St. Augustine, and Savannah who have accepted physical blows and jail, have discovered that the power of the soul is greater than the might of violence.

These unknown thousands have given this movement the international acclaim which we now receive from the Norwegian Parliament.

'A World Without Want, Without Hate'

I am sure that Count Nobel would be pleased with this mighty army of love, and I am sure that the entire world now looks to the Negro in America for leadership in the whole task of building a world without want, without hate, and where all men live together in shared opportunity and brotherhood.

The Nobel Prize for Peace places a new dimension in the Civil Rights struggle. It reminds us graphically, that the tide

(*Continued on page 8*)

SCLC Creates Department To Reach White Community

Harry Boyte

As a result of a continuing examination of our on-going programs, and in the search for creative response to changing moments in history, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has announced the establishment of a new department in SCLC to be known as "OPERATION DIALOGUE."

Dr. King emphasized the commitment of the organization to this new department by issuing this statement: "We have reached the moment in our quest for freedom when it has become imperative that the total dimensions of the Civil Rights Revolution must be presented clearly to the national community. Through the dialectical method, we will seek to involve both Negro and white Americans in meaningful personal encounter wherein the complexities of our society, including Cybernation, Automation, unemployment, poverty and quality education will be explored in their more basic and unsophisticated implications."

Interpretation Of Program

In interpretation of this new program, Dr. King pointed out that many of our fellow Americans of latent good will have not found a way to participate in meaningful relationship with their neighbors, or otherwise to express themselves without fear of reprisal.

This new program is developed to bring such meaningful and creative encounters into being through leadership by members of the neighborhood groups involved.

Visits Communities

Harry G. Boyte, who was appointed Special Assistant to Dr. King in July, 1963, has been designated to direct the program. He is now engaged in visiting those communities interested in further interpretation of the program. Those groups interests in having Mr. Boyte present the program in a given community should write: OPERATION DIALOGUE, SCLC, 334 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

The new direction will be undertaken in many instances within the disadvantaged white communities, where there exists so little understanding of the meaning of the Civil Rights movement to the larger society.

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ARMY OF LOVE

(Continued from Page 7)

of world opinion is in our favor. Though people of color are a minority here in America, there are billions of colored people who look to the United States and to her Negro population to demonstrate that color is no obstacle or burden in the modern world.

The nations of Northern Europe have proudly aligned themselves with our struggle and challenged the myths of race the world over.

This is the promise of a strong international alliance for Peace and Brotherhood in the world. Northern Europe, Africa and Latin America all indicate a willingness to confront the problem of racism in the world. This is the starting point of a peaceful world.

Now the Negro must look abroad also. We have been looking toward Africa for some time, but the interest has been rather academic. Poverty and hunger are not peculiar to Harlem and the Mississippi Delta. India, Mexico, the Congo and many other nations face essentially the same problems that we have faced.

If the world is to survive in peace, then some concern for the world's hungry masses must grow out of the great wealth of this nation. It will probably grow out of the sensitivity and love which is being generated morally and politically through God's children in America.

CIVIL RIGHTS MEDAL HONORS DR. KING

THE HAGUE—Rayla Beheer Ltd., Goldsmiths and Medalmakers, have struck a special medal commenorating the ceremonial signing of the civil rights act by President Johnson.

The Medal is one of the series issued by Royal Beheer honoring various persons in the fields of science, arts, letters or politics.

Previous medals have been issued commemorating, among others, Dag Hamarskjold, Painter Pablo Picasso, John F. Kennedy and Queen Wilhelmina.

On the face of the latest medal, The Rev. Martin Luther King, who was at the signing, is depicted with the legend: "So faith, hope, love abide, these three, but the greatest of these is love (1 Cor. 13:13).

On the back appears the raised arm of the Statue of Liberty with the legend: "Civil Rights Act J. F. Kennedy-L. B. Johnson era."

Two thousand copies of the medal (38 millimeters in diameter) will be struck. Number 1 of the numbered series will be offered to Dr. King.

From The Pages of Negro History

Contrary to folklore, Negro slaves hated slavery so passionately that thousands joined in bloody revolts. The biggest was led in 1831 by Nat Turner, a Virginia slave preacher, whose rebels killed 60 whites before he was captured and hanged. Also contrary to folklore, the U. S. had 488,000 free Negroes by 1860, almost half of them in the South.

N. Y. Union Gives $6,000 To Civil Rights Groups

As one of the highpoints of the SCLC Convention in Savannah, New York Negro labor leader Cleveland Robinson, on behalf of his Union, District No. 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO of New York City, presented checks totaling $6,000 to representatives of Southern civil rights organizations at the Oct. 1 mass meeting at St. Paul CME Church. A $1,000 check went to SNCC of Mississippi; a $2,000 check was presented to Dr. Aaron Henry on behalf of the state conference of the Mississippi NAACP and a $3,000 check was presented to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Advisor To Dr. King

Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer of his Union and International Vice President, works closely with Dr. King in SCLC as one of his labor advisors. Robinson is also National Vice President of the Negro American Labor Council and Commissioner of the City of New York, appointed by Mayor Wagner for the New York City Commission for Human Rights. His Union has long been identified with the civil rights struggle and has supported SCLC, NAACP and other civil rights organizations throughout the years. In making the contribution, Robinson pointed out that contributions from his Union came from the membership which numbers 30,000, the majority of whom are white.

The unity of this membership, Negro, white and spanish speaking, and its dedication to the cause of freedom and human dignity for all, has been one of the outstanding characteristics of this organization, Robinson said.

'Nothing But Sympathy' For Hoover Dr. King Replies To 'Liar' Charge

In one of the most scurrilous and undignified verbal attacks upon SCLC President Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in recent months, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover on Nov. 18 referred to him as "the most notorious liar in the country" in answer to a charge that FBI agents in Albany, Ga., have taken no action in civil rights cases because they are Southerners.

The blast at Dr. King was made during a group interview with some 200 women reporters who periodically meet with Washington officials.

Expressed Surprise

Dr. King, busy at the time, in the seclusion of an island in the Bahamas, preparing his acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize, expressed surprise at the Hoover charge and promptly wired him a reply and issued a statement.

The statement read:

"I cannot conceive of Mr. Hoover making a statement like this without being under extreme pressure. He has apparently faltered under the awesome burdens, complexities and responsibilities of his office, therefore, I cannot engage in a public debate with him. I have nothing but sympathy for this man who has served his country so well."

Text Of Telegram

In his telegram to the FBI Director, Dr. King had this to say:

"I was appalled and surprised at your reported statement maligning my integrity. What motivated such an irresponsible accusation is a mystery to me. I have sincerely questioned the effectiveness of the FBI in racial incidents, particularly where bombings and brutalities against Negroes are at issue, but I have never attributed this merely to the presence of southerners in the FBI. This is a part of the broader question of federal involvement in the protection of Negroes in the South and the seeming inability to gain convictions in even the most henious crimes perpetuated against civil rights workers.

"It remains a fact that not a single arrest was made in Albany, Georgia during the many brutalities against Negroes. Neither has a single arrest been made in connection with the tragic murder of the four children in Birmingham nor in the case of three murdered civil rights workers in Mississippi. Moreover, all FBI agents inevitably work with local law enforcement officers in car thefts, bank robberies, and other inter-state violations. This makes it difficult for them to function effectively in cases where the rights and safety of Negro citizens are being threatened by these same law enforcement officers.

'Happy To Discuss Question'

"I will be happy to discuss this question with you at length in the near future. Although your statement said that you have attempted to meet me, I have sought in vain for any record of such a request. I have always made myself available to all FBI agents of the Atlanta office and encouraged our staff and affiliates to cooperate with them in spite of the fact that many of our people have suspicions and distrust of the FBI as a result of the slow pace of justice in the South."

Six New Members Named To SCLC Board

Six new members were added to the Executive Board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference during its recent eighth annual convention in Savannah, Georgia.

The new members, representing a total of four states, will serve varying terms through 1967.

They are as follows:

Jesse Hill, Jr., a businessman from Atlanta, Georgia, was a selection from Georgia to the Board. Mr. Hill is Actuary of Atlanta Life Insurance Company in Atlanta, Chairman of the All Citizen's Registration Committee and president of The Atlanta Inquirer, Inc.

Mrs. Victoria Gray and Rev. Allen L. Johnson of Mississippi. Mrs. Gray, of Hathiesburg, Miss., is an SCLC Citizenship School supervisor and was a recent candidate on the Freedom Democratic Party ballot against Mississippi Senator John Stennis.

Rev. Johnson, of Jackson, Mississippi, is President of the Ministers' Alliance of that city, an affiliate of SCLC.

From Alabama, two board members were chosen. They are: Rev. T. Y. Rogers of Tuscaloosa, Ala., and Rev. A. D. King of Birmingham. Rev. Rogers is pastor of the First African Baptist Church in Tuscaloosa, and is president of Citizens for Action Committee, another SCLC affiliate. Rev. A. D. King, the younger brother of Dr. King, is pastor of the First Baptist Church of Ensley, Birmingham, Ala.

He replaces on the Board, W. E. Shortridge of Birmingham, who died earlier this year.

The second woman named to the Board was Mrs. Marian B. Logan of New York City. The wife of prominent physician Dr. Arthur Logan, Mrs. Logan has for a long time been very active in the civil rights movement.

From The Pages of Negro History

The first successful suit in the U. S. against school segregation occurred not in the South of the 1950's but in Boston in 1849.

STAFF MEMBER WEDS—Rev. Fred C. Bennette of Atlanta, Georgia, and Miss Bernita Darby of Savannah exchanged marriage vows in Savannah in July. Rev. Bennette is Executive Director of SCLC's "Operation Breadbasket." Mrs. Bennette is employed by the Board of Education in Savannah and also has her own radio show.

The SCLC Bookshelf

Available At SCLC

» *Why We Can't Wait* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Row. Price: $3.50.

» *Strength To Love* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Row. Price: $3.50

» *Stride Toward Freedom* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publisher: Harper & Brothers Co. Price: $2.95

» *The SCLC Story In Words & Pictures,* edited by Ed Clayton. Publishers: Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Price: $1.00.

» *Echo In My Soul* by Septima Poinsette Clark. Publishers: E. P. Dutton & Co. Price: $4.50

» *The Desegregated Heart* by Sarah Patton Boyle. Publishers: William Morrow & Co. Price: $5.00

» *The Day They Marched,* edited by Doris Saunders. Publishers: Johnson Publishing Co. Price: $1.00

War On Poverty

(*Continued from Page 12*)

places—as Negro activists have realized that the lunch counter is not so important after all and that people still live in rat-infested ghettos—the tendency has been toward militant black nationalism. Here the mood was militant but not nationalist.

SCLC has always been for a unity of Negro and white. Previously, this position has been mainly a moral imperative, based on the SCLC orientation to the Christian church. This year one felt that the appeals for Negro-white cooperation, while still morally based, had a new dimension: the practical matter of necessity.

Whites, Too, Would Gain

"The Negro people," Dr. King said, "do not themselves possess the political power to create full employment. We must add our political power to that of other groups (the religious communities—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—labor, the liberals, and the intellectuals) in order to create a broad and strong political force to ensure positive action."

Bayard Rustin, considered by many to be one of the most effective strategists in the civil rights movement, led a workshop at the convention on how to achieve such an alliance.

Dr. King noted that although a greater percentage of Negroes than whites are poor by the $3,000 standard, 78 percent of the total nine million families classified as poor in America are white. Thus, if the civil rights movement can provide some motor power for a drive to win a real war on poverty, white will benefit as much as Negro, or more.

The practical necessity for an alliance exists on the white as well as the Negro side of the fence. The question the civil rights movement faces is how to convince enough whites that this is so.

Dr. King Manuscripts Now at Boston Univ.

The personal papers and manuscripts of SCLC President Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. have been presented to the Boston University to be housed in its projected $5,500,000 Central Library.

Dr. King visited the university on Sept. 11, to turn the documents over to the Library.

In 1955, Dr. King received a Ph.D. in theological studies and in 1959 an honorary D.D. degree from Boston University. He stipulated that he annually would add files of his papers to the collection.

Letters From Presidents

According to Dr. Gustave A. Harrer, director of libraries at Boston University, there are in the collection, letters from Presidents of the United States, Senators, Congressmen international governmental leaders prominent figures in the world of arts and literature, as well as officials on the state and local levels.

It also contains the manuscripts and notes of lectures and speeches, reports of press interviews, engagement books, records of incoming and outgoing telephone calls, citations, accolades and memorabilia.

There are manuscripts of the King Books, "Stride Toward Freedom" (1958); "The Measure of Man" (1959); "Strength To Love" (1963); and the recently published "Why We Can't Wait."

House 1,400,000 Volumes

Boston University's new multi-million dollar Central Library, which will house the King Collection, will consist of six stories with two underground floors. It will ultimately house some 1,400,000 volumes and will allow for consolidation of nine of the University's branch libraries on the Charles River campus between the recently completed George Sherman Unio and the new 19-story "high rise" Law-Education Building. Ground will be broken th year for the Library which is expected be completed by the fall of 1966.

Voting Education Film Now Available to Groups

Brandon Films has acquired the new 16mm color documentary (28½ minutes), *"Right Now!"*, which has been used in voter education campaigns in the South and is credited with helping to register some 500,000 Negroes.

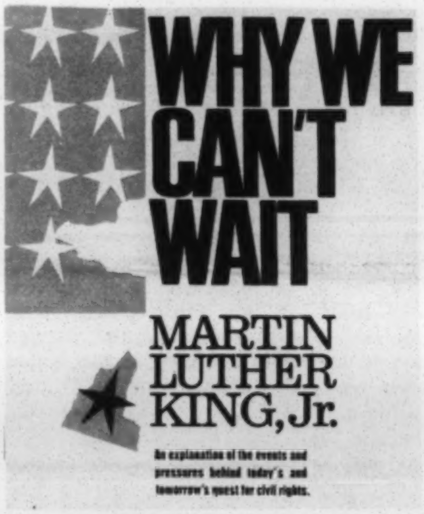
Made in Savannah, Georgia, *"Right Now!"* was sponsored by the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Committee for Racial Justice now, and the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. It shows in candid close-ups how responsible Negroes in Savannah went about the task of convincing Negro non-voters that they had a stake in registering to vote.

'Superb Document'

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said of *"Right Now!"*, "A superb and artful film document, the most accurate, effective, moving account I have seen of the people of the South who are the backbone of the Freedom Movement. These are the people whom I know and love and America should be made aware of their contribution."

"Right Now!" is immediately available in 16mm to community groups for purchase and rental, and to television, for licensing.

Written, produced and directed by Robert Newman, it has photography by Graeme Ferguson and music by Mel Pahl.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Newsletter Editor Authors 2 New Books

Ed Clayton

SCLC Newsletter editor Ed Clayton has just authored two new books, one for children, the other for adults, which were published by two different publishing houses within two weeks of each other. The books are: *Martin Luther King: The Peaceful Warrior,* a children's biography of the noted civil rights leader, published Oct. 15 by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood, N. J., and *The Negro Politician: His Success and Failure,* published Nov. 2 by Johnson Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.

In the children's book, Clayton traces the life of Dr. King from his birth on Atlanta's famed Auburn Avenue through the Montgomery Bus Boycott and his later rise as a world figure. Its 80 pages, beautifully illustrated by New York artist David Hodges, have brought into compact focus the high points in the career of this young leader and placed it within easy reading grasp of children in the age group of 9-12.

Review Noted

The Chicago Tribune of Nov. 1, in a brief review of the biography, had this to say:

". . . The author has brought the personality thru the gradual recognition of prejudices, the increasing pressures of discrimination, and the ultimate insults and injustices without interjecting a trace of bitterness.

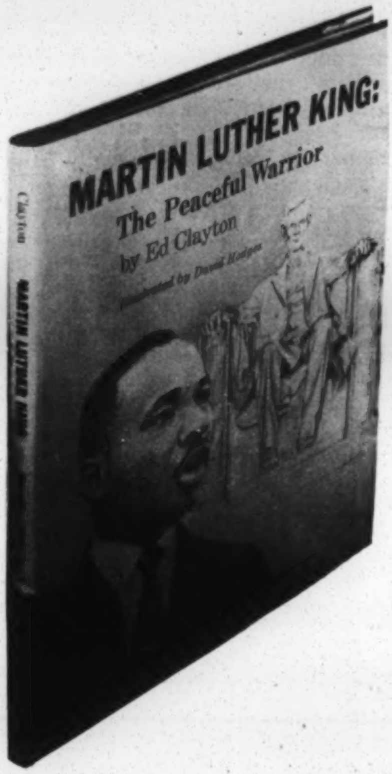
"He leaves the reader with a moving portrait of a gentle, peaceful man. At times, the fluid style, simple langauge, and understated strength of character of the central figure lend an essence of saintliness to the man."

Political Book Informative

In *The Negro Politician,* Clayton brings to the reader an informative account of the role of the Negro in American politics from his early beginnings during Reconstruction up to the present day. Unlike previous books written on the subject, this new work has been written with the layman in mind to help give a greater understanding of politics. At the same time it brings more sharply into focus those Negro politicans of the past and present who have made their contributions to the government of America's cities, counties and states.

From The Pages of Negro History

Negroes contributed key inventions to 19th century U. S. industrialization — for example, the mechanical laster that revolutionized shoe manufacturing. Besides this, Granville T. Woods, holder of 150 patents, developed the third rail for electric trains in 1890. as well as induction telegraphy for communicating with trains in motion.



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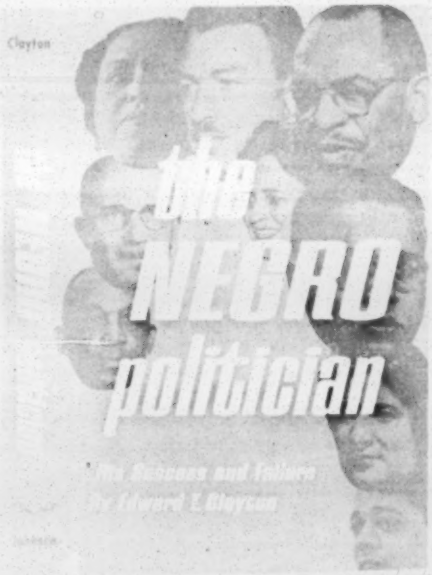
Here for the first time, in Martin Luther King: The Peaceful Warrior, is an official biography of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., written especially for children in simple, easy-reading language. It tells the story, with accompanying illustrations, of the famous Negro leader from his early childhood up to the present day.. It was authored by Ed Clayton, editor of the SCLC Newsletter.

for adults . . .

Another book from the pen of Ed Clayton, The Negro Politician is a book that has been especially written for the layman. With a foreword by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the book traces the Negro's role in politics from Reconstruction days through the 1964 election.



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SCLC Enters The War On Poverty

Civil Rights: The New Target Is The Economy

By Anne Braden

(*Editor's note*: *Mrs. Braden, of Louisville Ky., is a long-time civil rights worker, a member of SCEF and editor of the Southern Patriot.*)

Improving the economic condition of the American Negro has now become the main objective of large sections of the civil rights movement.

The trend has been in this direction for some time. More evidence of it appeared in the themes that ran through the eighth annual convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) here in Savannah.

Dr, Martin Luther King, in his annual report to the convention, put it this way: "Of what advantage is it to the Negro to establish that he can be served in integrated restaurants or accommodated in integrated hotels, if he is bound to the kind of financial servitude which will not allow him to take a vacation or even to take his wife out to dinner?

"What will it profit him to be able to send his children to an integrated school if the family income is insufficient to buy them school clothes?"

Questions like this have been prevalent in the student civil rights movement for some time. What nobody has really defined yet is just how to attack the problem most effectively.

SCLC already has a program called "Operation Breadbasket"; this consists of campaigns to get more jobs for Negroes by withholding business from firms which do not hire Negroes and patronizing those that do. This has won a number of new jobs in several cities—but it is obviously not a program large enough to solve the Negro's problem of poverty in America.

The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, long-time leader of SCLC, spoke of the thousands forced to live in slum conditions in the nation's cities. Dr. King noted that one-half of all Negro families in the United States are "poor" when measured by the figure used by the federal government to determine poverty, income under $3,000 a year.

What Dr. King was actually calling for is a gigantic federal program to combat poverty and its effects in the form of slums, poor schools, etc. He said he considered President Johnson's current "war on poverty" just a "cautious beginning . . . a start and not the end." What is needed, he said, is "full mobilization of all the nation's resources."

Two Major Tactics

The Negro, Dr. King said, becomes "cynical and skeptical about 'war on poverty' when he reads about expenditures to photograph the moon which are manyfold larger than the cost of the anti-poverty bill before Congress . . . "

Although no one had a blueprint as to how to secure a program of the scale needed, two major tactics emerged from the discussions here and are likely to shape future SCLC programs.

First, there was general agreement that there must be more emphasis on political action. Dr. King said SCLC will continue to encourage sit-ins, picket lines, marches and civil disobedience—in other words, nonviolent direct action—when these seem effective. But he said this tactic is no longer enough.

Demonstrations alone sometimes opened public accommodations, he noted, because they called attention to the evil, aroused the conscience of the community, and additionally eliminated the evil itself if men and women stood firm. But as the civil rights movement turns its attention to jobs and the elimination of slums and the creation of quality integrated schools, more is needed. Demonstrations can still call attention to the evil and arouse the conscience of the community, but they do not present a program for removing the evil itself, Dr. King declared.

"For example." he explained, "demonstrations can be useful in calling attention to the fact that Negroes are tragically unemployed . . . . But billions of dollars are needed to insure full and fair employment . . . . This is a question of creating political power to induce Congress to appropriate such a sum of money."

New Significance

This perspective gives new significance to the concentration on voter registration in the Southern civil rights movement. The blood in Mississippi and the sweat even in less dangerous places takes on new meaning if there is a vision of a program worth voting for.

Second, there was agreement among SCLC people that in order to wage an attack on economic issues, the civil rights movement must find new allies in the white population. This convention specifically rejected the concepts of black nationalism, which hold that the Negro must go it alone in his battle for justice in this country.

This is significant because in some

(*Continued on page 10*)

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NEWSLETTER

December 1964 Vol. ix No. 2

Executive Committee Hears National Agencies

TRENDS IN VISITOR PROGRAMS DISCUSSED

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"We now have a mandate to present the participants in our training programs with a total American experience, not limited to the teaching of skills," declared Robert W. Kitchen, Director of the Office of International Training in the Agency for International Development, before members of CO-SERV's Executive Committee who were gathered here October 19 and 20 for their semi-annual meeting.

Mr. Kitchen explained that A.I.D. has long been working on the problem of how far to take participants beyond training in skills and academic subject matter. It has been determined, he said, that the non-instructional phases of participants' programs are of major importance for a satisfactory experience in the U.S. and that "the 168-hour week is of greater concern than the 30- or 40-hour week."

Non-Instructional Expenses High

In this connection, Mr. Kitchen cited suitable housing for participants as a major problem. He added that, although the cost of A.I.D.'s training program runs to about $50,000,000 annually, about $10,000,000 or 20% goes into travel to and within this country; $30,000,000 or 60% goes into housing and food; and only about $10,000,000 or 20% is left for actual training. By contrast, a typical American education, he said, is estimated at 80% for schooling and 20% for daily living, a much more desirable ratio which A.I.D. would like to achieve for its participants and trainees.

To assist in the solution of some of the problems inherent in the process of training annually some 6000 individuals from the developing nations, A.I.D. is consulting with a group of experts from the American Personnel Guidance Association and the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, on the setting up of guidance and counseling programs.

Unsponsored Student-Leaders

For the first time, Mr. Kitchen said, A.I.D. will be accepting responsibility for some unsponsored students, some of whom have been recognized as promising leaders who may significantly affect the image their countrymen have of the United States when they return home.

Explaining some of the difficulties that A.I.D.'s Office of International Training has encountered, Mr. Kitchen cited the substantial increase in visitors from South Asia and Africa, many of whom do not fit the historic characteristics of participants and trainees. In the past, he said, there was a heavy concentration on college-level English-speaking people. With the shift to non-college level, non-English-speaking personalities, including many recognized statesmen, special new services are required. When political leaders from Africa and South Asia are confronted with their peers in this country, problems frequently arise that call for A.I.D. leadership in assuring high-quality experience for these influential people.

Summer Employment

Summer employment of overseas visitors is also a challenge, Mr. Kitchen declared. He is hopeful that new programs will be developed that will help solve the problems of foreign nationals who are disadvantaged in seeking employment during the summer months.

Looking to the future, Mr. Kitchen said that the reorganization in which A.I.D.'s training program and staff are now engaged, and which has the full support of A.I.D.'s top administrators, will attempt to ensure that its professional staff will have had extensive overseas experience in the geographic areas under their direction. He added that it was A.I.D.'s hope to eliminate itself eventually from direct programming, and to rely instead on recognized private organizations and educational institutions.

No Major Changes at State Department

Speaking for the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs was John N. Hayes, Deputy Director of the Bureau's Office of U.S. Programs and Services. Mr. Hayes said that no major shifts in the balance of existing programs are anticipated under the leadership of the newly appointed Assistant Secretary, Mr. Harry C. McPherson.

Mr. Hayes announced a new plan under which the State Department hopes to bring to this country for 90-day programs a limited number of foreign nationals employed in labor and commercial activities by our foreign posts. He said that in cities in this country where they exist, the U.S. Government offices of Labor and Commerce will be assisting these visitors but they will call upon the Department Reception Centers and vol-

(continued on page 2)

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SERVices to International Visitors

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Chairman, COSERV Executive Committee
..... John F. Reichard
Executive Secretary .... Helen H. Ringe
Editor .... Ruth H. Frank

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untary groups to participate in arranging local programs.

Ernest J. Mansmann, also of the State Department, and Chief of the Division for Visitors from Abroad, expressed the Department's concern over the peaks in visitor arrivals, particularly during recent months, which overload national programming and community facilities. He outlined steps that had been taken to level off the overload. (1) Messages were sent out worldwide in early September asking that posts hold off all future arrivals for September and October. In some few cases postponements were not possible. (2) Messages were sent out calling a halt to all voluntary visitors until November 5, after the U.S. elections were concluded. (3) The European and African areas of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs are instituting the practice of awarding grants to Leaders and Specialists only when a departure date from the visitor's home is known. This should help to spread arrival times. (4) Each outbound cultural attaché now meets with Mr. Mansmann who explains the need to "even out" arrival loads.

Mr. Mansman also referred to a special 3-week training program that the State Department holds for escort-interpreters. Now in its third year, there are about 20 individuals in each group. However, Mr. Mansmann said, it is still difficult to recruit an adequate number of good interpreters.

Private Programming Agencies Report

A view of summer activities was also given by representatives of national programming agencies who are members of COSERV and on its Executive Committee.

African-American Institute— Stewart Edwards, Director of A.A.I.'s Short-term Visitors Program, gave some indication of "peak loads" when he stated that from September to June his organization had programmed 12 visitors, while in July alone there were 96. He said that in trying to develop more satisfactory approaches to educational travel programs, the Institute is limiting to four (plus an escort-interpreter) the number of visitors travelling together to the communities. A.A.I. is endeavoring to make sure that in the future there is a common interest shared by the group. It is hoped that this will simplify the community's task in arranging programs for the visitors.

Experiment in International Living—Dr. F. Gordon Boyce, President, reported that The Experiment had had a greatly increased demand for its services but was aware of the need to maintain quality along with quantity. Non-sponsored visitors and some European student visitors, he said, frequently arrive here with expectations that cannot be met. The Experiment therefore feels the need for a statement addressed to all visitors concerning their responsibilities in this country.

In order to diversify its world-wide program, the Experiment is encouraging its European office to suggest travel to Latin America and Africa for its members. Additionally, Dr. Boyce said, the Experiment has committed itself to a greater investment of staff and funds in countries other than those in Western Europe. This will mean more exchanges with the Middle East, Far East and Africa. For short-term visitors in need of language assistance, the Experiment is establishing a short English-language training course.

Governmental Affairs Institute—H. Philip Mettger, President, said that some time ago he had predicted a great increase in visitors who were interested primarily in the American elections. The accuracy of his forecast was borne out, he said, by the fact that well over two-thirds of G.A.I.'s visitors due between July 1964 and June 1965 would have completed their visits by the end of November 1964. "It has been," he sighed, "too much too soon." He praised the "heroic work" of the communities, adding that the overload had been a problem for the State Department and the programming agencies, as well as for the local organizations. He concurred with others who stressed the need for an increase in the number of well-qualified interpreters.

Institute of International Education—Richard B. Myer, Director of I.I.E.'s Special Projects and Arts Department, announced that a group of Hungarians was newly arrived on these shores and a group of Roumanians was anticipated during the coming year, representing an innovation in sponsored visitors' countries of origin.

International Student Service—J. Benjamin Schmoker, Executive Director, agreeing that the summer had been a busy one, reported that his organization had met 2000 students a week just in New York City. Other ports of entry also carried heavy summer loads. Had the well-planned student housing bureau, under the auspices of the Greater New York Council for Foreign Students, not been set up in advance, "we couldn't have survived!" he said. He felt that more and better information on the U.S. should be given to students before they come here. Many arrived with inadequate funds and hoped to work. Their high expectations, he said, frequently resulted in grave disappointments.

Note: See Page 6 for reports from the communities presented at the Executive Committee meeting.

Sequel to "A Beacon of Hope"

The Second Annual Report (August 1964) of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, just published, is available on request from the Secretariat to the Commission in the U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.

THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

The following three articles describe the African visitor program from three points of view: the programming agency, the community organization and the visiting participant.

The report on the AAI is one of a continuing series on national programming agencies carried in the Newsletter.

The African-American Institute is a private, non-profit organization founded on the belief that practical contributions to Africa's development can be an effective means of building friendship and understanding between peoples of the two continents.

Beginning with a small program of hospitality and assistance to African students and visitors to the U.S. ten years ago, AAI's work has evolved rapidly with the dramatic change of pace in Africa. AAI now administers more than 20 educational and development programs.

Expansion of scholarship programs has been AAI's first priority. To date, some 3,000 young Africans have received education and assistance through AAI—a significant fraction of the new leadership in the continent. Many of these men and women brought to the U.S. for training will strengthen Africa's own institutions sufficiently to enable them to do the basic tasks of African education at home. Training in the U.S. will then be reserved for advanced work in specialized fields.

The ASPAU Program

At the university level the Institute administers a number of programs for African students. In 1960, a group of 24 American universities, with the administrative assistance of AAI, offered scholarships to 24 Nigerians for undergraduate study in the U.S. This launched what has grown into ASPAU—The African Scholarship Program of American Universities. Today, ASPAU operates in 28 African countries; 215 cooperating colleges and universities in 45 American states form its strong academic base. By the end of 1964, about 1,000 young Africans will have been granted scholarships under the program, to prepare for technical, teaching and public service careers.

Manpower Needs Aided

In 1963 AAI joined with the U.S. Council of Graduate Schools to launch a graduate fellowships program. Based largely on the ASPAU experience, the new AFGRAD program places special emphasis on the selection of fellows in terms of key manpower requirements of their respective countries. Fellowships are provided under grants from A.I.D., and joint State Department-UNESCO arrangements.

As the new African countries modernize their economies, there is increasing need for technically skilled personnel to serve in government and business and such specialized fields as airport and harbor management, rural and urban planning, and land, water and wildlife conservation. Therefore, in addition to its regular undergraduate programs, AAI—with A.I.D.'s financial help—administers programs to meet priority manpower needs at various levels, from technical and vocational, to graduate and professional.

Increasingly important is the programming of short-term African visitors to the U.S. So far in 1964, under State Department contract, AAI has made detailed arrangements for 50 leaders and specialists—men and women interested in economics, education, journalism, politics, social welfare and community development. It has also administered educational travel grants for some 90 visiting African students selected for their leadership potential.

African journalists with escort-interpreters meet Hon. John B. Duncan (extreme right), U. S. Commissioner for the District of Columbia. Journalist M. A. O. Pearse who wrote article on Page 5 of Newsletter is eighth from right.

At the invitation of the U.S. Department of State, 18 African newsmen from 16 countries arrived in the U.S. last October 15 for a 30-day observation of news media and candidates at election time. AAI accepted the challenge to create a meaningful and useful experience for these persons with limited knowledge of American political history and politics. A week's orientation program in Washington was followed by placement in key American mid-western, western and southern communities for observation of election and post-election meetings.

Women's Group Assists

The Women's Africa Committee, an affiliate of AAI, was formed in 1959 by 30 American women concerned with the special problems of African women. Since then, by itself or in cooperation with major women's organizations and local groups throughout the country, the Committee has worked with women from almost every African country helping them to realize their leadership potential in their home countries.

Other programs administered by AAI include: Teachers for West Africa, Special Training Program for Refugees, The Economic and Social Development Program, Summer Training Programs, and Media Programs. AAI also publishes *Africa Report*, the leading American journal on Africa.

In a continuing effort to help the African continent meet its great potential, the African-American Institute works with a host of foundations, corporations, individuals, U.S. Government agencies and 32 African Governments.

AFRICANS IN LITTLE ROCK

by Mrs. Barbara F. Buck, Volunteer
International Hospitality Committee of Pulaski County
Little Rock, Arkansas

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—Little Rock/racial tension. Ten years ago these terms were synonymous. Since then things have progressed slowly and quietly toward compliance with the spirit of the new Civil Rights Law. For Little Rock residents, the change is significant; to outsiders, the transition is largely unrecognized. And so, to the foreigner coming to America, the name "Little Rock" still rings with racial notoriety. How, then, can the local International Hospitality Committee present to its short-term visitors a fair, honest picture of present-day Caucasian/Negro sentiment? And, how are African guests treated in the city?

To help the visitor from abroad understand the civil rights problem, Little Rock's International Hospitality Committee, under the effective leadership of Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Jr., provides opportunity for the visitor to talk with uneducated farm Negroes, to discuss housing and educational problems with staff members of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and to visit socially with educated Negro families in the capital city. Through these contacts and by association with Caucasian host families, it is hoped the foreign visitor will be able to draw his own conclusions.

Generally, there is no difference between a visit from an African leader and that of an Indian specialist or a German student. Africans stay in downtown hotels, are entertained socially (producing some "firsts" as far as integrated parties), and can meet any person with whom they desire to discuss their special interest.

Visitors Question Freely

Of all short-term visitors stopping at Little Rock, about one-third are African. Of these, the majority are intelligently informed and they express sincere interest in our social problems. Through the repeated good will of Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, foreign guests are taken on a tour of the cotton plantations just outside Little Rock. Understandably, the visitors are shocked at the dramatic contrast between the prosperous planters' homes and the indigent tenant farmers' shanties. While driving along the dusty farm roads, a recent group of Africans wanted to know:

"Why do so many tenants have abandoned automobiles in their yards? If the church is interdenominational, why isn't it integrated? Why aren't the Negro children in school?"

Since Mrs. Brewer lives in the midst of this plantation area, she can handle their questions adeptly. But she also gives the visitors a chance to talk directly with the tenant farmer. The African students who met "Frank," a disabled, retired tenant farmer, were quietly appalled by the dilapidated condition of his house, but talked easily with him and commented on the cleanliness of the place.

A startling revelation to some African visitors is their getting to know Little Rock Negroes who hold professional positions. Through Delta Sigma Theta, a public service sorority composed mostly of Negroes, foreign visitors are treated to an evening in one of the women's homes. Although the sorority has served exchange students in Arkansas for the past ten years, it has been only since the Spring of 1964 that they have volunteered their services to the International Hospitality Committee. Since then they have hosted 20 Africans as well as other short-term visitors. According to Mrs. Dorothy White and Mrs. Sue Williams, the evening get-togethers consist of mutual give-and-take. Significantly, perhaps, the Africans have avoided discussing the racial situation. However, they are frank in expressing their feelings and when they have been entertained in very comfortable Negro homes, Africans have speculated as to whether they are being subjected to "set-up" conditions. Too, the Africans express ideas conceived from Little Rock's crisis days and find it difficult to believe that their Negro hosts are able to live free from pressure.

Illustrating the effort exerted by the International Hospitality Committee of Pulaski County in presenting a complete sketch of racial attitudes was Mrs. Scott's fulfilling a Cairo student's request to meet a segregationist. He was disappointed at not hearing any such talk from host families, so she, as hostess, arranged for his group to visit a farmer who was articulate in expressing his segregationist stand. To hear such views not only satisfied the students' desire, but demonstrated to them the diversity of opinion which can survive in our nation.

Visiting students from Tanganyika, Uganda and Zambia with escort Garry Edwards in courtyard of the Arkansas Art Center in Little Rock.

Since racial conditions are the major reason for most short-term visitors' coming to Little Rock, the Hospitality Committee devotes the equivalent of one day's time to exposing the status quo, the progress which has already been made, and the huge task still confronting those concerned with full respect for human rights. However, the typical four-day program also includes general sightseeing, a visit to the Arts Center, a social evening with host family and friends, appointments with people in their special field of interest, and visits to other places of significant interest to them.

(continued on next page)

(continued from page 4)

Mrs. James B. Gates laughs about the summer cloudburst which flooded the entrance to the local library during a visit with a group of African students. The Africans pitched in with library workers in moving tables and chairs from the path of streaming water. As they joked about it, the Africans probably were unaware that such tiny deeds are the very things which endear them to the hearts of the people they meet.

Some of our African visitors have confided, "I wondered what I was going to do in Little Rock for five days. Now, I want to stay longer."

And for host families in Little Rock, some of whom have established meaningful friendships with foreign guests, welcoming African visitors has provided distinct benefits.

IMPRESSIONS OF A VISITOR

by Mike A. Olu Pearse

Mr. Pearse, Northern Regional Editor of the "Daily Express," Nigeria, visited the U.S. on a 30-day observation tour for African journalists.

A few days after my arrival in the United States of America, an American tried to find out from me my impressions about America. Then, I told him it was too early for me to make any comment. Now, after over two weeks in the United States, I think I am in a position to express my observation about the great country, from what I have seen and heard so far.

America is not new to me, not new in the sense that my country—Nigeria—has for a long time had association with her one way or the other and I have also read and heard about her. There are a lot of Americans in my country and from some of them, I have heard much about the country. There are a number of Nigerians also who studied in America and went back to their country to tell those of us who had not been there something about the land of Uncle Sam.

But I believe that whatever description one may give about anything, seeing is believing.

My visit to America has in fact fulfilled one of my dreams in life. Thanks to the American government.

Movies Influence Youths

America has an enormous influence among the youths of my country, so much so that many of them tend to behave like the Yankees. But to my greatest surprise, I found in America that the imitation by these youths, of American way of life, is completely based on a wrong assumption. The way they looked at America was partly influenced by the movies, especially the cowboy films.

Before my arrival in the States, I too had fallen a victim of the belief that American cities were noisy and that life in the country was quite hectic. I thought all Americans carried guns in their pockets and that their drinking bars would be scenes of physical duels. I am pleasantly surprised by the quiet and serenity I have found in America during my few weeks stay.

I doubt whether there is any country in the world today who gives a more practical demonstration of democracy than America. I think the rest of the world has something to learn from America's practical democracy. I am saying this not because I am in the midst of Americans but because I have witnessed the practice of democracy in the country. Someone said some time ago while giving the definition to the word "democracy," that "democracy is the right to do wrong."

Colour discrimination in America is a social problem to which the Americans themselves must find an everlasting solution. But, by and large, there is freedom in America—freedom in the real sense of the word and not a freedom sandwiched with dictatorial tendency. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of worship. The freedom given to the press in America is almost to a fault, yet it is worthy of emulation because the press make themselves responsible and powerful.

Democracy in Action

I was in Baltimore one night during one of President Lyndon Johnson's campaign tours for the presidential election when a group of youths carrying Senator Barry Goldwater placards trooped into the hall where President Johnson was addressing his supporters.

I was bathed in cold sweat as I thought guns would soon start to rip past. But what happened? There were just boos while President Johnson himself halted his speech to allow the noise to die down, and merely smiled over the whole incident.

One of the Goldwater supporters even went so far as to move forward to the front line amidst the thick crowd of Johnson supporters and all that was done for him was to cover his placard with other placards depicting support for President Johnson. I watched the incident with much amusement. In other countries of the world, blood could have flown in the hall and there could have been uncontrollable pandemonium.

I have also found Americans to be very friendly but this does not mean that I am ruling out the possibilities of isolated cases of unfriendly attitude towards foreigners like myself by some people who still belong to the old school of thought.

I have met a number of Americans who through their own volition denied themselves their personal pleasure to make sure I really enjoyed my stay in America.

While all this is going on in the country, I cannot imagine why colour segregation is being practiced in some parts of America especially in the southern states.

A Question Remains

One big question which is still in my mind and to which I have not had a satisfactory answer is why should there be discrimination in a civilized country like America which is doing her best to help developing countries technically and financially? Why should a country full of friendly people still tend to regard the Negroes who make up its population, an inferior race? Why must America continue to go on like this?

I think a definite solution must be found to this social problem because although American Negroes are Americans, yet we in Africa consider any discrimination against them as discrimination against all races of African descent.

COSERV ACROSS THE U.S.A.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Summer 1965 was a busy time for COSERV organizations across the country. The Executive Committee of COSERV at its October meeting heard reports from members who were just beginning to recover from the 3-month deluge. The summarized reports from representatives of community organizations follow:

Atlanta—Mrs. Joseph F. Haas, General Chairman of the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors. A large number of summer visitors came from U.S. Department of Defense installations located in the southeastern states. The number of visiting A.I.D. participants also increased. Last-minute cancellations by visitors caused some problems, but community support has buoyed the Committee and stimulated its growth. The visit to Atlanta of Secretary of State and Mrs. Rusk is reported on Page 8 of this Newsletter.

Boulder, Colorado—Mrs. Edward Sampson, Jr., General Chairman of Community Hospitality for International Visitors in Boulder. Many visitors arrived for 3-, 6-, and 9-month stays with families. To assist these people who need information on day-to-day living, Mrs. Sampson's Committee produced a brochure explaining everything about the community "from its shopping system to services of psychiatrists." Men have been added to the Board who are well-qualified to explain the Committee's work to the community. Goals for this year include a club room where visitors can gather to meet local citizens and other visitors.

Mrs. Sampson also mentioned her visit, in June, to Salt Lake City with Miss Helen H. Ringe, COSERV's Executive Secretary. The two met with many individuals who were providing services to international visitors in Utah's capital city. Mrs. Sampson felt that their visit had helped to inform each group of what the others were doing and that a large step toward coordination of all these services had been taken.

Buffalo, New York—Mrs. Robert M. Kohn, Vice-President of the Buffalo World Hospitality Association. A total of 1143 visitors came during the three summer months, with very few problems. "The 'problem visitors' must have gone to the World's Fair rather than Niagara Falls this year," she said. Mrs. Kohn made a special plea for "return reports" from other communities and from sponsoring agencies if visitors made any adverse comments on experiences in Buffalo. She also announced a Niagara Frontier Conference on Exchange of Persons to be held March 20, 1965. The one-day Institute will bring together campus and church groups as well as other local community organizations involved in exchange programs. The featured speaker will be John N. Hayes of the State Department. One objective is to inform the rest of the community of the total scope of the exchange-of-persons program. It is also hoped that the meeting will help coordinate the multiple local activities in this field.

Chicago—Mrs. Noel Flint, Executive Director of the International Hospitality Center of Chicago. At the request of the State Department, the Center took on the programming of a great number of Leaders and Specialists who came to Chicago. To handle the additional load, one new full-time and a part-time person were added to the staff, but the job was a challenging one even with the extra help. The visitor load was divided according to field of interest between the Center and the Chicago office of the Institute of International Education. The 3-month period saw 1080 visitors to the Center and, said Mrs. Flint, "we just about managed!"

New York City—Mrs. Donald Droste, Co-Chairman of the Short-Term Visitor Committee of the Midtown International Center. The World's Fair brought an influx of visitors unparallelled in the history of the Center. The total of 6000 visitors to the Center included 3300 international employees of the Fair. The only real crisis occurred when a sponsored group of 192 visitors arrived after the Center had been told that the group would number 25. "We managed somehow," she smiled.

Philadelphia—John F. Reichard, Executive Director of Philadelphia's Center for International Visitors. The Center was gratified that it had been able to carry the intensely heavy load of programming that fell on its shoulders in spite of the fact that many other organizations in Philadelphia which depend on volunteers closed up entirely during the summer. The Democratic Convention in Atlantic City in August, and the World's Fair, were undoubtedly responsible for a large number of African and South American student leaders coming to Philadelphia and its environs on their summer travel programs.

Pittsburgh—Mrs. Jeanne Witman, Executive Secretary of the Pittsburgh Council for International Visitors. The summer months showed a wider diversity of "sending" organizations than in previous years. When the program objectives of the sending agency differed from the visitor's objectives, the community organization was uncertain as to what plans to make for the visitor. Mrs. Witman hoped that better coordination on program objectives could be attained in the future.

Portland, Oregon—Mrs. Hilmar Grondahl, Chairman of the International Visitors Committee of the World Affairs Council of Oregon. The Committee had many more visitors this summer than in the past, with many happy experiences. Mrs. Grondahl particularly commended the African-American Institute and the Governmental Affairs Institute for sending excellent biographical data on visitors in advance of their arrival, so that meaningful programs could be planned around their interests. She also appreciated having visitors in the Community long enough—4 or 5 days—to permit a better understanding of Portland. Mrs. Grondahl added that when the flow of short-term visitors decreases, volunteer interest is kept alive through providing programs for students from nearby educational institutions.

Sioux City—Elmer S. Swenson, Chairman of the Mayor's Committee for International Visitors. Sioux City's 290 visitors during the first nine months of this year considerably outnumbered last year's total of 178. The summer load was particularly heavy. Twenty-three Sioux City people accepted an invitation and at their own expense visited Lima, Peru. While there they adopted the Peruvian seaport, Callao, as a Sister City. The Mayor of Callao was a guest of Sioux City early in October.

'EXPERIMENTAL' INSTITUTE HELD

DALLAS, TEX.—Recognizing that success in serving international visitors requires more than good intentions and a ready smile, the Dallas-COSERV Institute, a major educational effort, was conducted October 15-17 on the campus of Southern Methodist University. Participants were community leaders in southern states serving visitors from abroad. Its stated purpose was "to enlist and train stronger community leadership to carry on services for . . . educational and cultural exchangees."

Dallas Committee for Foreign Visitors

Mrs. Catherine Norrell, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State (left), with Mrs. Clyde Emery, Director of the Dallas-COSERV Institute and Chairman of Dallas Committee.

Mrs. Clyde Emery, Vice-Chairman of COSERV's Executive Committee and General Chairman of the Dallas Committee for Foreign Visitors, organized and directed the Institute under the joint sponsorship of COSERV and the University. The first of its kind, it was considered an experiment, and attendance was limited to a selected few. COSERV's Executive Committee was represented by three members: Alan Bartholemy of the Sacramento (Calif.) People-to-People Council; Mrs. Edward Sampson, Jr., Community Hospitality for International Visitors in Boulder (Colo.); and W. Thomas Thach, Committee for International Visitors in Oklahoma City. Assistance was also given by Bill Maclay, Southwest representative of The Experiment in International Living.

Down-to-earth Methods

The format of the Institute put total emphasis on practicality. A general one-hour opening session explained the purposes and procedures of the 3-day sessions. Case studies, centered around the following problem areas were then presented for discussion: (1) preparing reports on the community organizations' work; (2) securing Negro hosts; (3) training local escort guides; (4) identifying and carrying out good programming; (5) creating informational booklets for visitors; (6) raising funds; (7) recruiting members; (8) evaluating visitor-host experiences with a view to improvement; (9) feeding back information to sending agencies.

Tape recordings of interviews between visitors and prominent citizens were used as source material. Exhibits of typical programs, prepared by communities across the nation, were studied and discussed.

Typifying local hospitality, Dallas host families invited groups of participants to their homes for dinner, during which time discussion leaders steered the conversations toward the very problems the participants had come to Dallas to review.

Maintaining the exciting pace, dinner was followed by participation in the annual meeting of the Dallas Committee for Foreign Visitors held in the Grand Ballroom of SMU's Student Center. The featured speaker, Mrs. Catherine Norrell, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, declared, "You are part of a great current of our time. You are, in your communities, serving your country's commitment to one of mankind's most promising pathways to peace."

African Visitor Needs Studied

The following day, Professor W. Richey Hogg, Professor at SMU's School of Theology, gave the group a "Background for Programming the African Visitor," based on his research and travels in Africa. Dr. Hogg traced past history that has led up to current tensions on the African scene. He reflected on the difference in views of the white man that are held by other-than-white peoples. Around the world, he explained, the white man's feeling of superiority is significantly known as "the white man's disease." He reminded his listeners that our time is experiencing new realities to which we must be sensitive, and with which we must work creatively and constructively.

The program plan for the Institute included consultation hours when participants were able to meet individually with experienced COSERV advisors. Community problems were discussed in both private and group sessions, thus allowing lively debate over possible solutions and constant exchanges of information.

Participants expressed great satisfaction with the Dallas-COSERV experimental Institute. According to one, it gave "new insight about the background of the international visitor, the possibilities for participation and leadership in the community, and. . . innumerable practical operational suggestions for techniques that are helpful in relationships with both visitors and communities."

COSERV Office — Meridian House
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
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COSERV PIONEER RESIGNS

DETROIT, MICH.—Dr. Florence Cassidy, one of the "First Ladies" of COSERV and Director for 27 years of the Nationality Department and Foreign Visitors Program in Detroit's United Community Services, has resigned, as she put it, "to be free to travel."

At reception, Miss Cassidy (center) is joined by Richard Huegli, Executive Director of United Community Services, and Mrs. Mary Ball, her successor.

At a reception in her honor held at Wayne State University, more than 300 leaders of nationality and civic groups paid tribute. A dedicated friend of the foreign-born, Miss Cassidy's career spanned 50 years of humanitarian service. John F. Reichard, Chairman of COSERV's Executive Committee, wrote her:

"If ever an individual richly deserved the hardy American sobriquet of 'pioneer,' Florence Cassidy is that individual. What COSERV has become, indeed what numerous community councils throughout the nation have accomplished, has resulted from the vision, energy and devotion of such pioneering founders as you. . .You have always been there when you were needed and could be helpful, and I suspect that your COSERV friends will find you there in some new ways in the years ahead."

On October 19, Mrs. Mary G. Ball, former Chief Publicist for the City of Detroit, became Director of Community Programs for International Visitors, succeeding Miss Cassidy. The International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit now administers the programs.

RETURN OF A NATIVE

ATLANTA, GA.—Secretary of State Dean Rusk returned to his native Georgia on October 21 as one of its most distinguished former citizens. At the invitation of the American Bar Association he had agreed to address its regional meeting in Atlanta. On learning that the Secretary was to be in town, the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors invited Mr. Rusk, and Mrs. Rusk if she were to be with him, to meet informally with members of the Committee's Executive Board prior to his talk at the Bar Association. The Secretary promptly accepted the invitation of the thriving organization which has served more than 700 visitors from 81 countries since its inception only two years ago.

The visit of Secretary and Mrs. Rusk provided a spark that members feel will draw added community support. The Secretary talked informally on how foreign policy is made, stressing the contributions of those not in official diplomatic positions. It is important, he said, for individual citizens to realize that they can serve our foreign policy objectives wherever they are. Mrs. Rusk's presence was considered particularly significant because of her interest in and constant support of services to international visitors.

Mrs. Joseph Haas (center), Chairman of Atlanta's CIV chats with Secretary of State and Mrs. Dean Rusk during their visit to the southern city.

COSERV

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A YEAR LATER WITH STATE PARKS

THEN....

A year ago the Director of State Parks contended that he inherited a system of 36 parks covering 39,000 acres. Thirty were designated for white, five of these had small areas set aside for Negro use. A sixth location for Negroes was approximately three acres minus toilet facilities, drinking water, a developed play area, and possessing a condemned swimming pool.

Most prominent among the state owned facilities is Jekyll Island operated under the Jekyll Island Authority. However, in a pattern operant in some other parks, Jekyll Island had a small designated area for Negroes.

These holdings are what Mr. Caldwell referred to in a communication as his inheritance on assuming office in early 1963. This was the situation about which we complained to him as Director of State Parks in June 1963. In reply to our complaint Mr. Caldwell wrote "The General Assembly had made it possible to correct part of this during the next two years...."

NOW....

Twelve calendar months later and no longer a neophyte on his job Mr. Caldwell's course is very clear. He has not parlayed his inheritance into a program designed to provide equal benefits for all citizens of Georgia or taken steps toward desegregation.

He has created a new Negro park by sub-dividing a previously all white park. He has successfully negotiated the sale of 2.3 million dollars in bonds, and secured federal implementation funds. For the record, these funds can be used to improve only those facilities for which the state holds clear title.

Sixteen white parks meet this qualification. Six Negro areas are in state leased and federally owned sites, hence are not eligible for improvement in this transaction. The seventh still has a condemned pool.

The fate of Jekyll Island rests with the U. S. District Court. The case has been heard but the decision has not been rendered.

In spelling out the use of these secured funds, Mr. Caldwell has assured that sixteen additional parks "designated" white will

PAGE (s) MISSING

have rental cottages, comfort stations, service centers, recreational concessions etc, found in part at only one park for Negroes. Is this correction? Will it be necessary for Georgia taxpayers to go through the expense of litigation? Will we have public demonstrations before desegregation can take place in Georgia's parks?

HOW WILL WE SPEND OUR SUMMER LEISURE?

Visit the Bus Station:

We often hear, "The signs are down in our bus station but the Negroes still crowd in the old 'dirty side' and leave the formerly white side empty".

See if you can lend a hand. College students home for the summer might help you, NOT to disobey the law, NOT to go to jail but to quietly and peacefully encourage people to use their existing rights. You might find out the busiest times of day at the bus station. Make frequent visits, even daily, to talk with the people waiting, to allay their fears, so that they might sit in a more comfortable waiting room.

Enjoy Reading:

For all children - You and your friends could make a life long contribution to a child in introducing him to the treasures of the library. Busy mothers often do not take advantage of the summer reading programs. You could help. Prizes offered might be an added incentive. What plans does your library have for vacation activities? Is there a story hour? Who is invited?

For all adults - Visit your library and ask for a shelf of books to be placed in a conspicuous place, containing works of Negro writers, particularly Negro history. Use your leisure to read those books you have intended reading for the last several months or years! The librarian will probably be happy to order books you might suggest.

SPREAD THE WORD:

In barber shops and beauty parlors. No spot is more popular for conversation and heated arguments than the barber shop or the beauty parlor. Here people read whatever is at hand. Here is a perfect spot for a provocative article. Here a white person might have the opportunity of getting the new point of view by reading Ebony or Crisis or the local Negro Newspaper. Seek to help some one else understand a different point of view.

August 29, 1958, from the Atlanta Daily World

City Prison Farm Brutality Alleged

Crime + Dist

By EDDIE WILLIAMS

(This is the first in a series of articles on charges of deplorable conditions at the Atlanta Prison Farm.)

Highly placed and reliable sources have joined former Negro women prisoners in charging that irregularities exist in the Atlanta Prison Farm and have strongly urged that the prison farm — described by them as "the country club" — be investigated and "cleaned up."

These charges and suggestions were brought out in an investigation conducted by several Atlanta organizations. Results of the probe reveal that alleged irregularities are not as "wild" as officials have termed them.

MOLESTING ALLEGED

The charges seriously question the efficiency of prison personnel and hurl a blasting indictment against prison operations and activities, including molesting of Negro women inmates.

The city prison farm, located at [illegible] Key Rd., S.E., is under the direct supervision of H. H. Gibson who is its superintendent. Like the city jail, it houses persons who have been convicted in city court of misdemeanor crimes.

There are nearly a thousand inmates — both colored and white, male and female on the farm.

Misdemeanor or minor crimes which can result in imprisonment at the city farm include fighting, drunkenness, loitering, malicious

---

Crime ✓ Dist

An Anti-Crime Commission Would Help

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD AUG 8 1958

Surely no racial or social order would take pride in a citation which sets it apart as furnishing a disproportionate quota in the annals of crime. Where there is an obvious discernment of criminal elements in any given strata, it would naturally suggest that something must be radically wrong at the grass-roots causing this abnormal presentation of unfavorable conduct.

The abnormal disregard for set standards and the open abuse of rights and privileges of others would also suggest that such treatment be given as would correct this activity.

The recent survey, according to an unusual proportion of crime on the part of Negro citizens, is deeply deplored. The [illegible] of such a casualty in community behavior and attempts to explain it away would never be the full answers to the problem.

To honestly accept the challenge with remedial measures in an effort to offset such an alarming figure, would involve a revision of the practices meted out to Negro citizens. There should be ample room in the community for the development of the children. More parks, playgrounds and recreational activities should be provided as a move to help reduce delinquency.

On the other side of the ledger, we believe there is a feeling in the Negro community of the uncertainty of punishment where violations are concerned against other members of our racial group.

To help change this attitude, we suggest repeal of the state law which requires a separate listing of the taxpayers by race. The jury lists are taken from the taxpayers' list, and if taxpayers were indiscriminately listed, through chance, more Negroes would be drawn for jury duty, especially where all Negroes are concerned.

If the Negro is given more employment and participation in law enforcement, he will naturally feel a part of it, and will exhibit a proportionate increase of interest in helping to reduce and eliminate crime.

Crime is a detriment to the total society and every responsible citizen should become aware of the huge costs involved in its treatment, including the indirect taxpayers, because every person pays his share of taxes, whether he owns anything or not. Any consumer, whether it be food, clothing or medical care, pays his portion of the tax burden.

It is everybody's business to assist in curbing crime which affects the whole of the community. No individual is immune from such molestation and inconvenience involved in the commission of crime. It is a case of one for all—and all for one.

An anti-crime commission should be set up with members of both racial groups represented.

Molesting Of Negro W

mischief and other disorderly conduct offenses for which persons cannot pay a fine after conviction. Some offenses, however, carry straight prison sentences.

THE MAXIMUM PENALTY

Maximum city fine which a Municipal Court judge can levy is $50[illegible] or [illegible] days, or both according to a court official. The minimum fine is $1 or one day, or both.

The prison farm has been under observation from the Negro community for some time because of reports of alleged brutality, inhumane treatment, molesting, rape and other acts which do not lend to an air of rehabilitation which should be the primary concern of this and any other prison.

Perhaps the most flagrant charge is that some Negro women inmates have been forced into illicit sex relations and unnatural acts. Several persons allegedly affiliated with the prison have been named in signed statements as perpetrators in such acts.

Former women prisoners and reliable sources have charged that Negro women inmates are ordered to work in the field, the laundry, the kitchen, and clean prison quarters while the white women inmates' work—sewing and canning—is more in line with feminine occupations and with a constructive rehabilitation program.

MONEY WASTED

One source, deploring conditions at the prison, declared that the prison, through the lack of a well-rounded program for inmates, is wasting taxpayers' money.

Reports of alleged beatings and harrassing of Negro women in the prison have found their way to the outside where growing concern has been voiced in connection with the allegations. One former inmate swore she witnessed another woman prisoner being beaten with a broom handle.

A highly placed source described the prison farm as "the country club" because of the atmosphere in which it is run and because of the lack of discipline among both prison personnel and inmates.

DEMANDS MADE

Certain demands have been made by the Negro citizenry familiar

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

A Prompt Investigation Is In Order

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD AUG 31 1958

On the basis of charges from sources which may be considered authentic, we are of the opinion that a prompt inquiry should be made of the conduct at the City Prison Farm. These charges are serious and they are in the possession of a member of the staff of this newspaper. Some of them have been printed in a prior edition of this paper.

They range from inadequate and improper supervision of the colored women prisoners to immoral conduct.

A few years ago similar charges were brought to the attention of this newspaper and its editor took them up with the proper officials. Subsequently a colored woman matron was employed at the prison. Now we understand there is no colored matron at the institution. The charges then are similar to those we are now hearing about.

There is no excuse for the mistreatment of prisoners, and especially women, while in the custody of the law. So, we shall turn over our information, without revealing the source of it except in cases where we have specific permission to reveal the source, to the proper authorities and we hope and shall insist that necessary action be taken to correct any wrong doings that exist at the prison farm.

continuation of article:

with the prison farm. These include the hiring of Negro guards and matrons to supervise Negro inmates. At ~~present~~ present there are no Negro supervisory personnel on the farm, despite Mayor Hartsfield's appointment of a Negro matron several years ago.

The woman did not hold her position long, and when she departed, white guards continued to supervise the women.

Another woman was later appointed as nurse-matron but is no longer affiliated with the prison, it was reported.

Other complaints are that Negro women are at all times in the custody of ~~Negro male~~ white male guards, at least one of whom allegedly handles sick persons in the absence of qualified medical personnel.

APR 7 1964

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia Telephone: 523-1581

YOU ARE ALL WELCOME...Laws and customs change from day to day, sometimes from hour to hour. There are degrees of "segregation" and "desegregation" — "segregated" may mean no Negroes or it may mean Negroes and whites segregated within the same facility. It is customary to make changes in racial policies without public announcement, which is at times necessary and desirable. This does make it difficult, however, for those affected to secure accurate information. Periodically the COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA compiles a list of places which as far as we can determine, are open to all. We welcome additions and corrections. This list is accurate as of April 7, 1964, to the best of our knowledge. We have omitted those places where Negroes may have been served but where the management stated that the policy is not certain.

EATING PLACES

YWCA Cafeteria, Edgewood & Ivy
YMCA Coffee Shop, Luckie St.
Stouffeur's, Downstairs Merchandise Mart
Top O' the Mart (also Stouffeur's)
Rich's Magnolia Room and other eating
places in the store
Davison's Tea Room and other eating places
Grant's
Jacob's Pharmacies (all branches)
Sears-Roebuck & Co. (all lunch counters in all stores)
H. L. Green
Kress (Broad and Peachtree)
McCrory's
Lane's Drug Stores
Franklin Simon's (lunch counters and restaurant)
Walgreen's (all have been given instructions to serve everyone)
Woolworth's
Newberry's
Emory University Food Service Center
Herren's
Yohannon's
Caruso's Italian Restaurant (Piedmont Road)
Johnny Reb's (Forsyth, W. Peachtree and Roosevelt Highway)
Crossroads (but not on Stewart Avenue)
Seven Steers (downtown-691 Peachtree St.)
Miami Buffet (downtown)
Dale's Cellar
S&W
Rex Fine Foods
All 4 Howard Johnson Restaurants
Davis Fine Foods (Luckie, Marietta, Pryor and Forsyth Streets)
Town House (Forsyth Street)
Escoe's Restaurant (2143 Peachtree Rd.)
The Golden Palm (Atlanta Americana)

Eating Places, Cont'd.

Hank and Jerry's (1006 Peachtree)
The Riviera (1630 Peachtree St.)
Dobbs House (all locations)
Shoney's Big Boy (all locations)
The Tiki
Fisherman's Wharf
Golden Goddess (Dinkler Plaza)
Red Velvet (Atlanta Americana)
Room at the Top (Atlanta Americana)
Wit's End
Rendezvous (Atlanta Biltmore)*
Oak Room (Piedmont)*

MOST HOTELS AND MOTELS WILL ARRANGE PRIVATE INTERRACIAL PARTIES

*Will serve Negroes who are registered guests.

HOTELS

Air Host Inn
Atlanta Americana Motor Hotel
Atlantan Hotel
Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta Cabana
Dinkler Plaza
Holiday Inn
Hilton Inn
Howard Johnson's Motor Lodges
Peachtree Manor
Piedmont Hotel
Riviera Hotel
Marriott Motor Hotel

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Atlanta Art Galleries
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Concerts
Actors Equity Production
Theater Under the Stars (at Chastain Park)
Jewish Community Center
Quaker House
Copa Atlanta
Wit's End
Atlanta Choral Guild
Atlanta City Golf Courses
Atlanta Public Library (all branches)
Decatur-DeKalb Library
All City of Atlanta owned and operated facilities
Recreational facilities operated by City of Decatur, excluding pools

DOWNTOWN MOVIES

Fox
Rialto
Roxy
Rhodes
Peachtree Art
Loew's

LEGITIMATE THEATERS

Pocket
Academy (including Shakespeare Festival)

NEIGHBORHOOD MOVIES

Gordon
Emory
Lenox Square
Cherokee
Hilan
Plaza
Atlantic
Techwood

DRIVE-INS

Bolton
Fulton Blvd.
Glenwood
Peachtree
Piedmont
South Expressway
Steward
Thunderbird
Starlight
Scott

STONE MOUNTAIN

All facilities, including Stone Acres Plantation, and Stable of Thoroughbreds (old autos)

HOSPITALS

DeKalb General, South Fulton, Kennestone and Aidmore provide separate wards or wings for Negroes and whites. Grady's emergency clinics, ambulances and operating rooms are integrated; other services are still segregated. St. Joseph's is integrated. Emory University's Hospital accepts Negro patients referred by physicians who are members of the hospital staff.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHURCHES

All Episcopal, Catholic, Unitarian-Universalists, Quaker House. Most others are open to visitors, but policies vary with individual churches.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

All colleges and universities in the Greater Atlanta area.
Certain Atlanta public schools
Catholic Parochial Schools
Trinity Presbyterian School
Smith-Hughes and Carver Vocational Schools
DeKalb Area Trade School
Grady Hospital X-ray And Technical Schools

ORGANIZATIONS

Active Voters
Atlanta Association for Gifted Children
Atlanta Chapter, American Association for the United Nations
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches
League of Women Voters (of Atlanta, of DeKalb County)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Democratic Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Republican Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Alcholics Anonymous
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association

EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

All locations of Georgia State Employment Service. Jobs listed in the Help Wanted ads of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION and the ATLANTA JOURNAL are not listed according to race.

TRANSPORTATION

No segregation on busses or in taxi service.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NEWS from
COLLIER BOOKS

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Contact: Barbara Heckethorn (212)620-4152

A one-hour radio discussion between Howard N. Meyer, New York attorney and editor of ARMY LIFE IN A BLACK REGIMENT (Collier Books, 95¢), and Leon Lewis of WWRL in New York City's ~~Harlem~~ Woodside, has been selected by National Educational Radio, a division of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters for its "Special of the Week" series. The program will be aired within the next few weeks over 103 stations of the National Educational Radio Network in 31 states coast-to-coast.(In N.Y. WRVR-FM-July 1/8.00P.M

Originally broadcast earlier this year in observance of Negro History Week, the discussion covers significant contributions of the Negro to American life and government from the Reconstruction Era to the present time. Mr. Meyer believes that the Negro contribution to American society has been seriously underplayed and greatly distorted.

As a result of the WWRL broadcast, Mr. Meyer was requested to write the cover story for the June 1964 Negro Digest. His article is entitled "Enriched History for the White Man."

ARMY LIFE IN A BLACK REGIMENT, the diary of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the white colonel of the first Negro fighting unit in the Civil War, was long out of print prior to its 1962 publication as a Collier Books paperback with an introduction by Mr. Meyer. The book went into its second printing in fall 1963. Howard Meyer's own rare first edition of Higginson's book, which prompted him to crusade for its re-publication, was presented to President Kennedy in February 1963. It is being held for inclusion in the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library at Harvard.

An upcoming Collier Books paperback which also treats the place of the Negro in American history is THE NEGRO IN THE MAKING OF AMERICA, an original book by Benjamin ~~Quarrels~~ Quarles of Morgan State College. It will be published in September 1964 at 95¢.

* * * *

6/11/64

'Manucy's Raiders' a Whi

Reprinted from late Saturday editions

By CLARENCE JONES
Herald Staff Writer

ST. AUGUSTINE — Hoss Manucy says he has a thousand white men under his command and townspeople call them "Manucy's Raiders."

Manucy lives at the end of a deadend road six miles north of St. Augustine. He has 14 children and a yard full of dogs.

The frame house with its rusting, ripped screens has grown with the family. Most of it is green. One end is red. The yard is littered with automobile parts, empty Clorox bottles and broken toys.

A black dog rages at strangers at the end of a chain. Four hounds [illegible] in the [illegible] around the house. A pig [illegible] snorts under the [illegible].

In the back yard, half a dozen of the younger children frolic in a concrete block swimming pool Manucy built. The water is two feet deep and brown. A little girl floats a baby on an innertube. The baby [illegible] and then giggles when the water splashes in her eyes.

* * *

HOLSTEAD RICHARD MANUCY is 45. He is 220 pounds of muscle except where his belly is beginning to bulge. His trademark is a cowboy hat. He comes out of the house with a battered black hat that looks like it was used for the last two years of Rawhide shows.

He brings a loaded pistol and puts in on the car seat.

The hat covers his baldness, and the bushy black hair bunches around his neck and ears. He has the soft, slow, drawl of a lifetime in St. Augustine. It takes a while for him to open up with strangers. When he does, he can talk your ears off.

Manucy has always headed the two-year-old Ancient City Hunting Club. He claims 1,476 members. "We're better organized than the niggers are, and the niggers know it," Manucy said. "That's the only way we can win. Us white people have got to stick together."

About two dozen of Manucy's men have two-way radios in their cars. You can spot them by the tall, whipping antennas. They patrol the streets almost constantly these days.

—Herald Staff Photo by BILL KUENZEL

Sheriff's Dog Serves as Guard for Martin Luther King

. . . integration leader was returned to jail following grand jury testimony

"We've got a better communications system among ourselves than the police, I guess," Manucy chuckled.

The attacks on racial demonstrators and cameramen here have been the work of kids, Manucy says, not his men.

* * *

MANUCY'S NAME was on a list of special deputies that St. Johns County Sheriff L. O. Davis submitted to federal Judge Bryan Simpson last week.

Simpson noted that Manucy was a convicted felon and asked if the Ancient City Hunting Club as not another name for the KuKlux Klan.

"Should they have put my name in the paper like that?" Manucy asked. "Sure, I've got a record. Everybody around here knows that. It's a whisky record. I never stole nothing or anything like that.

"I haven't messed with no whisky since I was in court in '56. Now I'm not working because of what was in the paper. I got laid off.

"Actually, I never was a special deputy. I had a permit to tote a gun. I give up the permit. Actually, I was requested to give it up. I got a letter to that effect.

"We don't carry no guns ourselves. Out on the street, I mean. Sure, we have them in our cars. I think every white citizen has got a gun in his car. I had the permit to carry my pistol when I was on fire patrol or running cattle in the woods. I didn't have any arresting authority at all.

"They tried to connect us with the Klan in these newspaper stories. Actually, we're not tied to the Klan in any way. We're completely separate. We did parade in that

te Force in St. Augustine

White Citizens parade in Duval County, and the Klan led it.

"Now I'm definitely not knocking the Klan. It's a wonderful organization. A lot of people have the wrong idea about the Klan. Besides, who ever heard of a Catholic being a Klansman anyhow."

* * *

MANUCY MAY have saved the life of a police officer here Thursday night. He wrestled a gun from a white man who became hysterical when officers used tear gas to stop a group of white teenag[illegible] on marching into the [illegible] section.

"[illegible] just happened to be [illegible] when the kids started [illegible] trooper told them not to take another step. This guy I know gets mad. Real mad. I got ahold of him. He was so mad he told our boys not to lay a hand on him.

"We were pulling him back to the car when the police come around in a circle and throwed that gas grenade. I don't know where the gun came from, but I look around and he's got it in hand.

"[illegible] policeman that was standing [illegible] shot, he'd [illegible]. That's a fact. [illegible] wouldn't have been no way to control the crowd at all [illegible] shot had been fired.

"I [illegible] down and got the gun away and we hustled him into the car and got him out of here."

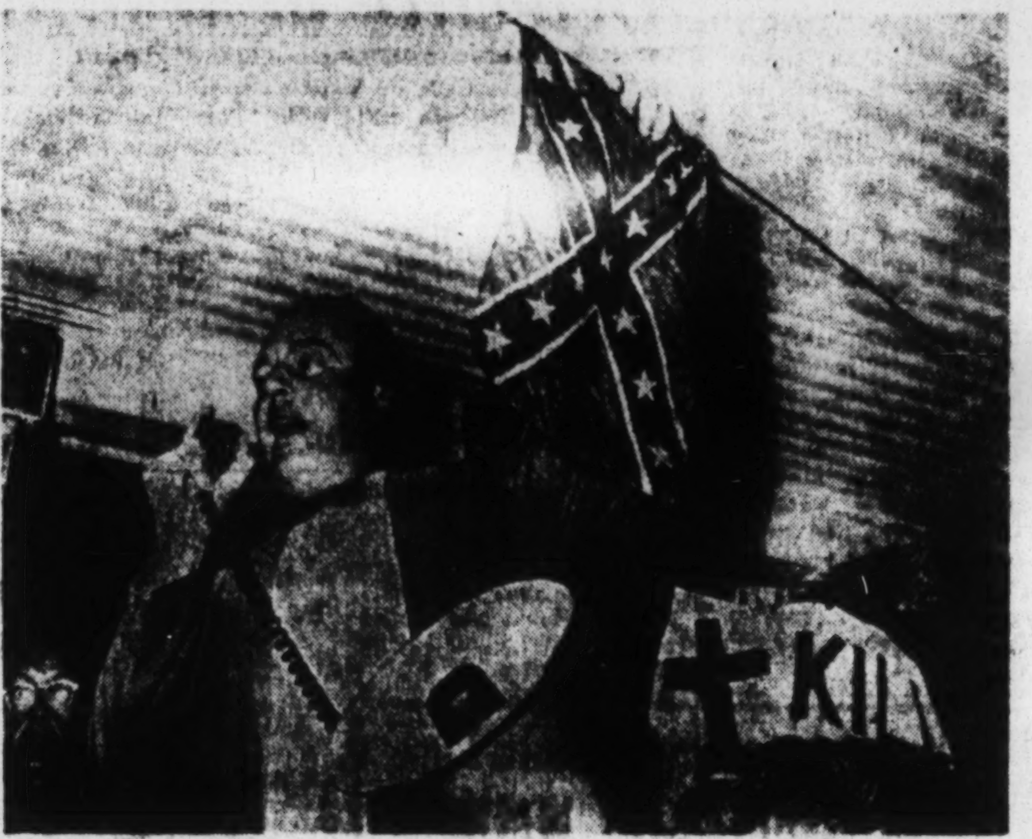
* * *

EVERY [illegible] officer in this section knows Manucy. Sheriff Davis was Manucy's coach when Manucy played [illegible] for St. Joseph's Academy. "He was one of the [illegible] ever lived. The best."

"I tell you, we know what's going on around here," Manucy [illegible] of his members. "We've been asked for help before by the police and the sheriff's office.

"But we refused to be special deputies this time. We're not going to fight white people. I can't understand why white citizens would want to protect niggers against white people. They're really just protecting niggers."

The Ancient City Hunting Club provides bail for whites arrested during racial demonstrations, Manucy said. "The kids that get caught, we bond them out. Some of the parents try to pay us back, but we won't take it. We don't want to be beholden to anybody."



—Associated Press Wirephoto

Segregationist From Atlanta Waves Flag

. . . J. B. Stoner urges on whites at slave market

Manucy's son was driving the car in which a white man was shot and killed here last fall. "The bullet came right by his head and hit this boy in the head beside him."

* * *

MANUCY says his club could organize a march of section. "We don't know whether it would do any good. Not in violence, now. In protest. We'd show them the white's strength.

(Hours later, Manucy participated in the white march through St. Augustine's Negro area. It was not known, however, if he actually organized it.)

"The niggers made a speech the the white people was scared of niggers. That's not so. There's no white man scared of a nigger. That's a proven fact in St. Johns County.

"The niggers said they wouldn't fight and they wouldn't run. Well, they did both. They did run and they did stand up and fight. So we won that round. They went against what they said they'd do and it was just kids made 'em do it," he laughed.

* * *

MANUCY SAYS his club will accept any upstanding white citizen after his background is investigated. The club is a corporation with a clubhouse and hunting preserve. Lately, meetings have been called two or three times a week.

"We don't go in for this here rock throwing. We don't have to do that. We can win by sticking together. None of our boys will go in Woolworth's or McCrory's since they integrated.

"Actually, if it gets much worse, there's only one way to stop it. We'll ask white people to fire every nigger in the county. That's really the way to do it. They'll find out niggers can't survive without whites in St. Johns County. We have some rights, too. Not many, but some."

His members come from a 30-mile radius and from every walk of life, he said. "No, we don't have any women. Not even an auxiliary. The women folks have been mighty understanding about this thing. We have to spend a lot of time and money patrolling.

"After all, that's what we're doing it for — to protect the women and the children."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

A MATTER OF MONEY

New South will increase the magazine subscription price from $2 to $2.50 a year September 1. Old readers may renew their subscriptions and new subscribers may take New South at the present rate of $2 for one year, until September 1. The $2 rate will not apply to renewals or new subscriptions of more than one year.

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The $2.50 price buys 11 issues of New South, including the big, combined July-August magazine, and one or two special issues on important events or new issues in civil rights.

The Southern Regional Council invites annual subscriptions to all our publications, except New South, at $5 a year, beginning July 1.

SRC heretofore has distributed reports, studies and persuasions from our research department to mailing lists of persons, press and organizations, according to interest, and to individuals and groups on request. Many persons and agencies ask to be "put on your mailing list to get all your materials." Since there is no one mailing list, such distribution of all publications to one person or group, regardless of interest, could be wasteful and expensive. To meet the requests of people and organizations who are interested in every field on which SRC reports, we announce the $5-a-year subscription to all our literature.

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Annual Subscribers will receive 12 to 15 publications during the year.

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Money

Last year SRC published these reports and studies:

Pamphlets - Token Segregation and Beyond; The Desegregation of Public Schools; a Psychiatric Study; The Economic Status of Negroes; In the Nation and in the South.

Special Report -- Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey.

Special Issues of New South ---March on Washington, September 1963; Direct Action in the South, October-November 1963.

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Miscellaneous --- The City and Minority Group (with Potomac Institute and International City Managers Association); The Civil Rights Crisis; A Synopsis of Recent Development, in four parts.

Leadership Reports --- L -- Reports 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, reprints of speeches, articles and studies on ideas, events and community planning affecting business.

: colon

A Matter of Money

New South magazine

~~We will~~ increase the subscription price from $2 to $2.50 a year September 1.

~~Old subscribers may renew New subscribers. Old readers may renew their subscriptions at the present $2 rate for one year until September 1, and new subscribers~~

Old readers may renew their subscriptions, and new subscribers may take New South, at the present rate of $2 for one year, until September 1. ~~Subscriptions of more than one year [illegible]~~ The $2 rate will not apply to renewals or new subscriptions of more than one year.

The $2.50 price buys 11 ~~[illegible]~~ issues of New South, including the big, combined July-August magazine, and one or two special issues on important ~~[illegible]~~ new events or ~~[illegible] in the [illegible]~~ issues in civil rights.

Space

~~The Southern Regional Council July 1 will invite subscribers to all our publications~~

The Southern Regional Council invites annual subscriptions to all our publications, except New South, at $5 a year, beginning July 1.

~~Reports, studies and persuasions from our research [illegible] distributed to mailing lists of persons, press~~

SRC heretofore has distributed reports, studies and persuasions from our research department to mailing lists of persons, press and organizations, according to interest, and to individuals and groups on request. Many persons and agencies ask to be "put on your mailing list to get all your materials," a~~[illegible]~~ and since ~~[illegible]~~ there is no one mailing list, such distribution of all ~~our~~ publications to one person or group, regardless of interest, could be wasteful and expensive. To meet the requests of people and organizations who are interested in every field on which SRC reports, the we announce the $5-a-year subscription to all ~~[illegible]~~ our literature.

~~[illegible]~~ Annual Subscribers will receive 12 to 15 publications during the year.

Last year SRC published these reports and studies:

Pamphlets--Token Segregation and Beyond; The Deseregation of Public Schools: A Psychiatric Study; The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South.

Special Report---Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey

Special Issues of New South---March on Washington, Sepemper 1963; Direct Action in the South, October-November 1963

Miscellaneous---The City and Minority Groups (with Potomac Institute and International City Managers Association); The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments, in four parts.

L~~Reports--Excerpts from Speeches of Governor Bert Combs of Kentucky and Secre~~

~~E Reports--~~

Leadership Reports---L-Reports 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, reprints of speeches, articles and studies on ideas, events and community planning affecting business.

MEMORANDUM

THE GEORGIA CITIZENS COMMITTEE
OF
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

The attached table was prepared in the Southern Office of NCCD, to show some comparative information about states from information available from several sources.

It illustrates that Georgia has the highest percentage of inmate population in its state penitentiary of all states in the U.S. Apparently, Georgia has more than twice the rate per 100,000 of general population in its prisons, as does South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Illinois, and Iowa. It has three times as many as Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Connecticut, and five times as many as Delaware.

The increased rate from 142 to 184.8 from 1950 to 1959 is also the greatest rate of increase in the United States. Whereas, from 1950 to 1960, the general population increased 14% in Georgia, Georgia's prison population increased 52% from 1950 to 1959.

You'll find that in some states the prison population has actually decreased and in many, the increased prison population has not exceeded the percentage of increased general population.

This means that Georgia is undoubtedly spending a disproportionate amount of tax dollars on support of inmate population. It has been demonstrated elsewhere that a greater percentage of offenders may be placed on probation for about 1/10 the cost of prison care and with no increased danger to the community.

Certainly, this is one of the important areas where the Georgia Citizens Committee, through enabling and influencing a greater use of probation services, can effect a material saving in cost and with greater opportunity for rehabilitation of the offender, as well as protection for the public.

This is just one example of many problems with which the Georgia Citizens Committee will be concerned.

FW:mb

PREPARED BY SOUTHERN OFFICE OF
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY
530 LITTLEFIELD BUILDING
AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

1961

STATE	PRISON INMATES END OF 1950 (6)	PRISON INMATES END OF 1959 (6)	% of Change	POPULATION 1950 (5)	POPULATION 1960 (5)	% of Change	PRISON INMATE RATE PER 100,000 EST. CIVILIAN POP. (6)		CRIME RATE PER 100,000 EST. CIVILIAN POP. - ALL AGES		(6) % OF PERSONS RELEASED THAT WERE PAROLED		% OF PERSONS RELEASED CONDITIONALLY (6)		PER CAPITA INCOME (5)		AMT. INCOME IN MILLIONS	
							1950	1959	1957	1959 (7)	1950	1959	1950	1959	1950	1958 (1)	1950	1958 (1)
New York	15,587	16,821	+ 7.	14,830,192	16,782,304	+13.	103.1	102.3	874.2	962.6	74.3	75.5			1,883	2,585	28,054	41,954
California	11,464	19,299	+68.	10,586,223	15,717,204	+48.	106.2	134.8	1675.3	1635.8	75.9	81.9			1,848	2,559	19,627	36,692
Pennsylvania	6,856	7,924	+16.	10,498,012	11,319,366	+ 7.	70.6	70.1	606.0	655.8	73.9	85.5			1,566	2,127	16,477	23,617
Illinois	7,420	8,660	+17.	8,712,176	10,081,158	+15.	90.4	85.3	703.8	951.2	43.1	49.5			1,827	2,435	15,984	24,076
Ohio	9,132	11,448	+25.	7,946,627	9,706,397	+22.	114.7	118.3	644.7	656.9	92.4	93.7	.04		1,614	2,104	12,891	20,409
Texas	6,604	11,123	+68.	7,711,194	9,579,677	+24.	84.3	119.0	955.2	1026.9	32.1	38.1			1,340	1,814	10,375	17,007
Michigan	9,132	9,622	+ 5.	6,371,766	7,823,194	+22.	134.1	121.1	959.3	1077.2	83.7	83.1			1,684	2,099	10,803	16,507
New Jersey	4,005	4,101	+ 2.	4,835,329	6,066,782	+25.	82.8	69.7	765.5	778.4	77.4	83.0			1,792	2,521	8,699	14,494
Massachusetts	2,315	1,913	-17.	4,690,514	5,148,578	+ 9.	50.7	39.0	723.4	708.1	61.3	68.3	6.		1,662	2,394	7,799	11,641
Florida	3,860	6,802	+75.	2,771,305	4,951,560	+78.	142.7	145.5	1306.0	1386.0	31.7	43.1	.3	.1	1,288	1,876	3,632	8,334
Indiana	4,603	5,268	+14.	3,934,224	4,662,498	+18.	119.6	113.8	759.2	775.9	82.1	74.8	2.		1,521	1,990	6,006	9,118
North Carolina	4,439	5,949	+34.	4,061,929	4,556,155	+12.	107.8	133.6	606.1	652.9	25.5	30.5			1,009	1,384	4,108	6,297
Missouri	3,252	3,614	+11.	3,954,653	4,319,813	+ 9.	85.2	85.8	908.2	1018.8	23.3	29.4			1,443	2,037	5,704	8,702
Virginia	4,540	5,909	+30.	3,318,680	3,966,949	+19.	137.6	153.0	820.3	768.3	41.0	37.4	.8	.9	1,222	1,674	4,024	6,586
Wisconsin	1,880	2,640	+40.	3,434,578	3,951,777	+12.	58.6	65.9	421.8	428.5	62.3	71.9	.1	18.	1,467	1,936	5,060	7,624
Georgia	4,542	6,963	+52.	3,444,578	3,943,116	+14.	142.0	184.8	786.1	807.8	43.6(2)	29.6(3)	31.	48.	1,016	1,487	3,510	5,678
Tennessee	2,683	2,914	+ 8.	3,291,718	3,567,089	+ 8,	84.2	83.7	745.0	821.5	35.9	39.5			995	1,439	3,288	4,992
Minnesota	1,834	2,137	+14.	2,982,483	3,413,864	+14.	63.2	63.0	514.0	593.3	69.4	70.5		.9	1,397	1,916	4,184	6,468
Alabama	4,416	5,449	+23.	3,061,743	3,266,740	+ 6.	146.4	172.0	580.9	730.5	31.6	27.1			867	1,359	2,659	4,364
Louisiana	2,583	3,561	+37.	2,683,516	3,257,022	+21.	98.8	113.3	715.9	702.0	48.3	60.9		.2	1,089	1,576	2,937	4,901
Maryland	3,952	5,010	+26.	2,343,001	3,100,689	+32.	167.5	168.6	854.3	893.8	16.3	26.8	.02		1,588	2,221	3,755	6,566
Kentucky	2,995	3,430	+14.	2,944,806	3,038,156	+ 3.	112.0	111.4	671.8	751.9	33.0	39.6	1.3	48.	958	1,397	2,834	4,303
Washington	2,151	2,876	+43.	2,378,963	2,853,214	+19.	98.5	104.0	981.6	958.0	98.8	98.7	.9	.1	1,671	2,160	3,986	5,982
Iowa	2,081	2,212	+ 6.	2,621,073	2,757,537	+ 5.	79.0	78.8	421.2	467.1	38.2	44.0			1,447	1,863	3,799	5,258
Connecticut	1,081	1,500	+38.	2,007,280	2,535,234	+26.	50.8	62.4	619.3	630.9	79.3	84.4	1.1	.3	1,908	2,817	3,860	6,524
South Carolina	1,583	2,131	+34.	2,117,027	2,382,594	+12.	72.7	90.2	651.6	772.0	5.5(4)	12.3	13.		881	1,218	1,869	2,929
Oklahoma	2,430	2,706	+11.	2,233,351	2,328,284	+ 4.	108.1	120.7	921.2	863.2	13.2	14.2			1,133	1,740	2,514	3,975
Kansas	1,895	2,248	+21.	1,905,299	2,178,611	+43.	103.5	106.8	617.0	630.0	83.5	83.5		1.	1,374	2,001	2,643	4,234
Mississippi	2,168	2,057	- 5.	2,178,914	2,178,141	-.03	100.0	95.1	341.8	420.4	28.9	25.4	3.	6.	729	1,053	1,590	2,302
West Virginia	2,974	2,492	-16.	2,005,552	1,860,421	- 7.	144.3	126.9	359.9	456.8	56.3	73.0	.1	.1	1,094	1,509	2,203	2,972
Arkansas	1,471	1,911	+29.	1,909,511	1,768,687	- 6.	80.2	110.3	519.2	558.9	73.2	57.8	.2		805	1,228	1,539	2,168
Oregon	1,542	1,552	+.6	1,521,341	1,768,687	+16.	100.5	88.2	747.2	819.4	47.0	41.8			1,602	2,006	2,451	3,556
Colorado	1,446	2,012	+39.	1,325,089	1,753,947	+32.	113.7	121.6	1076.8	1184.2	92.2	95.5			1,446	2,047	1,930	3,503
Nebraska	1,131	1,237	+10.	1,325,510	1,411,330	+	86.4	85.8	390.8	448.3	17.6	24.0			1,468	1,894	1,949	2,759
Arizona	900	1,493	+72.	749,587	1,302,161	+72.	117.5	123.2	1346.8	1500.2	70.1	47.1			1,297	1,932	979	2,203
Maine	698	696	-.3	913,774	969,265	+ 5.	81.1	74.7	418.5	478.6	78.4	84.4	3.		1,188	1,704	1,087	1,622
New Mexico	665	1,136	+70.	681,187	951,023	+39.	104.9	133.0	1127.3	1170.2	70.1	66.0			1,163	1,838	798	1,548
Utah	469	533	+13.	688,862	890,627	+29.	81.6	60.8	800.5	827.1	65.9	51.6	.5	18.	1,283	1,753	892	1,516
Rhode Island	248	274	+11.	791,896	859,488	+ 8.	36.6	32.3	882.7	1058.2	42.9	56.0	.6		1,644	1,966	1,207	1,720
South Dakota	411	561	+36.	652,740	680,514	+ 4.	69.3	82.5	449.6	597.7	14.4.	44.3	39.	20.	1,213	1,894	793	1,147
Montana	575	588	+ 1.	591,024	674,767	+15.	100.8	86.3	664.8	863.7	50.4	78.8			1,606	1,920	957	1,321
Idaho	469	509	+ 7.	588,637	667,191	+13.	87.3	77.2	570.9	657.6	57.7	24.7			1,279	1,701	757	1,126
Hawaii				499,794	632,772	+22				1201.0					1,731	1,852	689	1,154
North Dakota	224	870	+20.	619,636	632,446	+ 2.	38.0	42.3	321.7	336.9	24.6	38.3			1,260	1,697	781	1,103
New Hampshire	207	147	-29.	533,242	606,921	+13.	44.3	25.3	349.4	470.5	95.5	93.0	.9	3.	1,314	1,885	699	1,101
Delaware	161	232	+44.	318,085	446,292	+39.	49.2	52.0	657.6	869.2	16.3	17.0			2,153	2,760	689	1,253
Vermont	260	315	+21.	377,747	389,881	+ 3.	68.7	84.9	375.4	366.6	29.1	13.1	43.	38.	1,185	1,745	448	649
Wyoming	368	387	+.5	290,529	330,066	+13.	144.4	121.7	950.5	762.1	24.3	24.7			1,629	2,088	474	668
Nevada	285	399	+40	160,083	285,278	+72.	151.9	146.7	1703.8	1915.8	86.0	16.3	11.		1,938	2,569	314	686
Alaska				128,643	226,167	+75.												
AVERAGE							97.6	106.1	835.2	896.0	55.1	58.7			1,491	2,057		

(1) Last Available Year
(2) 31% Conditional Releases
(3) 48% Conditional Releases
(4) 13% Conditional Releases
(5) Statistical Abstract of U. S. 1960 - U. S. Chamber of Commerce
(6) National Prisoner Statistics 1950 & 1959 - Federal Bureau of Prisons
(7) FBI Uniform Crime Reports 1959

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Clarence D. Coleman, Southern Field Director
National Urban League

Wyatt tee Walker, Executive Director
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Margaret Long, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council

Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Secretary
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Zenas Sears, Manager
Radio Station WAOK

Eliza Paschal, Executive Director
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

James Forman, Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Frances Pauley, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations

Rufus Lewis, Chariman Voter Registration Committee
Montgomery Improvement Association (Alabama)

Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

James A. Moss, Director of Research
Southern Regional Co uncil

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Washington, D. C.

March 6, 1958

100-2-11
A-5-1

Mrs. A. C. Henry
Route No. 3 Box 387
Austell. Georgia

Dear Mrs. Henry:

The White House Office has referred your letter of February 25, 1958, to the Department for acknowledgement. You request assistance for your son who is detained in prison.

The authority of the President to extend clemency to offenders is limited to those cases in which some federal statute has been involved. It does not appear , therefore that either the President or the Department of Justice can assist you. However, if you have not already done so, it is suggested that you appeal to the Board of Pardons and Paroles, Atlanta, Georgia, for assistance in your son's case.

Sincerely yours,
S. A. ANDRETTA
Administrative
Assistant Attorney General

I have the copy of this from Pres. Isenhower. You can tell by the date how I tried to help get my son released to get his leg fixed so he could lead a normal life, but no one cared to help.

OPEN LETTER TO GOV. VANDIVER

Prisons Release Hardened Men

By **JOHN PENNINGTON**

An open letter to Governor Vandiver—

Dear Governor:

One day last week you had a few words to say about the prisons in Georgia. The gist of it was that you consider the penal situation in pretty good shape, you endorse its present modus operandi, and you find it difficult working up sympathy for the incorrigibles.

Is there any sympathy for the society upon which these incorrigibles are to be released after the blacksmith process of hammering them into more hardened criminals is completed?

They will be released, you know. Statistics show that 95 per cent of all convicts eventually are discharged.

* * *

LEAVING THE subject of personal emotions for the moment, take a brief look at the views of the eminent psychiatrist, Dr. Karl Menninger, who said:

"Today it is no secret that our official, prison-threat theory of crime control is an utter failure. Criminologists have known this for years. When pocket-picking was punishable by hanging, in England, the crowds that gathered about the gallows to enjoy the spectacle of an execution were particularly likely to have their pockets picked by skillful operators who, to say the least, were not deterred by the exhibition of justice."

On the subject of who falls victim to "our antiquated penal system," Dr. Menninger said (in an article in Harper's Magazine):

Dr. Menninger

Dr. Weltner

"It is not the successful criminal. . . . It is the unsuccessful. . . . The clumsy, the desperate, the obscure, the friendless, the defective, the diseased. . . . But they are not the professional criminals, many of whom occupy high places. In some instances the crime is the merest accident or incident or impulse, expressed under unbearable stress. More often the offender is a persistently perverse, lonely and resentful individual who joins the only group to which he is eligible — the outcasts and the antisocial."

* * *

DR. MENNINGER seems to write as if he felt sympathy for the outcasts. He went on:

"And what do we do with such offenders? After a solemn public ceremony we pronounce them enemies of the people, and consign them for arbitrary periods to institutional confinement. . . . Here they languish. . . . Then with a planlessness and stupidity only surpassed by that of their original incarceration they are dumped back upon society, regardless of whether any change has taken place in them for the better and with every assurance that changes have taken place in them for the worse."

Which gets back around to the starting point: That these incorrigibles and all other prisoners in the state system, 95 per cent of them, their offenses notwithstanding, will be turned loose in society.

* * *

ANOTHER person of eminence, Dr. Philip Weltner of Atlanta, put it differently: He asked: Are we living up to what we know is our greatest obligation?

And while this enlightened talk goes on, there has been in Georgia serious talk, by top penal people, of favoring the gallows pole, county level, and a whipping post for the incorrigibles, to further punish them. And naked they go, in many prison camps, into bread-and-water solitary. This under camp-wide policy, despite contentions that the convicts are stripped, each man considered individually, to prevent self-destruction.

Do you really lend your support to head-clippings, body-strippings and starvation, Governor? To willful physical and

Turn to Page 5-C

OPEN LETTER

Continued From Page 1-C

mental depreciation of a human body, though it be possessed by a criminal? To county profiteering off state prisoners (last board meeting, it was reported by Mr. Bill Key that Jasper County had made enough off its prison camp to lower the county tax rate)?

You said: "If they give evidence to the fact that they can be rehabilitated—fine."

* * *

IF THOSE nearly 5,000 in the state camps give such evidence, whose responsibility is it to afford the rehabilitation?

You said: "If any guard in the penal system is guilty of brutality, certainly we will not let him remain — if it can be proved."

And the last five words hold the key nto the nature of the system: if it can be proved.

A guard mistreats a convict. The convict complains to the warden. The warden calls an inspector. The convict tells the inspector the guard hit him, without provocation. The guard tells the inspector the prisoner "jumped" him. And nothing has been proved, because the guard is always right.

* * *

SORT OF LIKE the incident over in Gwinnett County, investigation of which ended with the reporter who "instigated" it being made villain, and the matter closed on the basis of a grand jury investigation which was not made.

You said: "I have complete confidence in Mr. Jack Forrester and Mr. J. B. Hatchett. They are able men. They have been in the field of penal institutions for many, many years and know the problems . . ."

Mr. Forrester has been in the field of penal institutions for one gubernatorial administration, going into his present position without prior penal experience, according to reports at that time. Like other penal administrators, he knows the problems. Most others claim also that they do not know the answers.

You said: "We know that the present system is not perfect, but I am certain that those in authority will do everything they can to continue reform."

What reform, Governor?

Gas Dealer and Wife Stabbed by Bandits

NEW ORLEANS, Dec. 12 (AP) — Two Negro bandits stabbed to death a 60-year-old white service station operator and critically injured his wife in a robbery here early Saturday.

Police said the dead man was Wesley Johnstone. His wife was in critical condition at Charity Hoospital with knife wounds in the neck.

Police said the two men entered the service station and stabbed Johnstone in the shoulder and neck. When Johnstone's wife ran to his aid she was stabbed.

Police said the robbers got $14.

12/22/59

Journal

HE DEW"

nit Urged Schools

Many Can't Go to Atlanta To Air View, Smith Says

By CHARLES POU

House Speaker George L. Smith, one of several originators of a proposal for a new commission to study the state's school segregation troubles, Tuesday said he thinks it should be a group which would rove the state sampling sentiment.

"If the Legislature does create such a commission," he said, "it should have a right to go into every section of state and hear everyone who wants to come before it.

"There are many people who can't come to Atlanta who would like the chance to express their views to the Legislature."

Rep. Smith, who has been talking privately about the commission idea for some time, has said he thinks the commission should report its findings back to the Legislature as soon as the investigation is completed.

* * *

THE GENERAL proposition for a study commission apparently has the approval of the Vandiver administration—only the governor said Monday it would be somebody in the Legislature, not him, who will be sponsoring specific legislation creating such a group.

The Georgia League of Women Voters Monday asked the governor to sponsor the creation of a study commission.

Gov. Vandiver made it plain he goes along with the idea but that it won't be originating with him.

Meanwhile, Rep. Frank Twitty and Sen. Carl Sanders endorsed the study commission plan. Rep. Twitty is House floor leader and Sen. Sanders is president pro tem of the Senate.

* * *

FEDERAL COURT Judge Frank Hooper has under study the Atlanta Board of Education desegregation plan, which, at the judge's suggestion, is contingent on enactment of permissive legislation by the General Assembly.

Rep. Twitty said he thought there might be merit in the commission proposal.

Sen. Sanders said the "problem is upon us" and cannot be ignored further.

Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd expressed confidence that the General Assembly would deal with the school question "on a constructive basis, acting in good faith."

* * *

SPEAKER SMITH said it was his idea the commission should have some lawyers on it—some of whom would not be members of the Legislature—who could study and review present segregation laws.

He set no date on when the commission should report back to the Legislature but indicated he he thought this should be in 1960.

There had been some specula-ion the group would not come ith its findings and recommen-tions before 1961.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

THE ATLANTA JOURNAL assigned John Pennington to report on conditions within the Georgia prison system because of cumulative evidence that conditions were bad and growing worse.

Stories of brutal treatment and mutinous behavior continued to leak out of the Rock Quarry prison for incorrigibles, the scene of the sensational prisoner self-mutilations of the past.

At Reidsville—itself the result of a prison reform movement of two decades ago—there also was trouble and clear evidence of overcrowding with its attendant evils.

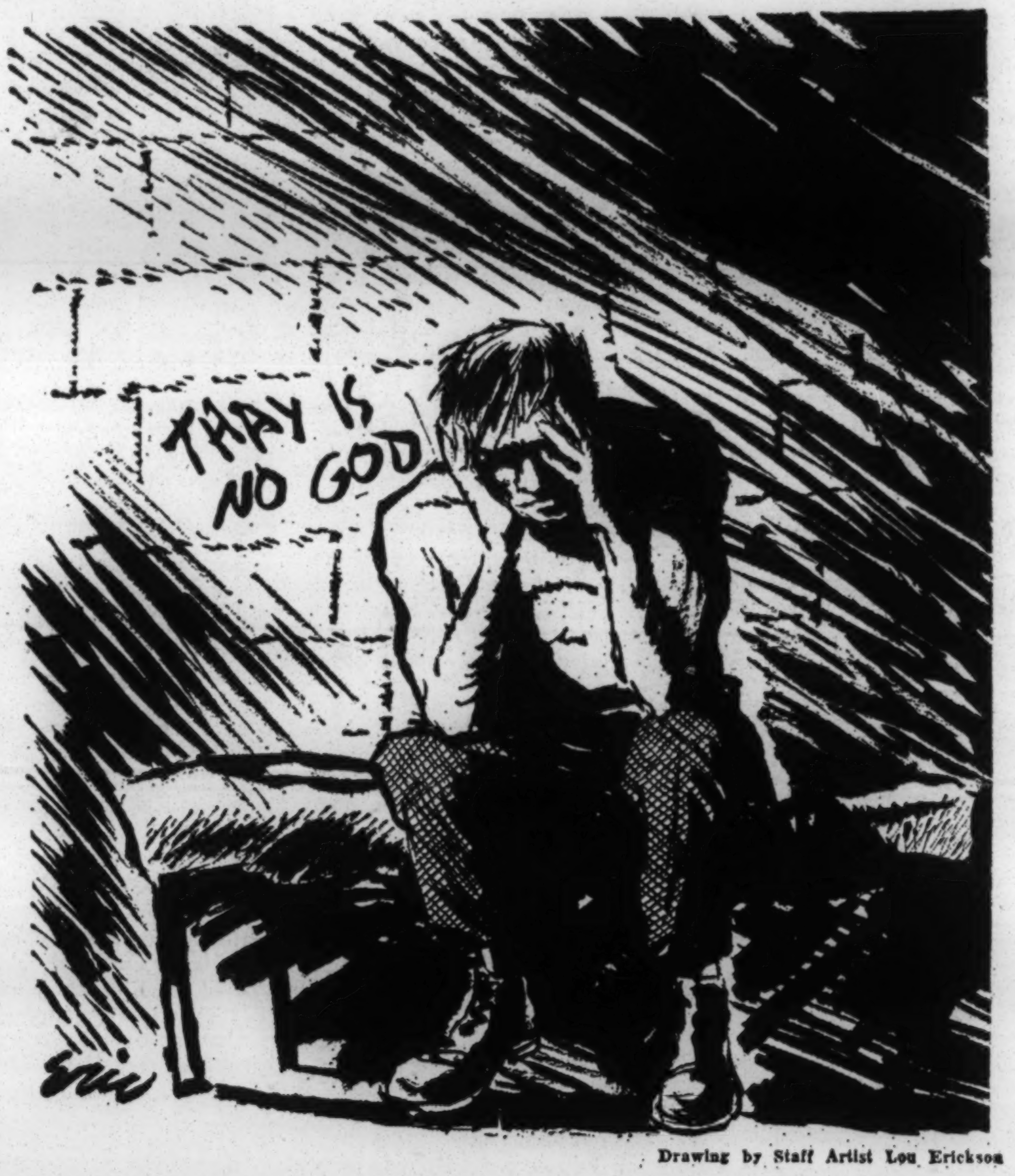
From various camps maintained by the state and the counties there came tales of poor administration and cases of sadistic treatment.

Topping everything was the official complacency and self-satisfaction of those in charge, an attitude which, if encouraged, could only lead to increasingly serious problems.

Mr. Pennington's able documentation of conditions within the system, the good along with the bad, attracted the kind of public attention needed to bring about changes for the better.

At the request of interested organizations and individuals The Journal is happy to reprint Mr. Pennington's series in this form in hopes it will help achieve a new era of better treatment for prisoners and bring about a more constructive view of the methods and purposes of punishment.

JACK SPALDING,
Editor.



Drawing by Staff Artist Lou Erickson

Reprinted from a series in
The Atlanta Journal
November-December, 1959
By JOHN PENNINGTON

BEHIND PRISON BARS—NO. 1

Penal Reform TALK Comes Easy

By JOHN PENNINGTON

The cry for penal reform is old, old, old.

But reform in the prisons is easier talked about than done. And when is it achieved?

Not yet in Georgia, high-sounding reform laws and occasional big talk notwithstanding.

They took the chains from the chain gangs—but left the prison system saturated, even yet, with a chain gang atmosphere.

The state's penal system epitomizes this bitter summary of penology from another state: "A system with the modern goal of rehabilitation, but with an emotional commitment to medieval vengeance."

* * *

THE GEORGIA SYSTEM is one which has found it emotionally and economically practical to practice only a very small portion of the rehabilitation it preaches.

It is a system filled with too many prisoners, run with too little money.

It is a system whose capabilities of constructive production and self-support are being wasted.

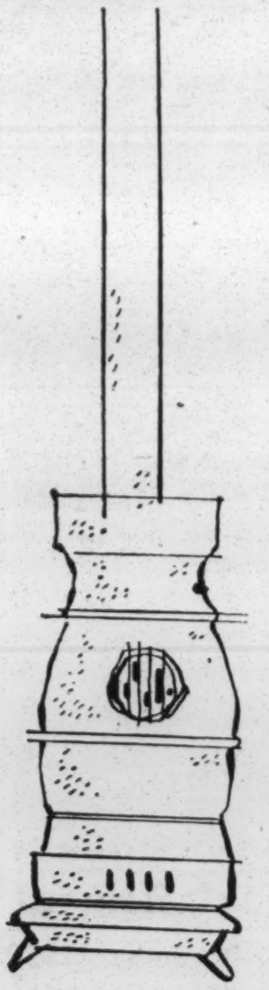
Chain gang atmosphere?

True, they don't wear chains any more. And they don't legally call work gangs chain gangs.

But the atmosphere does prevail. Throughout the state, on a tour of prisons, this reporter heard wardens, guards and convicts, over and over, refer to work gangs as chain gangs. They look upon them as such.

* * *

AND THROUGHOUT the state one finds prison work gangs, where the state has bartered out to counties groups of strong-backed convicts, trading the use of them for their keep. For the shelter and guard and meals they furnish, the counties exact a toll in daily labor, giving nothing, no education, no rehabilitation, no recreation in return, fulfilling for the state the commitment to vengeance.



"Work therapy," one prison official termed it, explaining the therapeutic value of teaching the discipline of application to inmates unaccustomed to daily labor.

True, they don't legally whip convicts any more, and the lawful designation of "whipping bosses" has passed away.

* * *

BUT THERE REMAIN "bosses" aplenty, a hangover from the lawful chain gang days. If you're a convict, the guard over you is "Boss." That's what you call him, and don't forget it. If you're a convict, the warden is "Cap'n." This is true, despite a Georgia State Prison rule that guards be called "Mr.," if you know the name, or "Sir," if not.

This reporter walked down the hallway of one prison camp with a warden. A prisoner nodded and spoke, "Good morning, Boss." With a flush of embarrassment, or something, he realized the error and hastened to make a correction: "I mean, Cap'n."

Though it's illegal for a custodial officer to strike a prisoner, the top three men in the office of the State Department of Corrections spent several hundred words one morning justifying an occasional slapping.

("What would you do," one official asked, "if you were a guard, and a big, black nigger walked up to you and said, 'I wish your wife was here, I'd . . .'?"

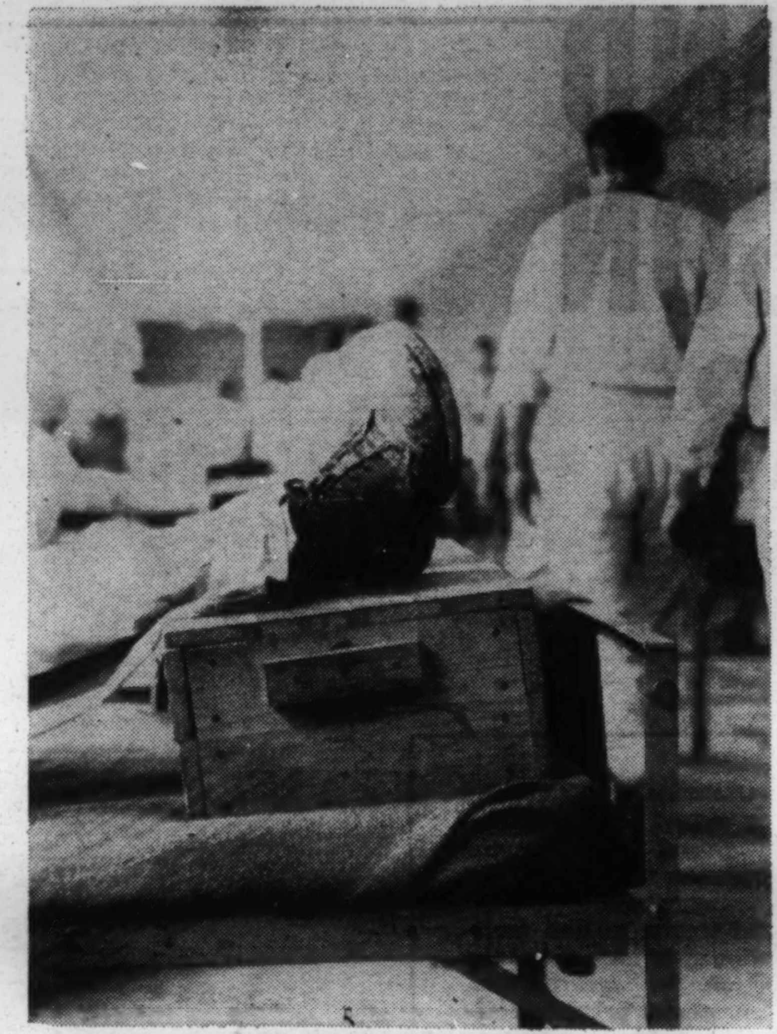
("When a prisoner complains about seeing somebody slapped," said another, "he's not telling you the whole story. A guard calls a prisoner and the prisoner walks up to him, calling him a SOB with every breath. All the prisoner tells you is about the slapping. He didn't hear the cursing."

("You've got a right to slap a man that calls you a SOB," said the third official. "The law gives you the legal right to do that.")

It is true that they don't wear chains any more in Georgia prisons. The law confines punishment to solitary confinement.

But solitary confinement can vary in intensity and severity. It's a relative thing, as we shall later see, and perhaps there are burdens heavier than physical ones.

This and subsequent stories on the subject are a result of a lengthy excursion inside the prisons of Georgia and numerous interviews with penal authorities of the system and elsewhere.



TIME ON HIS HANDS, FOOT ON LOCKER
What to Do Here But Serve Your Sentence?

Remember the cutting of heel tendons by convicts?

The leg breakings at the Buford Rock Quarry?

The rumblings of unrest which occasionally find their way out from behind the bars? The so-called hunger strike at Reidsville, the scrapping and tear-gas shooting recently at the quarry?

* * *

THE OCCASIONAL suicide, or attempt?

The high escape rate, and revelations of custodial laxity?

What kind of story do they tell? What is the implication?

What is Georgia doing with her convicts, her offenders against society, a group which includes a hodge-podge of habitual criminals, accidental lawbreakers who got caught, and fuzzy-faced kids whose delinquencies got them behind bars?

In an attempt to find some of the answers, I went unannounced to prison branches and county camps all over the state, to look into every nook and cranny to be found.

Director Jack Forrester of the State Board of Corrections, saying he had nothing to hide, prepared a letter on request authorizing inspection of any prison camp in the system. He handed over the letter with some misgivings, saying it was "something you can cut my throat with."

* * *

SINCE THAT TIME, more than a month ago, the Department of Corrections has turned loose a barrage of writings painting a healthy picture of what the prison system is and what its intentions are. Wardens at camps throughout the state got letters from Mr. Forrester urging them to seek local recognition of their good accomplishments (such as the building of a gymnasium by prisoners at Alma, a good accomplishment).

The department submitted to Dr. M. W. H. Collins, staff director of the Governor's Commission on Economy and Reorganization, a self-portrait of the penal system, relating accomplishments and objectives.

Just last Friday, Mr. Forrester announced a plan, which he said has been under consideration for some time, to reorganize his administrative set-up to include four specialized

assistants. He also said he is recommending to the Board of Corrections a change in the bread-and-water routine for convicts in solitary confinement—a routine he stoutly defended back in July, when prisoners at Reidsville rowdily sought concessions.

* * *

THE LETTER OF permission from Mr. Forrester permitted inspection and picture-taking of premises. No interviews with prisoners were allowed, because Mr. Forrester and his assistant director, J. B. Hatchett, insisted the truth cannot be had from prisoners.

I went into camp after camp, mostly unannounced, and looked.

There were sights to shock the sensitivities of one unconditioned to such; at the same time there were efforts and attitudes at some camps that were heartening, spirit-lifting.

Subsequent stories will describe what was seen and heard (and in some cases smelled).

Perhaps the stories will not get across what it's like for the prisoner, behind the walls and bars, who is locked away from family and friends, but not his memories.

Prisoners often say, writing in their prison publications, that nobody knows the misery a convict feels, except the convict himself.

One cannot, they say, come and look by day, and taste of their food, and study their collective lot, and walk away free by night, leaving behind the confines of the bars, and then tell what it's like to be a prisoner.

One prisoner wrote, with his heart in it:

"Life in prison is frustration and loneliness and boredom and futility. It is a kind of dry, aching misery that lets a lifer know that the yokel who wrote, 'Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage,' never did a day's time in his life. Walls and bars do things to the soul and the mind as well as the body . . ."

Gazing upon the figure of a man in a darkened Georgia solitary confinement cell, his head hung in humiliation and futility, one remembers those lines and realizes there are two sides to the prison story: The convict has a side, as well as those who confine him.

* * *

SO LATER stories will tell what was seen and heard (and smelled), what the prison system looks like to the outsider, what it is, who is in it, whom it is run by, its problems, successes and failures, prison laws (including some toothless ambiguity) and the ever-present hope, by prisoners and penal folk alike, that there'll be a better day, some day.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

You're Naked and Clipped

By JOHN PENNINGTON

The man sat stark naked, his head shorn to the scalp, reading from a Bible by a tiny shaft of light through the bars.

He was in "the hole," or "the box"—a solitary confinement cell in a Georgia prison, a convict undergoing additional punishment, in this case for escaping.

Behind the next door of bars another convict stood naked, his hair likewise clipped to the skin, his immodesty lighted, like his cell-neighbor's Bible, by a shaft of light.

Both spoke penitently to the warden. One asked about getting out soon. He was, he said, "getting pretty weak."

The answer was no. The two had been in solitary only a week, and the normal dose of isolation for "running" is 30 days.

* * *

THE TWO MEN occupied separate box-rooms, about five by seven feet, a commode and drinking fountain in the corner. The door of bars admitted a strip of light obliquely from windows at the end of a narrow hall jointly shared by the cells. Another door of solid steel locked the isolation quarters off from the rest of the prison.

Each of the isolated men had a blanket, to serve as bed and cover and clothing.

This was their punishment for escaping (they got tracked down quickly by bloodhounds): Thirty days in isolation, with shorn heads and naked bodies, diet restricted to two slices of bread for breakfast, and two more for supper, with an evening meal every fifth day, all the water they wanted to drink, and all the Bible they wanted to read, as long as the shaft of light held out.

(Corrections Director Jack Forrester has, since this visit, recommended to the Board of Corrections a relaxation of the bread-and-water diet for prisoners in solitary confinement, to include unseasoned dry cereals, vegetables, soups and black coffee.)

* * *

TO WHICH MIGHT be later added either and/or a hard work trip to the Buford Rock Quarry, additional prison sentence, loss of "good time," future detail to something known in prison parlance as the "bully squad."

Scene of this confinement was the Pulaski Prison Branch at Hawkinsville, where Warden Charles A. Head runs, from the isolation room forward, one of the most liberal camps in Georgia. (He said the head-shearing is imposed against escapees.)

The Pulaski isolation cells are, physically, among the nicer ones.

Some others seen by this reporter, visiting prisons throughout the state, are dungeons, cast in midnightlike darkness 24 hours a day, with no Bible to read, nor light to read by.

Some wardens expressed distaste at having to use the cells, but most are indifferent. And a reporter's impressions along the way, seeing things at once offensive to the eyes, the ears, the sense of smell, might help explain that attitude.

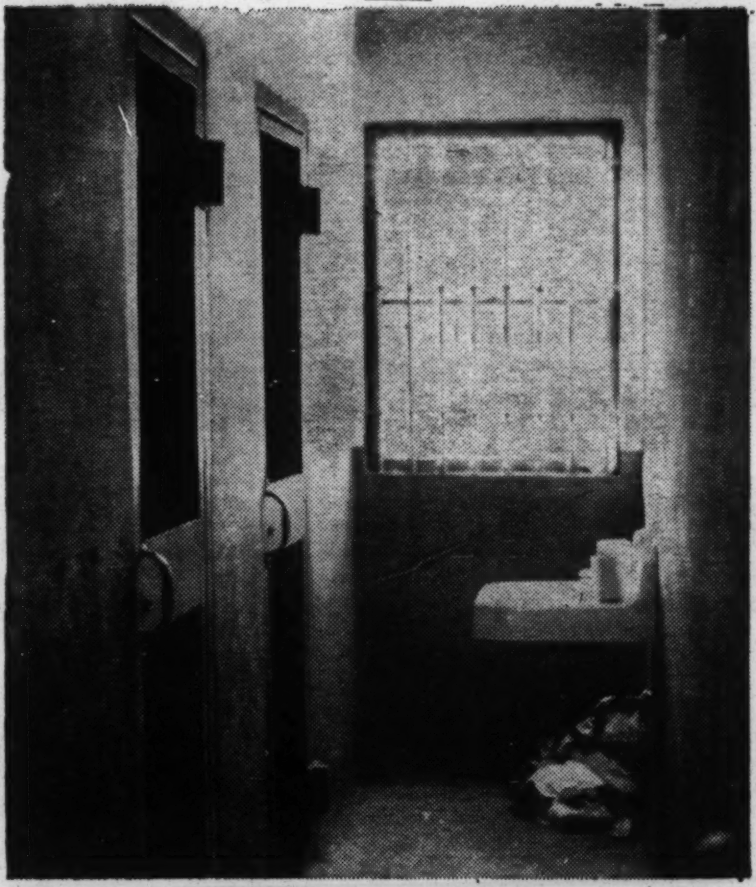
The first camp visited was the Ware Prison Branch at Waycross. Two men were in "the hole"—facilities similar to those at Pulaski. Both walked out of the darkness of their cells into the dim light near the doors when Warden A. W. Clay and the reporter entered the hallway.

* * *

THEY WERE NAKED from head to toe, the whiteness of their bodies standing out sharply against the darkness behind them. Their whiskered faces silently bespoke defeat, humility, futility.

Naked they would stand, or sit, or lie, or pace like a zoo beast, in their five-by-seven cell, for 30 days, suffering a wilful depletion of their physical strength and mental health, with the finality of no recourse living always with them. And of course there's the other side, like the prison people say, that they shouldn't have done what they did in the first place.

Later on, seeing prison after prison, the happier (but still not very happy) side of them, the feeling that came with looking in on a caged man was tempered some. One is conditioned by repetition, and perhaps this explains the indifference of some prison folk towards their methods. They live with it until it's routine.

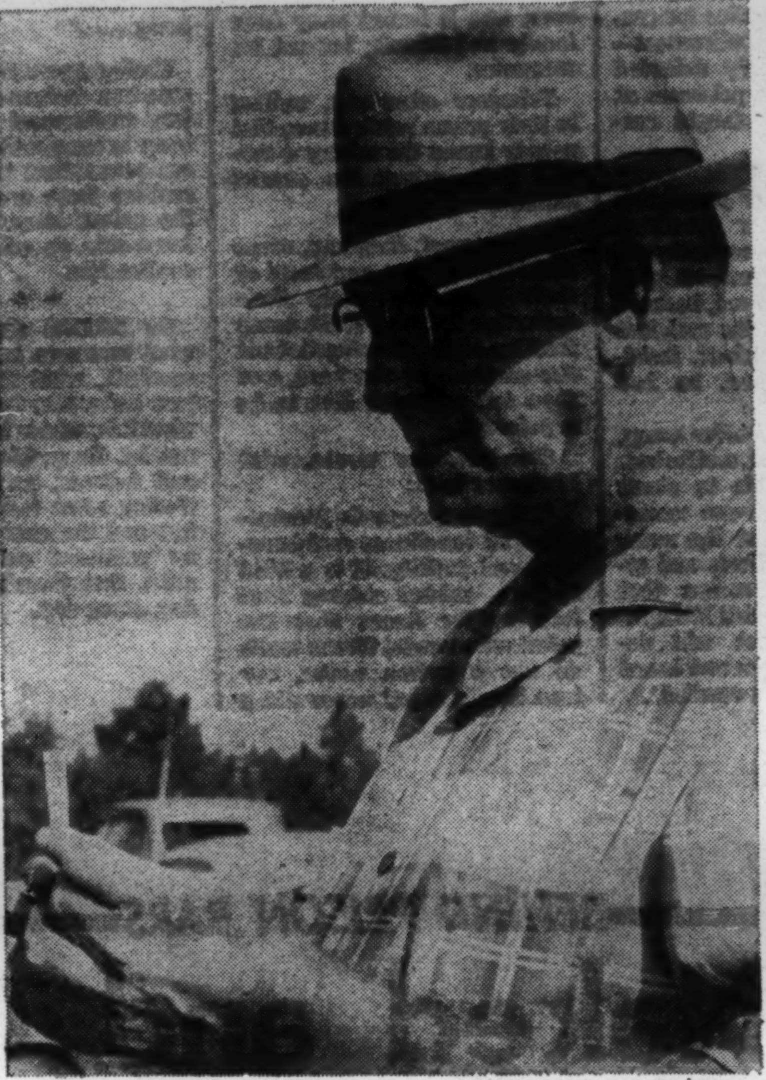


Staff Photo—John Pennington

HALL LEADS TO "SOLITARY" CELLS (L)
Facilities at Ware Prison Branch in Waycross

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Lifer Directs Prison Boss



Staff Photo—John Pennington

WARE PRISON BRANCH WARDEN A. W. CLAY
"I Had to Put Him in Solitary"

By JOHN PENNINGTON

At the front door, the man with the key was wearing civilian-looking T-shirt and blue jeans. He was on the outside of the locked door, presiding over it. He looked like the man in charge.

. No, he said, Mr. R. L. Hall, general manager, was in charge in the warden's absence. He called for him. I waited, letter of introduction from the state penal office in hand, wanting to look around the Ware Prison Branch at Waycross. This was the first stop on a tour of many state prison branches and camps.

Mr. Hall came out, exchanged introductions, and read the letter. All right, he asked, what would you like to see?

* * *

THE DOORKEEPER spoke up, sounding businesslike.

"Boss," he said, "You'd better wait until the captain gets back. He'll be here in a few minutes."

Boss? The doorman was a convict, and he was talking to the general manager, who followed the suggestion. This was surprising, a prisoner directing the actions of the Boss, particularly since Corrections Director Jack Forrester, in granting inspection privileges, had forbidden the reporter to talk to prisoners on grounds that the truth could not be had from them.

* * *

BUT WE WAITED, and while so doing Mr. Hall, in answer to questions, identified the prisoner on the front door as one doing life for murder.

Shortly Warden A. W. Clay came in and showed off the camp, a branch of the state prison which at that moment contained 107 white inmates.

It was late afternoon and the prisoners were coming in from the day's work, washing up for supper, clustering together in two dormitories in their only major diversion, watching TV. The food was being readied in the kitchen, looking plentiful and appetizing, with dessert for supper.

* * *

DOWN THE END of a long hall was a steel door marked "isolation." As the door was being opened with a big key, I remembered what a convict in Atlanta had said, shaking his head: "Waycross got a bad hole."

The door swung open and we walked into a strong odor of unwashed human bodies, perspiration. A narrow hall ran at right angles to the entrance, with a cluster of solitary confinement cells facing the hall and a window on each end. The cells were dark and it took a moment of blinking to see the naked occupants who stepped forward in two of them.

Both men were in "the hole" 30 days — one for escaping, one for a more unusual offense. The latter, a young man from Oregon, had failed, or refused to go to bed on a Saturday night. Guards called the warden.

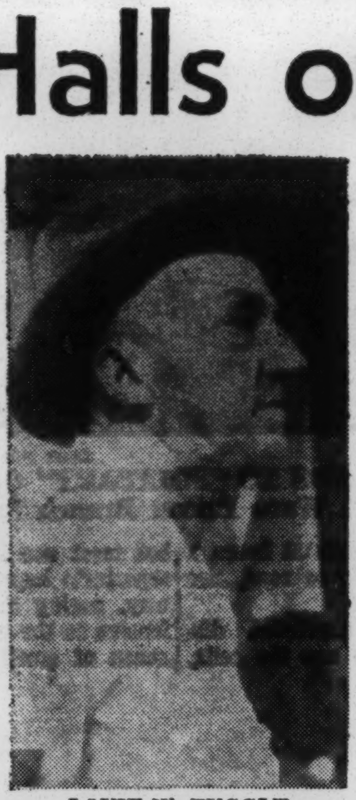
* * *

"HE WAS JUST walking the floor," said Warden Clay. "I asked him, 'what's the matter?' He just looked at me. He didn't say a word. I had to put him in solitary."

And there he was, in a darkened five-by-seven cell, where he could pace away unworried by the working day, or meals, or wearing clothes, and reflect on whatever problem it was that got him in trouble in the first place.

Jammed Cells Overflow Into Halls on Rainy Day

By JOHN PENNINGTON



LOUIE W. TUGGLE
Prison Yardman

It was a dreary day at the Putnam County Prison Branch. Rain fell heavily outside. And time hung heavily inside, where 120 Negro convicts were crowded into quarters built for half as many.

Double-deck bunks were pushed together in twos, forming double beds upper and lower, rows of such. Incarcerated humanity jammed two dormitories and the overflow lined a U-shaped hall with beds.

An Atlanta Journal reporter came to call, and got a candid glimpse of a rainy day in a Georgia prison camp.

Warden Doyal Smith was away. Louie W. Tuggle, yardman, was in charge.

Downstairs they were unloading some buses which never went out to work because of the rain. One held a state road crew, one a group of convicts "rented" to the City of Eatonton. Two guards stood their distance, long shotguns in the crooks of their arms. Mr. Tuggle stood by with the count roster, Guard Howard Graham "frisked" the returning inmates. One by one, in rhythmic fashion, the convicts leapt out of the back door of the bus, shoulders hunched against the rain, counting themselves loudly as they jumped. "One. Two. Three. Four . . ."

* * *

MR. TUGGLE cast a critical eye at one who came under the basement shelter with a little lapse of memory. "All right, boy. Get your cap off."

Properly counted against Mr. Tuggle's tally sheet, the prisoners went into the shower room. One young Negro came back, stripped to his shorts, and addressed Mr. Tuggle: "Boss, can we have some soap?"

"No," said the Boss. "We're not running soap today."

The prisoner shrugged, hands out in entreating gesture. "But," he complained, "I don't have any soap to wash my face with."

"We gave you soap the other day," Mr. Tuggle said, "and you didn't take care of it."

The prisoner started to answer. "But . . ."

Mr. Tuggle turned on him and ordered sharply: "Don't say a damn word to me."

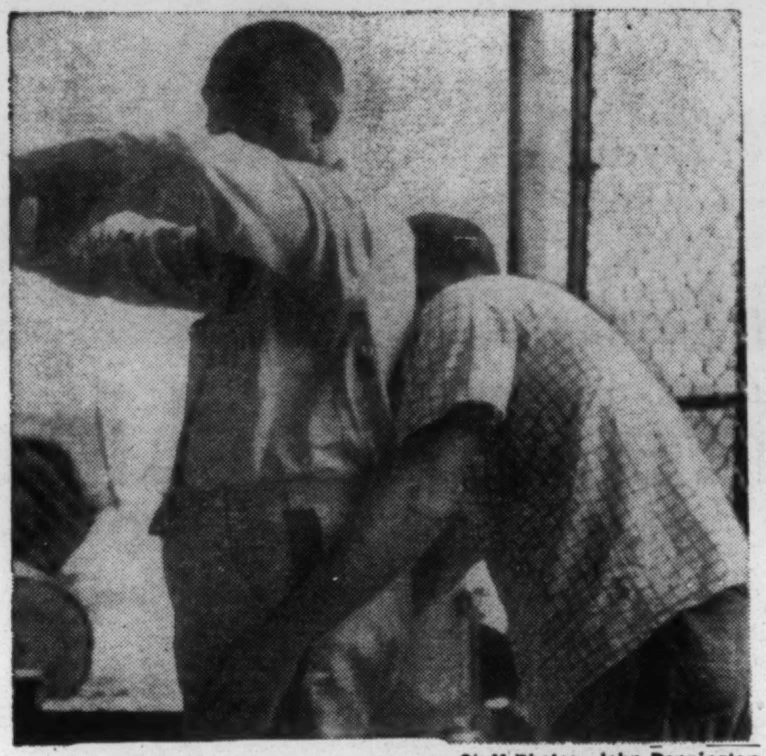
* * *

THE PRISONER walked away and Mr. Tuggle explained: ". . . We can't give them soap every time they ask for it."

Upstairs in the dormitories the prisoners, sitting out the rainy day, watched TV, slept or read. Trusties occupied the overflow beds in the hall. Three occupied solitary confinement quarters, a row of cells with a hall on each end.

In the darkness of one solitary cell, a wide pair of eyes rolled, following the path of visitors down the hall. The dark face, blending with the darkness of the cell, did not move. One cell, just that morning emptied, had toilet paper all over the floor.

"They tear it up and use it to lay on," said Mr. Tuggle. "See," he said, pointing to the head with



Staff Photos—John Pennington

GUARD 'FRISKS' INMATE AT PRISON
Such Checks Made Constantly

the rolling eyes, "they've got that for a pillow."

And sure enough, each of the three was lying on the concrete floor wearing shorts and wrapped in a blanket, each using a small roll of toilet paper for a pillow.

* * *

THE DOCTOR came, big, affable Dr. E. M. Lancaster of nearby Shady Dale, who examined the three in solitary and another who had been hurt. He stayed for lunch, as did the visiting reporter

The guards and visitors ate from a table laden with fried fish, fried side meat, big white beans, peas, corn bread, biscuits, butter, peaches, jam, syrup, peppers, pickles, water, coffee and-or tea.

A guard, asked what the prisoners get, said: "They eat just like we do."

Soon the prisoners filed into the inmate dining room. They ate like we did—to this extent: They got fried meat, beans, peas, two slices of corn bread and water. Syrup was on the tables in gallon jugs. The menu on the kitchen wall showed that they would have an opportunity to enjoy fried side meat at the noon meal four days that week.

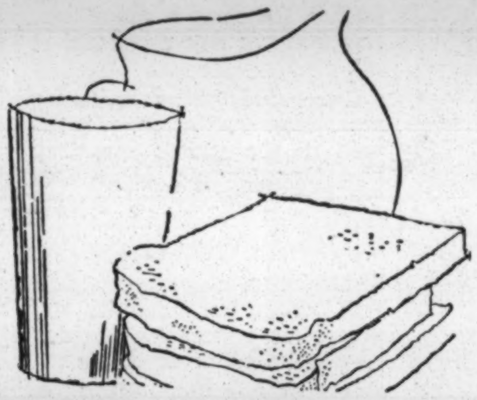
* * *

AT THE PUTNAM camp, and some others, a convict speaks before he moves, a part of the rigid discipline imposed. This was demonstrated at lunch time. One big convict wanted water, and he shouted, without looking up: "Gettin' up, Boss."

The boss shouted back, "O.K." And the prisoner got up for his water

Lunch over, the prisoners counted themselves back into their dormitories, just as they had counted out, each man who moved counting loudly one number higher than the man before him.

And that's what it was like, on a rainy day at the Putnam prison branch.



BEHIND PRISON BARS

Utter Futility in 'the Hole'

By JOHN PENNINGTON

A convict wrote on the cold steel wall of his solitary confinement cell at the Buford Rock Quarry Prison, in terrible grammar but eloquent anguish:

"Thay is no God."

The sentence was printed, obviously composed under considerable effort by one unaccustomed to using the written word.

It could be simply that the author was a nonbeliever. And it could be that he was one who had been reduced to utter futility in "the hole" of Georgia's toughest convict camp; a camp which in itself is extra punishment, where men have resorted en masse to self-injury, where suicide has been attempted on several occasions, where serious trouble constantly impends, where the Boss' dominance and prisoner submission take precedence over—or obviates—correction; a camp whose punitive measures have been questioned by a federal authority on such.

WARDEN SMITH
"Captain" Is Quiet

The wall on which this inscription was found was in one of 33 solitary-confinement cells on a basement level at the rock quarry.

They sit in two rows, with sliding steel doors on the inside, a heavy wire mesh at back, with a "catwalk" around them. Inside each there's a concrete commode, which can be flushed from the outside only. Two of the 33 were occupied. Muffled voices, conversing through the wall between them, could be heard outside the inhabited cells.

Those inside heard the voices of the reporter and Warden Hubert Smith. "Captain Smith," one called. "Can we talk to you?"

A long moment of silence followed while they waited for an answer which did not come. The Captain remained quiet.

Again the unseen prisoner called. "Captain Smith, can we talk to you?"

The Captain hesitated a moment and called back:

"Wait. I'll talk to you after awhile."

"All right," the voice answered, satisfied.

We walked away and I suggested to the warden that he go ahead and talk to the prisoners then, and let me listen.

"I don't intend to talk to them," he said.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

It's Easier, If He Toes Line

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Contrast — a commodity plentiful in Georgia's prison camps:

In one prison dining room curtains frame the windows with subdued warmth, partially hiding the bars.

There's a podium with a little cross, and the word "CHURCH" spread across it; a big poster above, with a picture of Jesus, saying welcome to Thursday night prayer meetings, and to Sunday afternoon worship. Another sign, with religious picture accompanying, relates that 20 attended services today, 28 last service (out of a prison population of 80).

The contrast?

This is the same prison camp in whose solitary confinement cells were found two inmates, stark naked, their heads shorn as punitive reminder of their waywardness, on a diet of bread and water, doing imposed penance for a recent escape.

* * *

THIS WAS the Pulaski Prison Branch at Hawkinsville, one of the most attractive camps in the state's penal system. It is a place where the average prisoner's lot has been made easier by Warden C. A. Head Jr. — if the prisoner toes the line and makes no effort to depart the camp's hospitality.

Warden Head interviews every prisoner who goes into his custody. In the warden's private office a prisoner sits, and listens.

C. A. HEAD JR.
Prison Branch Warden

"A man comes to me," said the warden, "I talk to him, tell him what's what. I tell him what I expect of him, and what he can expect of me.

"He comes to me as a human being, not as a dog or something. He's human, he's got a job to do. If he will stand good treatment, that's what he'll get.

"I tell him, 'I'm the only man here who can help you. The other convicts can't. If the other man could help you, he'd help himself.' "

* * *

MR. HEAD, this camp his first warden-job, lets inmates out to play volley ball and horseshoes on Saturday afternoons (inside the prison compound). His camp is one of very few that has any recreation at all.

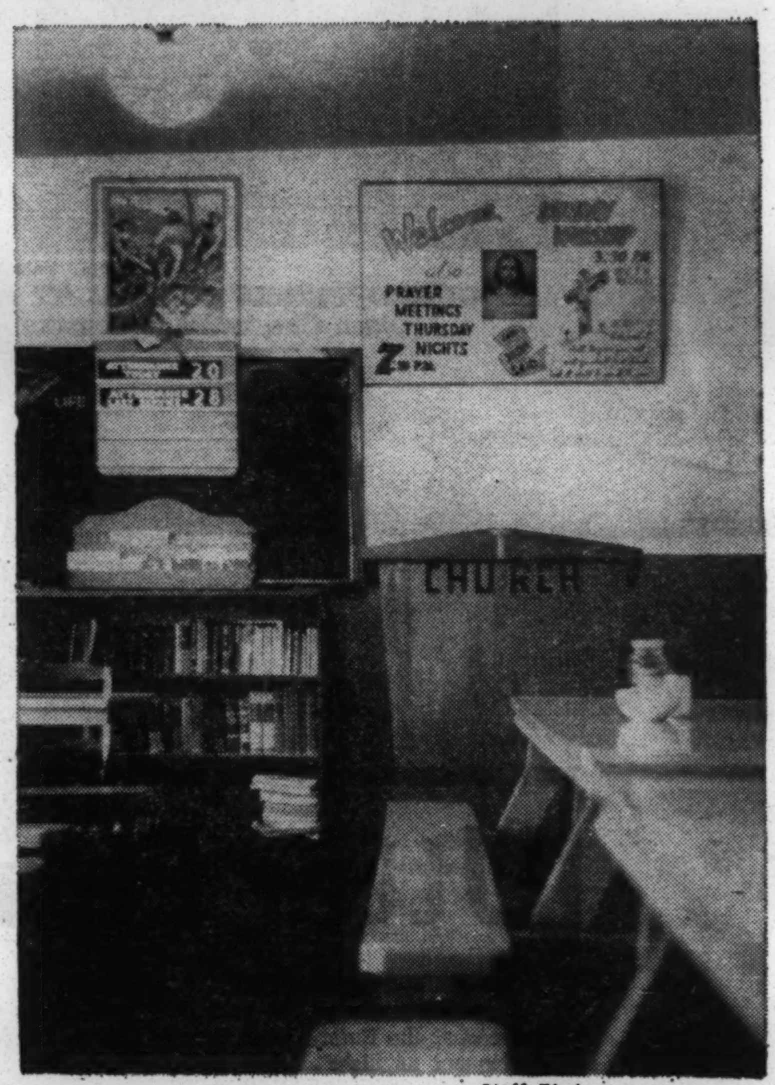
His guards wear uniforms, nameplates sewn on. Underpaid as the guards are, they rent the uniforms, clean ones regularly, themselves paying the bill.

Mr. Head supports the publication of a religious paper (and writes a column for it), one of his outstanding inmates serving as editor of it. He favors education in prison, some payment for the labor of convicts, to save against the day they get out.

* * *

HE PERMITS the Bible in solitary confinement if the prisoner wants it. Other camps allow no reading matter.

But he has their heads clipped, extra humiliation, if they give in to the temptation to "run." And naked they go into solitary. One of many contrasts in Georgia prisons.



Staff Photo

RELIGIOUS SIGNS AT PULASKI BRANCH
Inmates Have Sunday, Thursday Services

Behind Prison Bars

2 MINUTES IN SOLITARY GIVES REPORTER CHILL

By JOHN PENNINGTON

"It's all we've got," a prisor. warden said of solitary confinement as punishment.

"It's effective," said another.

Convicts who have been in "the hole" in a Georgia prison would testify to its effectiveness at taking the starch out of a man—or woman, because the weaker sex gets isolated too.

I spent about two minutes in one solitary confinement cell, its iron door slammed tight, all light shut out, and everything suddenly very still. That was enough to leave me chilled and wondering about the effects of 30 days of such; and partially understanding why many emotionally and mentally unstable convicts have tried to escape by the only means possible, self-imposed death.

* * *

A FORMER convict said:

"That picture you ran in the paper—that wasn't 'the hole.' That was a cell fixed up to look like a hotel room. You ought to see a real solitary confinement cell. . . ."

So on a tour of state prisons I made it a point to look at each camp's version of "the hole," or "the box." I also visited federal isolation quarters for comparison.

The picture to which the former convict referred was run about four months ago, in connection with a story about Reidsville's so-called hunger strike. Warden Hubert Smith of the Buford Rock Quarry showed the cell and represented it to be a typical solitary confinement cell.

* * *

THE CELL HAD a made-up bed, with clean sheets and blanket, and lavatory along with the commode. It did look like a hotel room by comparison with actual solitary confinement cells.

State law says the Board of Corrections shall restrict punishment of prisoners "to isolation and restricted diet, or uniform standard humane punishment which the board may deem necessary. . . ."

But there are variations, and then more variations, on isolation and on restricted diet as well, and different people might have different ideas on what is humane and what is not.

One warden will sock a man 30 days in "the hole" for what another would consider a five-day infraction. (County camps, which finance the upkeep of prisoners in return for their labor, tend to impose shorter confinement, for a man can't pay for his bread in "the hole.")

* * *

ISOLATION quarters range from semi-lighted, ventilated ones to stone-walled dungeon types, cast in perpetual darkness. Where one warden will send men into solitary naked, and-or with clipped heads, one lets them wear pajamas, another actually has a bed.

A new variation on "restricted diet" has been proposed by Jack Forrester, director of corrections, a variation which falls within the same law that permits the old bread-and-water regimen.

Mr. Forrester, who until very recently defended stoutly the bread-and-water diet in solitary confinement, with one meal each five days, said he talked with physicians and visited the state prison at Texas and reconsidered and now recommends to the corrections board, for consideration Monday, that prisoners in solitary get three meals daily, to consist of: plain oatmeal or dry cereal, dry toast and black coffee for breakfast; unseasoned vegetables and soup for dinner, and unseasoned vegetables and soup for supper, with more black coffee, but no sugar or salt for any meal — healthy but "monotonous."

* * *

THIS TYPE OF DIET conforms with recommendations of modern penologists, and it is similar to a practice followed by federal institutions for at least 15 years.

Warden after warden commented to this reporter that isolation is the only effective punishment available to them. You obviously can't, they pointed out, take privileges away from a man who doesn't have any to speak of. You can take his "good time," but if a man has a long term, he doesn't care. You can take away visitation and letter-writing privileges as well. But if a man has nobody to write to, nor nobody to visit him, he doesn't care about that either.

One isolated convict spoke briefly about his narrow cell of confinement, and how he looked upon it. He stood looking at his feet, fingering the bars between us, obviously embarrassed at his position. And why not?

* * *

"SIR," HE SAID, "an awful lot occupies your mind in a place like this. You have time to do a lot of thinking."

His naked body jerked with mirthless laughter at the "joke" about time to think. He had about three weeks to go in a dark and tiny cell. Already the whiskers darkened his face, the skin was close to his ribs after a week on bread and water.

Here's what some isolation cells looked like:

At the shiny new Gwinnett County Public Works Camp, which Warden Clyde N. Phillips said is as spic as a motel when rainy weather hasn't got things muddied up, two solitary cells were in use.

In the first, two white men eyed the warden sulkily and asked what they were in for. He told them it was for going to breakfast with their dirty clothes on. He makes his charges wear clean clothes to meals.

In the second a big Negro prisoner was lying on a mattress on the floor, covered with a blanket. Mr. Phillips opened the door and switched on an overhead light (the only cells seen with lights in them) to find a scene of disorder and filth. Blankets were scattered on the floor and a strong odor came forth.

* * *

THE PRISONER disclaimed responsibility for the disarray, saying others before him had left the mess. He pointed to the commode, which had a blanket pulled over it, and said it was stopped up. Warden Phillips asked him why he hadn't cleaned it up.

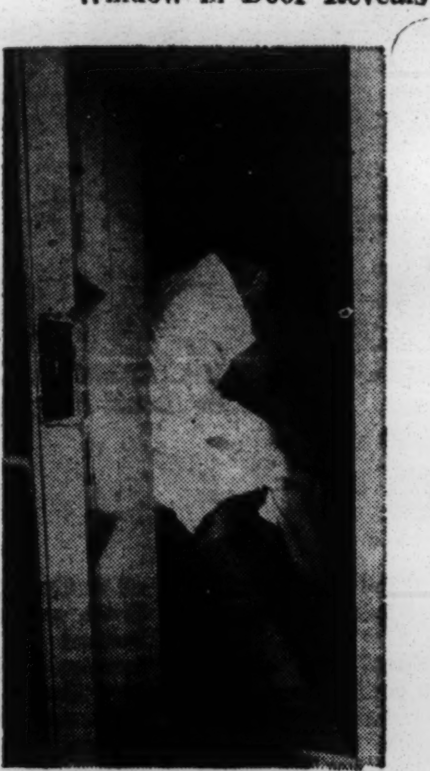
"It's dark in here," the convict exclaimed.

"Well, it's not dark now," the warden said, pointing to the light. "Clean it up."

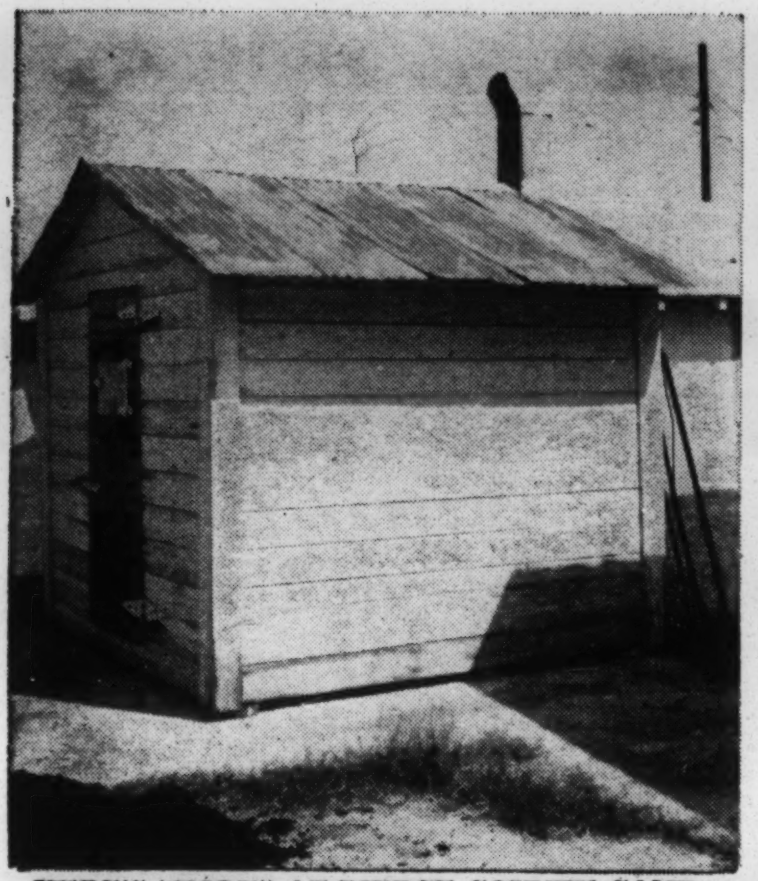
At the Gilmer County Public Works Camp, Ellijay, a camp unfit for human detention but scheduled for replacement, the isolation cell is a concrete block appendage to the main building. A look through the peephole door revealed two prisoners in body-length, sacklike gowns, blinking owlishly at the intrusion — one in for "flirting with the girls," the other for "getting ready" to escape. Inside, with the door shut, was total darkness.

Staff Photos—

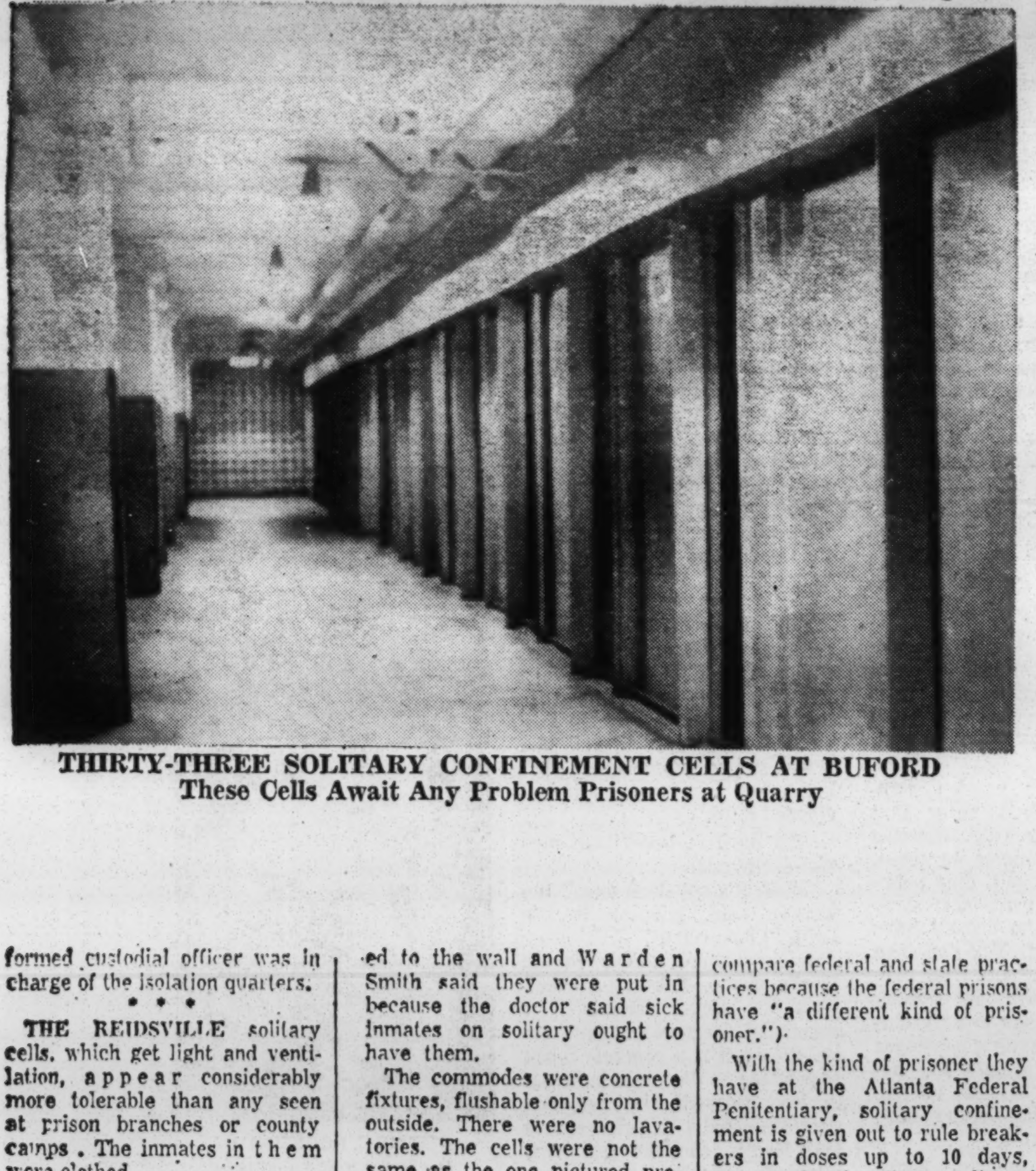
ON INSIDE LOOKING OUT OF "HOLE"
Window in Door Reveals Warden Caldwell



OUTSIDE LOOKING IN
Darkness and Loneliness



HERE'S "HOLE" AT PIERCE COUNTY CAMP
Corregated Roof, No Windows for Prisoners



THIRTY-THREE SOLITARY CONFINEMENT CELLS AT BUFORD
These Cells Await Any Problem Prisoners at Quarry

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AT THE Floyd County Public Works Camp, Rome, two basement solitary cells, dark and dungeonlike, are equipped with beds and mattresses, most unusual equipment in such quarters. It was here that Warden C. M. Caldwell shut the big door on me in one of the cells, than opened the peephole door to show what it looked like to the prisoner inside.

As do some other wardens, Mr. Caldwell uses the old chain gang "stripes' as additional punishment for escapees, making the convict who fled wear them as a badge of misconduct.

At the Pierce County camp, Blackshear, where Negroes are incarcerated, the isolation building fits its description as "the box." A small, wooden box-building, it sits out in the heat of the south Georgia sun with no obvious ventilation. The warden was not present, so the inside went unseen.

• • •

AT THE Industrial Institute at Alto, Georgia's prison for young offenders, Supt. Walter Matthews tempers the restricted diet occasionally, using milk as a substitute for water. During this reporter's visit, he had one Negro boy in isolation, wearing shorts and wrapped in a blanket against the concrete floor.

State prison branches at Ware and Pulaski counties, described in previous stories, both strip inmates naked before subjecting them to solitary. At the Pulaski branch, Negro inmates used shredded toilet paper to try to soften the concrete under them.

(Mr. Forrester told newsmen it is not prisonwide policy to strip the clothes from convicts in solitary confinement. He said individual wardens make their own decisions as to whether to take the clothes from prisoners in individual cases.

• • •

(SOME WARDENS enforce a blanket decision on that matter. One warden said he stripped all offenders, another indicated it was regular policy.)

At the State Prison at Reidsville, where a group of prisoners on a so-called "hunger 'strike" demanded concessions, some changes had been made in solitary—but not, Warden R. P. Balkcom Jr. said, because of any prisoner demands.

The strikers wanted one full meal every three days, instead of every five. And they wanted to get rid of a prisoner-attendant they unaffectionately called "Nigger Joe," claiming he threw their bread on the floor and otherwise showed a lack of compassion for their misery.

• • •

WARDEN BALKCOM said he had started giving prisoners in solitary two full meals a week—each Saturday and Sunday evening — amounting to one full meal for each three and a half days and leaving the bread-and-water regimen for the weekdays. The warden said this was not a concession to prisoner demand, but something he had in mind already because he found out cell neighbors in solitary were sharing meals when they got them on alternate days, thereby beating the rap a bit.

This they could do, he said, by passing it around the barrier between them and handing it through the bar doors to the unseen neighbor.

"Nigger Joe" was gone from the solitary detail, a circumstance not explained. A uniformed custodial officer was in charge of the isolation quarters.

• • •

THE REIDSVILLE solitary cells, which get light and ventilation, appear considerably more tolerable than any seen at prison branches or county camps. The inmates in them were clothed.

At the Buford Rock Quarry, where the "hotel room" confinement cell had been photographed, Warden Hubert Smith has 33 solitary cells, enough to do a lot of simultaneous isolating. They are located on a basement level, two rows of them, each with a sliding steel door. Several had steel pallets welded to the wall and Warden Smith said they were put in because the doctor said sick inmates on solitary ought to have them.

The commodes were concrete fixtures, flushable only from the outside. There were no lavatories. The cells were not the same as the one pictured previously.

• • •

IN SHARP contrast to Georgia's solitary confinement practices are those used in federal prisons.

(The state's top penal authorities, Corrections Director Jack Forrester and his assistant, J. B. Hatchett, say you cannot compare federal and state practices because the federal prisons have "a different kind of prisoner.")

With the kind of prisoner they have at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, solitary confinement is given out to rule breakers in doses up to 10 days, more only in "extraordinary cases.'

In solitary the inmate loses his privileges — of an afternoon play period on the recreation field; store privileges, movie privileges, smoking and reading.

• • •

BUT HE HAS a mattress at night, he gets 30 minutes to an hour of exercise in a small, enclosed yard daily; he gets a shower and a shave every day or so and he is fed a minimum of 2,300 calories a day in a "monotonous diet." His cell is not a dungeon, and he is never restricted to bread and water.

The "monotonous diet" is basically the same as fed other prisoners, but without seasoning frills, no desserts — very similar to the diet to be considered by the board of corrections Monday for the State of Georgia type of prisoner.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Investigation Bores Goble

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Warden Fred Goble, a short, stocky man with piercing eyes and the appearance of one rooted to his standing spot, virtually bristled with hostility.

"I don't care what the newspapers write about me," he said, in answer to a reportorial intrusion on the Whitfield County Public Works Camp. "I've forgotten more about prisons than they'll ever know."

I was there on a tour of prison camps, with a letter of permission from the state penal office to look around. Warden Goble acted like a man sick-sick-sick of being investigated. His camp, a county-owned camp using state convicts, has been much in the news, for various reasons—such as too many escapes, the hiring of an ex-convict as a guard, letting a felony prisoner go home for the weekend, and using convicts for work on private property. Warden Goble himself is an ex-convict, and one state penal authority said he is "too soft," apparently for that reason. Investigators have several times recommended that the camp be closed, but it still operates.

* * *

THE WARDEN swung open the iron door to the prison dormitory, the usual row of beds giving way to the toilet facilities in the rear, and lifted his arm in sweeping gesture.

"Go ahead," he said. "Look around."

He went along down a hallway leading to solitary confinement and trusty quarters. He opened the door to isolation and one prisoner scampered off the commode in the corner. Another was sitting on the floor. Both stared suspiciously.

* * *

THEY SHARED the single cell, which had an outside window. The window admitted light, and also some flies. The convicts wore prison pants. They were barefooted and used their shirts for bedding against the concrete floor.

On the back side of the camp, another isolation cell, this one of the dungeon variety, was unused at the moment for human detention. It was stacked with county record books.

As the warden returned from the inspection circuit inside the prison, Clerk Dave Oden, himself a former warden, said to a young man in the front office:

"Here's the warden, son."

Then Oden directed me to follow him outside.

* * *

THE YOUNG MAN, without wasting any words on introduction formalities, said to the warden:

"I wanted to talk to you about grading my driveway."

"Where is it?" the warden asked.

As the young man began to tell him, Oden insisted that I follow him outside to walk around the stockade premises. When we returned, the young man was gone and Warden Goble stood before the old-brick building, overlooking the north Georgia mountains, whose peaceful-looking exterior gives not a hint of the irregularities involved in the county camp's 10-year use of state prisoners.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Twice Fired, Still Guard

By JOHN PENNINGTON

A guard who was fired from one Georgia prison camp for shooting a prisoner and from another for kicking one has gone on to a new job of convict guarding.

The warden who most recently employed him did not ask for reference from the warden who most recently did the firing.

Georgia penal law says the State Board of Corrections "shall by rule and regulation define qualifications for wardens, guards and other personnel. . . ."

Corrections Director Jack Forrester said prison guards are started at $175 a month, and they can go as high as $190. If promoted to foreman, the figure rises to $210.

* * *

UNDER THIS PAY SCALE, Mr. Forrester said, about the only thing the board can require of guards in the way of qualifications is "good character."

The guard with the record of trouble with prisoners is Florence Blasingame. He has been described as a "good" guard who let his impulses get away with him.

Warden W. N. McHan of the Colony Prison Farm at Milledgeville, which serves the state hospital, fired Blasingame during the summer after he kicked a prisoner and the prisoner hit Blasingame.

The guard had been with him about nine months, said Mr. McHan, about a month of that time as a "walking boss"—working unarmed as foreman amongst a crew of prisoners—when the incident occurred.

Blasingame kicked a prisoner, said the warden, who turned and "hit him in the face and mashed his nose."

* * *

ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL account of it, the altercation ended there. A former inmate who witnessed it—the first to relate it to an Atlanta Journal reporter—said the guard insisted on fighting the prisoner and another guard let them fight. The former inmate said the prisoner won.

At any rate, Mr. McHan fired Blasingame and put the prisoner in solitary confinement. No one but himself, he said, is allowed to administer punishment to prisoners.

Blasingame then was hired by the Wilkinson County Public Works Camp at Irwinton. Warden McHan said the warden there made no request of him for reference, and never asked the reason for the guard's leaving.

The shooting incident occurred more than a year earlier than the kicking, when Blasingame was working at the Walton County Public Works Camp at Monroe. The warden there at that time was L. P. Savage, who has since left.

* * *

MR. SAVAGE SAID BLASINGAME was a "walking boss" there also when the incident occurred. He shot a prisoner—a serious shot but not a fatal one—and claimed, said the warden, that the convict was "making at him with a shovel." (A charge against Blasingame growing out of the shooting was later no-billed by a Walton County grand jury.)

"There was some doubt," said Mr. Savage, "as to whether the shooting was absolutely essential.

"In truth, he was a foreman with a crew (in a rock quarry) which was supposed to be under the watchful eye of a guard with a shotgun, who was a safe distance away. Blasingame wasn't supposed to have a loaded firearm."

The incident was investigated, and Blasingame was "fired on the spot." In the interim between Walton County and Milledgeville, Blasingame worked at the Jones County camp at Gray and reportedly left there of his own will following some kind of local disagreement.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Law and Practicality

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Georgia law says a program of rehabilitation "shall be instituted" in the state's prisons.

But the law didn't say when, and such a program is nonexistent as far as most prisoners are concerned.

The only convicts with any access to planned rehabilitation are those at the state's prison for juveniles, the Industrial Institute at Alto. And the program there is badly hampered by circumstances beyond control of the superintendent.

The law says the rehabilitation program "shall include academic, industrial, mechanical, agricultural and vocational training."

* * *

AGAIN, THE only effort is at Alto, and that also is hampered by circumstances. Some job-teaching occurs at the prison farm at Milledgeville, where a prisoner unit serves the state mental hospital, and at Rome, where another serves Battey Hospital, and in some cases where construction projects are going on.

But the great majority of the state's prison population of nearly 10,000 are in prison camps where there is all work and no education and in most cases no recreation.

One ex-prisoner described it thusly: "All they want is to keep you in that stumphole."

In many camps throughout the state, the only mental exercise required of prisoners is counting down and remembering to take his cap off before addressing the Cap'n or the Boss.

* * *

J. B. HATCHETT, assistant director of the State Department of Corrections, on the subject of education and work, said:

"Educate a criminal and you just make him a smarter crook, if you give him education without giving him anything else.

"To rehabilitate a man, you need to occupy his hands and mind. It's better to keep a prisoner busy with hard work than to put him in a cell and feed him tranquilizers. . . ."

It is obvious to a visitor to state and county prison camps that the hands of prisoners are kept busy, but there is little evidence that they are given anything to occupy the mind.

* * *

THE PENAL LAW calling for rehabilitation and education of prisoners was passed by the well-intended Legislature of February, 1956. The law characterized itself as one designed "to comprehensively and exhaustively revise, supersede and consolidate" prison laws.

But, in some ambiguous and contradictory wording, in the paragraph following the one on rehabilitation, it left a hole big enough to throw a lawbook through. It says:

"The State Board of Corrections . . . shall give the prisoners opportunity for reasonable educational and recreational activities where practical. . . ."

So it isn't practical, and they're too busy working to do any educating at 100 prison camps, state and county, and only one prison, the one for juveniles, does any at all and that on a two-afternoons-a-week basis. Recreation is almost as rare, but not completely nonexistent.

Staff Photo—John Pennington

POT-BELLIED STOVE HEATS QUARTERS WHERE PRISONERS LIVE
At Public Works Camps Living Area Is Cramped and Cluttered

Behind Prison Walls

TREATMENT CONDITIONS VARY WIDELY AT CAMPS

By JOHN PENNINGTON

A joke is told about prisons which is funny at first glance, then not so funny when you get to thinking about it.

A visitor went into a county public works camp to look around and asked one fellow he saw:

"What got you in here?"

"Politics," he said.

"Politics?" the visitor asked. "How's that?"

"I'm the warden," the man replied.

* * *

AND SUCH is the case, not in all but in many of the county public works camps throughout the state. Many are the former county prison wardens whose jobs ended promptly after election time and the seating of a new board of road commissioners. (In one county, Jackson, the county commission chairman is the warden. He got the warden's job after being elected commissioner.)

The State of Georgia has nearly 10,000 prisoners—the exact total on Sept. 1 was 9,240. This puts the state in the unenviable position of having the highest rate of prisoners to population in the nation, a fact figured out annually and publicized nationally by the Federal Bureau of Prisons. In other words, we're on the bottom of a king-size totem pole.

Almost exactly half of the prisoners are confined in the Georgia State Prison and 19 branches—a total of 20 institutions.

* * *

AND HERE'S where the counties come in. The other half, between 4,000 and 5,000 convicts regularly, are contained in 81 county public works camps. Georgia is one of only a few states that still follow this practice.

These are state prisoners, the same as those in the state prisons. But they are placed in county bondage for the duration of their sentences, under a deal whereby the state is relieved of the man, and the county takes him on, financing his upkeep in return for his daily labor.

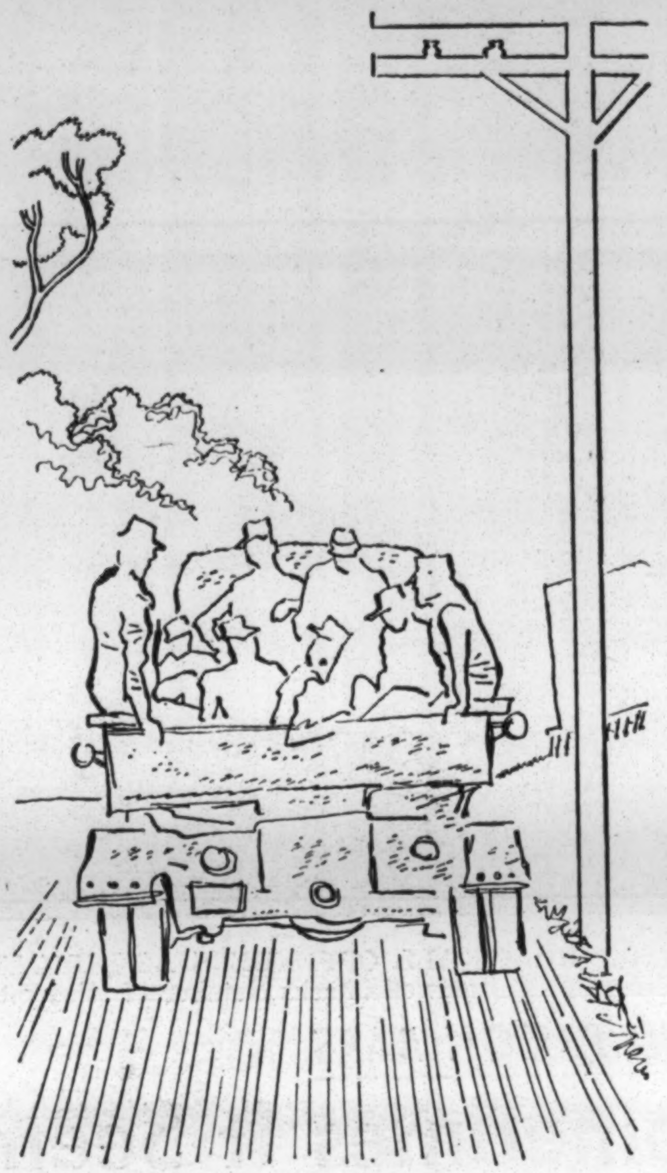
There is no consistency about the county camps — they range from near-hovels to air-conditioned quarters (the latter at Newnan). They vary just as much in other aspects, such as the furnishing of soap and clothing and food. And they vary in attitude toward the convict. Some treat the inmate like a man, while still punishing him—others delight in Cap'n-calling and making a prisoner snatch his cap off with the speed of light before addressing the Boss.

* * *

PRISONERS GOING to county camps are assigned, after conviction, by the State Department of Corrections, which never touches them or lays out a penny on them, and thereby does no "correcting" of them. The counties pick up the prisoners at their point of conviction, take them to their camps—and work them. When the sentence is up, the counties turn them loose at point of conviction and the state clears the record without having spent any money.

Meanwhile, in most camps in Georgia, the prisoner has then served his term when it would be virtually impossible under existing circumstances to comply with the laws purportedly governing the penal system, camps where uniformity just does not exist.

How would they, for example, go about providing education, rehabilitation and recreation — all called for by law—in a county camp where the warden's ability to run a work camp has been repeatedly questioned, and where the deputy warden can neither read nor write?



BEHIND PRISON BARS

A Slip Lands You There

By JOHN PENNINGTON

You never know whom you'll find in prison.

I walked into the Pulaski Prison Branch at Hawkinsville and there, with what he called "the stripe of sin" down his leg, was an old college classmate.

He was a convict, but not a hoodlum. He is not mean. He is not to be viewed with alarm, prison stripe notwithstanding.

This young man got into cheating and swindling trouble through the excessive use of whisky and he says prison and abstinence and religious reflection have shown him the error of his ways. Now he is the driving force behind a religious publication at the Pulaski camp, "The Key to Freedom," and active in other camp religious activities.

* * *

THE STATE PRISONS have many such inmates who are paying for their erring ways with loss of freedom.

Unfortunately, there is a tendency on the part of the public, and short-tempered authorities who have to deal with crowded prisons, and law officers who have to hunt escapees, to lump all convicts together into one big bundle, tied with a striped string, fitting the habitual criminal label.

This fact is demonstrated in many ways. One day on a manhunt, a fearsome thing when you look at the human side of it, a veteran state trooper, a tall, burly man, waded through a wooded area, rifle across his arm, bloodhounds baying in the distance. He squinted through the undergrowth ahead and growled:

"If some of these (blankety-blank) newspaper writers had to go out in the woods on a search like this for armed and desperate men, they'd stop wanting to coddle the convicts."

(He neglected the fact that an Atlanta Journal reporter, along with other newsmen, was along with him, but armed only with camera and dull pencil.)

* * *

THE TROOPER was lumping all convicts together—the penitent young man at Pulaski along with the desperadoes being hunted at the moment, and he recited a typical anticoddling, treat-'em-rough view.

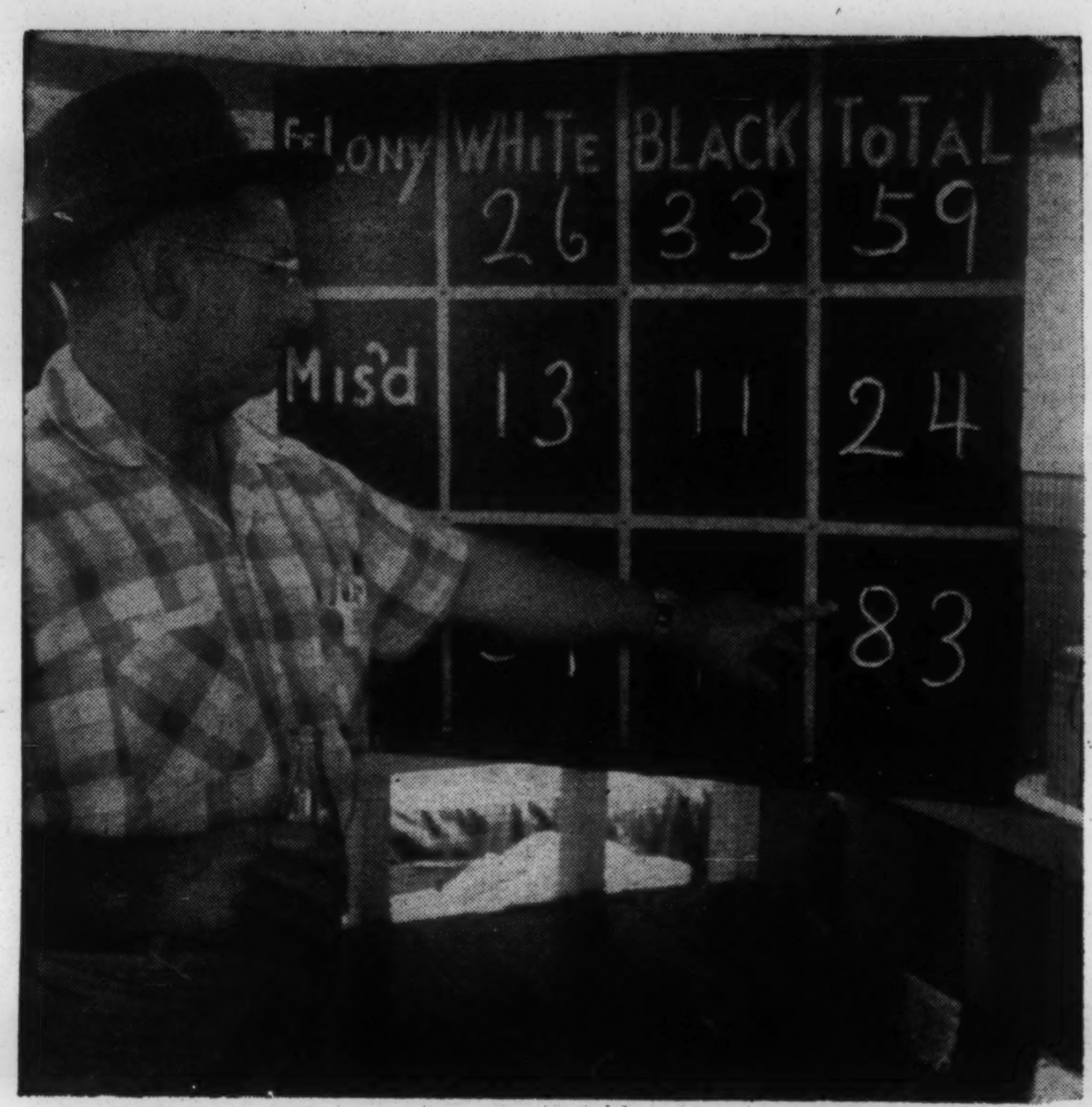
To compound the problem, the convicts are physically lumped together in prison. Thus, along with the real toughies, the I-don't-care boys who have a better home in prison than out, are any number of sensitive and normally sensible individuals who drifted or slipped into a moment of crime and who, if recognized and given the opportunity, would work conscientiously toward self-rehabilitation, toward the day when they could again take the place they left in the free world.

* * *

IN A ROAD gang, with all work and no diversion, Jack gets to be a dull boy, and maybe bitter, because he's in a university of hard knocks which could teach him more about lawbreaking than that which got him into trouble in the first place.

The young man in the Pulaski camp reminds those on the outside, in an article in the Key to Freedom, not to be too smug about freedom. He points to cases where men of great respectability, in a single moment of fear or passion, committed acts that brought life sentences.

"When you have visitors," he told his inmate readers, "invite them to gaze upon your face, and look at the stripe of sin down your leg, and . . . at the bars, steel doors. . . . Invite them to share with you for a moment the embarrassment, the loneliness, the maximum confinement of being a prisoner. In doing so, perhaps, it will make them more conscious of sin, freedom, and except for the tender love and grace of God, it could happen to them."



Staff Photo —John Pennington

PRISON HOLDS ALL OFFENDERS AS INDICATED BY BOARD
Warden C. M. Caldwell Checks Number of Misdemeanors, Felonies

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Sometimes It Seems That Justice Is Not Equitable

By JOHN PENNINGTON

The law doth punish man
or woman
Who steals the goose from
off the common;
But turns the greater felon
loose
Who steals the common
from the goose.

A young prisoner at one Georgia penal institution is doing 20 years for stealing $30 as a juvenile delinquent.

Now 20, the young man already has four years of prison behind him. The sentence was imposed when he was 16. He's got 16 to go.

By way of comparison, the now-famous Mrs. Margaret Burton of DeKalb County doctor-fleecing fame, got out after serving 18 months, her debt for embezzling $186,000 completed.

* * *

SOME WOULD say, considering such, there just ain't no justice. That saying, worn trite by usage, could be tempered somewhat to insist accurately that justice does not always seem equitable.

The state's prisons are full of living proof of man's fallibility, and the fallibility of his justice.

And the young man doing 20 years for $30 seems at this point to demonstrate dramatically that prisons which lock men up as punishment can also reclaim some misdirected lives—if somebody cares to try.

Walter Matthews, superintendent of the Industrial Institute at Alto, cares. He presides over the one real effort of the Georgia penal system at rehabilitation. The juvenile prisoners, mostly from 15 to 18, are sent to him.

* * *

MR. MATTHEWS and a reporter, walking through an inmate dormitory with neither bars nor locks, came upon the young man with the heavy sentence. He was a nice looking fellow, like the boy down the street. He shook his head sadly over the act of burglary that got him into his deepest trouble, and said: "I didn't know then what I know now."

The superintendent later explained: The boy was a juvenile delinquent, sent several times to the Training School for Boys at Milledgeville. During an escape from that institution, he burglarized a tavern. He got $30. No force or weapons were involved. The judge said 20 years, and the young man went to Mr. Matthews bitter and determined to get away. For awhile he was the problem child of the institution.

* * *

PATIENCE AND compassion for saving lost souls paid off for Mr. Matthews. The boy now is a model prisoner and the superintendent said he would hesitate not a bit to turn him back to society for another chance, if the laws would permit it. He agreed that the plight of this young man, at this particular point seemingly rehabilitated, is a good argument for indeterminate sentences. For who knows what effect the weight of more years will have on him?

This is not to indicate that the state doesn't have its share of hardened criminals. It has a gluttonous portion, some of them achieving their hardening in the state's prison system.

In the prison population are plenty of habitual criminals who have killed, raped, or used the force of arms to steal. Nobody has suggested that these men should be coddled, feather-bedded, set up in hotel rooms or given the front door key.

* * *

BUT IT HAS LONG been recognized by penologists and thoughtful, interested persons that no correction of lesser criminals is achieved when you mix them with the known toughs.

The law separates felony crimes by definition from misdemeanor ones, and provides specific punishments accordingly. The law also says that, once convicted, offenders must be classified and segregated with respect to race, age, first offenders, habitual criminals and incorrigibles, and the like. A felony crime generally is one resulting from wickedness, baseness, treachery, deceit. Misdemeanor crimes are misdeeds less grave in consequence.

Georgia's penal system has some separation— incorrigibles to the Rock Quarry Prison at Buford, the juveniles to Alto, some minimum security risks to the Colony Farm at Milledgeville— but by and large its camps and the county public works camps contain a hodgepodge of convicts guilty of everything in the book, felonies and misdemeanors all mixed together in crowded dormitories with double-decker bunks sometimes virtually spilling them over one another.

* * *

HOW MANY OF THESE are wicked felons who can be subdued and adequately punished only by treat-'em-rough methods?

During the past fiscal year, Georgia had more than twice as many misdemeanor convictions as felony convictions—6,118 to 2,683. More than two out of three convicts going into state incarceration were guilty of the lesser misdeeds.

Habitual criminals? Also during the past year, more than two-thirds of the 6,118 misdemeanor convictions were first offenders, not habituals. More than two out of three felony convicts were first offenders, not habituals.

One seldom hears of a person of means, who can afford a good lawyer or a fine, getting convicted and sent to a public works camp for such as drunkenness, reckless driving, or some other violation of the motor vehicle law. Yet during the past fiscal year a total of 1,118 persons were committed to the custody of the State Board of Corrections for plain drunkenness.

* * *

ANOTHER 1,234 was committed for drunk driving. A total of 782 were sent to prison for violations of the motor vehicle law, more than a thousand for some form of larceny.

One of these was a DeKalb County man who went to the State Prison for plain drunk, to serve four months. He told of seeing youthful first offenders encircled around a hardened criminal, a long-timer, listening to tales of burglary and the like, and how to succeed at it. (To break into a country store, for example, wait until a big diesel truck roars along the highway, then break a window when the noise won't be heard. This is a penitentiary lesson for first offenders.)

These misdemeanors by the thousands are the people who overcrowd the state's prisons and branches and county public work camps.

* * *

MEANWHILE, on the subject of who's in prison and their status as criminals, it is a well-known fact that there are plenty of offenders against society whose guilt is never translated into conviction. They subsequently are never compelled to sample the relative hospitality of the penal system and therefore find it easy to shout for revenge against those who are convicted, with never a thought for restoration of usefulness.

For example, one paragraph of the Georgia law says, without equivocation, that convicts may be hired out to labor for cities, public authorities or political subdivisions, BUT "shall not be hired out to private persons or corporations."

Violation is, by law, a misdemeanor, and those who permit prisoners to labor on private property, or cause them to do so, are subject to fine and/or imprisonment upon conviction.

During the immediate past years, how many cases of convicts working on private property have been revealed. And how many have been taken into court for it? Or sent to prison?

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Reality Bedevils Dream

By JOHN PENNINGTON

If there were some place to move 170 women from the crowded state prison at Reidsville, it would make room for separation of 400 misdemeanor prisoners from the felonies.

That is one of many bedeviling problems confounding Georgia's penal people. It is a fact pointed out by Warden R. P. Balkcom Jr., whose dreams to run a model prison at Reidsville are overrun daily by frustrating reality.

All of Georgia's white women prisoners, usually something over a hundred, are confined in a building at Reidsville removed from the prison proper. Some Negro women are held there, and some are assigned to specialized duties at Rome, Milledgeville and several other places.

* * *

THE BUILDING used at Reidsville for the women, Warden Balkcom said, would easily accommodate 400 short-termers and somewhat uncomplicate his housing problem — but there is no other place to put the women.

Another problem bedeviling the warden is Atlanta's contribution to his facility.

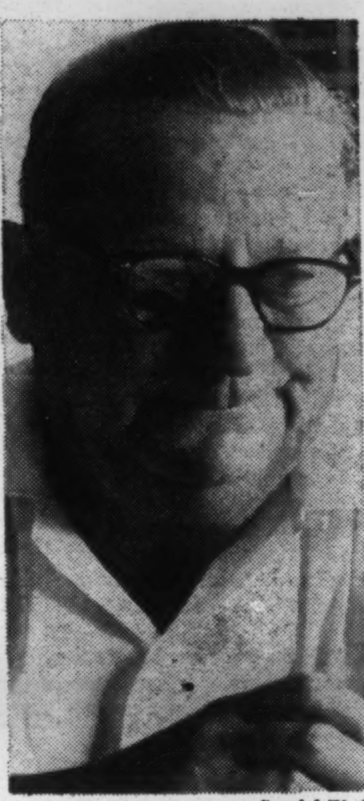
A bus runs between Atlanta and Reidsville with deadly regularity, burdening the state penitentiary with the likes of vagrants and drunks and stockade escapers and other misdemeanor prisoners. About 30 a week they go, individuals convicted to sentences running from about three to 12 months.

* * *

OUT OF HIS prison population of 2,500, Warden Balkcom has 582 short-termers with less than a year to serve, coming and going in a steady stream, causing him to ask, how can he run a modern penitentiary, instituting rehabilitation and education and recreation, and industrializing, when the prison is virtually spilling over with such?

"This is," said Mr. Balkcom angrily, "nothing but a stockade."

For example, he gets a man with a four-month sentence to the state prison for escaping from the Atlanta stockade and, foolish as it may sound, the state penitentiary gets plenty of those. With 120 days to go, the prisoner gets 16 days statuatory good time, 16 more for good behavior, and he's about 21 days in quarantine (where he's checked for social diseases and the like). That's a total of 53 days, leaving about 60 work days when you count out the weekends.



Special Photo

R. P. BALKCOM JR., Bedeviling Problems

* * *

"WE HAVE to give him two suits of clothes, shoes, bedding, and run him through the hospital for shots," Mr. Balkcom said. "You can't plan a program for a man like that."

Atlanta's particular contribution to this situation is dramatic: During the past fiscal year, Fulton County (Atlanta) sent the state prison system over a third of the state's total of 6,118 misdemeanor convictions. Seven other big counties provided nearly another third. This is one of the big reasons Corrections Director Jack Forrester wants to build a new prison and classification center near Atlanta.

For at Reidsville is a prison where the goal of prison industry has long been held high, where a program of rehabilitation is a great hope unachieved—and where it very likely will go unachieved as long as the state prison is a dumping ground for vagrants and drunks and others of that type—big problems but minor criminals — from the state's metropolitan areas.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Drugs 'Make It Easier'

By JOHN PENNINGTON

A convict at the Georgia State Prison at Reidsville has been caught possessing a big batch of "bennies," a dangerous drug used by minor scale "dope" addicts.

This discovery of a barbituates cache at the big state prison was reported by a just-released inmate, and confirmed by Warden R. P. Balkcom Jr.

The former prisoner, who identified himself as a former addict, and showed a needle-scarred arm to demonstrate, said Herman Webb, a prisoner doing heavy time out of Atlanta for safecracking, was caught with 500 "bennies," or benzedrine tablets, on his person. He was caught in the bakery shop, where he worked.

* * *

WARDEN BALKCOM confirmed that Webb was recently caught with the pills during a shakedown resulting from an inmate tip. He was put in solitary confinement for 30 days. Mr. Balkcom did not verify the number of pills involved, but said it was "over a hundred."

The former inmate who described the pill-finding was one of three who told, in separate interviews, of their observations of inside - the - prison traffic at Reidsville of dangerous drugs.

All three said they knew of no "dope ring" at the prison — narcotics is called "the hard stuff" by takers — but saw plenty of the dangerous-drug pills.

* * *

NUMEROUS FORMER convicts have indicated that barbituates — such as benzedrine, nembutal and the like — are readily available to any prisoner who can pay 50 cents per. They said ingenious convicts, with help from some guards, manage to get the drugs in despite official "shakedowns" aimed at stopping them.

The former addict said the traffic is confined mostly to the "bennies"—a "dangerous drug" which gives the taker "a lift" at a cost considerably less than narcotics, and less habit-binding as well. They are taken by mouth, or dissolved and taken by shot.

The going price for "bennies" at Reidsville is 50 cents a pill—twice the purchase price "outside."

* * *

THE FORMER inmates indicated that most convict users of the barbituates take them "occasionally" rather than regularly, using four or five at a time. One estimated that 1,000 "bennies" a week are used at Reidsville.

One former inmate, once a barbituates addict, said he was propositioned by a guard to supply him with pills when he got out. He said he declined because he wanted to stay out.

Another, who said he never took any, said he saw fellow convicts regularly give themselves shots during evening hours in their medium security dormitory. They would wrap their arms with a belt or thin towel, he said, to raise the vein, slap the arm vigorously at its bending point, then administer the shot.

* * *

A FRIEND offered him a shot, said the former inmate, saying "it will help you stand this place." He said he declined. One prison friend used the pills regularly, he said, and "got quite irritable" when he missed them.

Warden Balkcom, whose prison is woefully overcrowded (2,500 where 1,500 ought to be) said he strives hard by constant shakedown and inspection to keep down the pill-taking, and occasionally catches an inmate with some in his possession. But with the prison being as crowded as it is, he said, it is impossible to keep some barbituates from slipping in.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

What Freed Men Face

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Many inmates leave the Georgia prison system, having paid their debt to society, virtually under sentence to go out and steal again.

The people who run the prisons know it. Most of them deplore it. But they're not in a position to do anything about it, and the reason is money.

When a felony prisoner completes his sentence in a Georgia prison, he is, under law, entitled to $8 worth of clothes and the price of a bus ticket to his home—or if he's from out of state, a ticket to his point of conviction.

* * *

THE MISDEMEANOR prisoner is entitled only to the ticket "by common carrier" to his home or point of conviction.

This situation, said State Prison Warden R. P. Balkcom Jr., just throws the ex-convict "on the mercy of the world." And for ex-convicts the world has little mercy.

"It just invites them back here," said the warden. "If a man doesn't have a place to spend the night, nor any money to buy food with, he's got to steal."

* * *

SO HE ENDS up back in prison, one of Georgia's repeaters, contributing to the nation's worst prison population problem, because he was sent out into the free world without a chance.

The answer is a simple one, and the federal government has partially solved it, as have a number of states.

They pay prisoners a pittance for their prison labors, and compel them to save it against release. As a matter of fact, it is saved for them. This serves the dual purpose of financial reparation and rehabilitation - fostering as well.

The Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, for example, has a "pre-release unit" through which prisoners pass before leaving confinement.

* * *

DURING A 60-DAY period they are counseled. Jobs are gotten for some. Long-termers are re-oriented, told what to expect on the outside. The outgoing convict has apprehension: Will he be accepted? Will he have a chance? An attempt is made to prepare him to face up, with courage, to difficulties. And he is prepared, somewhat, financially.

Many federal prisoners get a small payment for their work. They are compelled to save a portion of it. And the law permits a maximum of $30 to be given to the needy prisoner as gratuity, a matter handled on the basis of the need of each individual.

That is not enough, said Warden Fred T. Wilkinson of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. He would like to give a man $100 at least, so he would have enough to eat for a few days, to pay for a room, and buy some work clothes, to face the future with confidence.

* * *

THE GEORGIA prison system, by contrast, gives the misdemeanor the clothes he wore in, the felony some new clothes, a bus ticket, goodbye, good luck, and he'll need it.

For if he has no money of his own, he leaves with no money.

If he lives in another state, and was convicted in Atlanta, he is returned to Atlanta. Broke, hungry, perhaps angry at the world, no one to turn to, no place to go. What happens? The crime rate again goes up.

A philosophical convict at one prison branch put it this way: "Very few men leave prison in better shape than they entered, either physically or mentally. . . . They leave with no money, right where they were the day they committed a crime to get money."

So our repeater percentage is high.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Attitude Is Vital Factor

By JOHN PENNINGTON

An attitude is an intangible which you cannot pick up in your hand and move from one place to another. There are attitudes involved in prison running, and they have a lot of bearing on the welfare of prison inmates.

You find an attitude at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, which is run under federal rules and regulations, and which has no connection with the state penal system

* * *

WARDEN FRED T. Wilkinson was interviewed, before this series of articles was begun, on the subject of prisons and prisoners. The warden is a man with a heart full of compassion for the unfortunates under his supervision, one who rose to his position from the ranks of prison guards. These quotations reveal his attitude:

"I feel that basically the prisoner is just as good as I am. I really mean that. . .

"I have never talked down to a prisoner in my life. And I'm never going to . . .

"I treat his relatives with the same respect I treat my own. . .

"I call him by his name. I realize his problems and talk to him about them. . . His troubles are very real. If he has a headache, he can't stop for a cup of coffee. . . I haven't seen anybody in here yet that I hate."

* * *

IN THE GEORGIA prison system, you can find varying attitudes, all affecting the prison population.

R. P. Balkcom Jr., warden of the big state prison at Reidsville, is a man respected by the majority of his inmates as one interested in their welfare. He says:

"Confinement is the worst thing in the world. The greatest punishment you can conflict on a man is to send him to bed at night, without his people, wondering about them. That's enough, without any physical punishment. . . ."

Warden Balkcom said he will not tolerate the striking or cursing of a prisoner. Nobody at the state prison is allowed to administer punishment but him. "There's such a thing," he said, "as giving a man too much punishment."

* * *

A DIFFERENT attitude came from a man high in state penal affairs, who gained anonymity by labeling his comment "off the record" after making it. He said he favored a return to the public whipping post as last resort punishment for incorrigibles.

The top man in Georgia's penal system, Corrections Director Jack Forrester, said he is strong on capital punishment, and favors "return of the gallows to the county, for public hanging, where they can see it done." This, he said, would "curb juvenile delinquency."

"If young folks watched the hangings," he said, "they would be more inclined to follow the law."

There is revelation in a bit of three-year-old penal history. Following a session of self-mutilation by prisoners at the Buford Rock Quarry Prison, investigation revealed some slapping and striking of prisoners by "Boss Doyal" Smith, then deputy warden. In one case a Negro was hit with a stick and rolled out of the quarry in a wheelbarrow, an incident Boss Doyal called a "show" put on to impress other prisoners.

Attitude? Boss Doyal's actions subsequently have been defended by top penal authorities, Mr. Forrester and his assistant, J. B. Hatchett. Boss Doyal was transferred from the .quarry—and promoted to warden of the Putnam Prison Branch at Eatonton. Other cases of stick-wielding have been condoned.

Behind Prison Bars

WITHOUT A PLACE TO SELL HELPFUL INDUSTRY CLOSES

By JOHN PENNINGTON

The prison industry of which Georgia's penal leaders are most proud was shut down. A coat of dust had settled over the idle assembly line. Young prison inmates who normally would have been building school desks for children were out instead working at some less constructive task.

This was the scene at the Georgia Industrial Institute at Alto, where the state's juvenile prisoners are held, and where the state's only real effort at rehabilitation — through education, recreation and industrialization — is being made.

But the effort is thwarted by problems aplenty, and the school desk situation is typical of a statewide situation.

* * *

WHY WAS the constructive little industry shut down?

Walter Matthews, superintendent of the prison for youthful offenders, explained that there just had not been enough customers to keep it going regularly. An order had come in, and the assembly line would be reactivated to fill the order.

Back in Atlanta, Corrections Director Jack Forrester displayed one of the desks, a handsome product, and explained the problem of selling them:

The facility at Alto can turn out the desks at a rate of one every 10 minutes, and sell them for $9.50 each. Such desks usually run about $15 each on the commercial market.

But the Department of Corrections doesn't have a steady market, despite the obvious bargain, because the State Department of Education does not make such purchases on a state level.

* * *

IT LEAVES desk purchases up to local school boards, which might find it more expedient to buy desks locally at $15 than to get them from the Department of Corrections at $9.50.

Meanwhile, down at the State Prison at Reidsville, a big expanse of warehouse or factory space lies empty, unused.

The reason is the same as for the idle desk factory: The state has not seen fit as yet to utilize the prison production capacity to supply goods which the state needs., Instead, it buys them at higher cost on the public market.

The state law which prohibits the use of convicts on private property also makes it lawful for the corrections department to sell prison-made goods to the state or other public governments or authorities, including school boards.

* * *

UNTIL RECENTLY the State Prison had only one industry—the tag plant, making auto license plates with 30-year-old, virtually absolete equipment. Now it has a print shop, ready, willing and able to do considerably more job printing for the state.

Strangely enough, the state prison operated a thriving industry from 1939 to 1941, profitably making road signs, guard rails, filing cabinets, lockers, tags, concrete pipe and school book covers, but regressed to tag-making only.

Penal authorities would like to reactivate the program, expanding to include the manufacture of soaps and paints, book repair and perhaps shoe making.

Since the program would foster rehabilitation and more than pay for itself, all they need for activation is some starting money.

And customers.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Industrializing Idea Appears to Be Unanimous

Staff Photo—John Pennington

INMATES ATTEND CLASS IN ALGEBRA AT PRISON
Teacher in Background, Standing, Discusses Lesson

By JOHN PENNINGTON

An item in the daily press sort of riled Corrections Director Jack Forrester and his assistant, J. B. Hatchett. Gen. Alvan C. Gillem Jr. had said, and it got a little splash, that the state prisons ought to do some industrializing.

"We have been saying the same thing for years," Mr. Forrester pointed out.

He patted a stack of annual reports from the State Department of Corrections, pointing out that each one, for the past several years, has proposed and urged the establishment of prison industry to sell goods to the state.

A perusal of the reports shows him to be right. The department has been urging the state to set up a program of industry, and to utilize the products at a saving to taxpayers. Up until this year, the urgings fell on deaf ears and no high state-level cooperation, and goods that the state prison could make were bought from private sources—sometimes irregularly, a situation now a matter of record.

* * *

THE SAME was true of efforts to get some educational facilities started in one branch of the prison system.

The 1957 annual report of the corrections department tells the sad story of the failure of the state prison's little bit of industry, in these words:

"Due to the fact that we have been unable to secure any volume of business from other state agencies, the revenue from the smaller (industrial) units is negligible."

The situation appears due for a change. Gen. Gillem, state supervisor of purchases, made a study of the situation and recommended that some modern prison industry be set up at the state penitentiary.

He estimated that half a million dollars would set up a shop that could employ 500 persons and take in more than $600,000 a year in income. As supervisor of state buying, he's in a position to provide a state market for prison-made goods.

* * *

IT SEEMS to be unanimous. Nobody openly opposes setting up prison industry. It would save the taxpayers money. It would put to work at constructive jobs some convicts who now labor in the stumpholes. It would no doubt prove helpful at restoring to useful life some men who now are burdens on society.

* * *

Then, for goodness sakes, you might ask, why has all this time of talking passed, with nothing really being done about it?

You can find a similar situation in the field of prison education—or lack of it.

The only book-learning education offered in the state penal system is at the Georgia Industrial Institute at Alto, presided over by Supt. Walter Matthews.

* * *

MR. MATTHEWS has five teachers—two white and two Negro "free men" and one inmate—teaching nearly 200 youthful inmates two or three half days each week. The classes are not accredited. The teachers are hired by the corrections department, and Mr. Matthews would like to have 11 instead of five, teaching 400 instead of less than 200, and accredited.

And now we come to one reason this is not the case: In 1956 a committee was appointed to study educational needs at Alto, where young offenders 15 to 18 are held. The committee recommended that the State Board of Education be asked to furnish teachers and set up a common school at the institution, since its inmates are of school age and would come under the board if not in prison.

"The board advised," reports the corrections department, "that it was their belief that the Department of Corrections should request additional funds from the Legislature for this work and that every individual department should stand on its own bottom, and that they could not establish the school at Alto."

* * *

SO EACH DEPARTMENT, each spending tax money, goes its own way.

Along with its limited educational facilities, the institution at Alto also offers recreation and athletic opportunities to its young inmates. The "school" has two football teams, one white and one Negro, each playing a regular schedule against "outside" teams. The institution has a full-time athletic director and coach.

Mr. Forrester summarized the education situation last summer in a report to Governor Vandiver on how he was keeping down spending. He wrote:

"We have never had funds available to inaugurate the proper type of educational and vocational training . . . but we have done all we could with funds available. . . .

* * *

"**WE KNOW** that we furnish the inmates with sufficient clothing, good wholesome food, medical and dental care and well constructed and adequate buildings."

And that about sums up what the state furnishes its prisoners.

How do the prisoners feel about behind-the-walls industry?

The answer is revealed in an article prepared by Inmate No. 32796, describing the new print shop facility at the state prison at Reidsville.

He called the new plant "a sparkling new print shop that promises to save taxpayers many dollars annually. No one yet knows how many 'new lives' it will produce.

"Other inmates at Reidsville are cocking an anxious eye toward the January Legislature and remarks commonly heard in the prison yard reveal deep interest and hope. 'Do a good job, print shop, and we'll have industry too. We're counting on you' . . .

* * *

"**EDUCATION** is restoration—to productivity.

"Who can price the value of a productive life restored to society?"

The federal prison system has an industrial program—Federal Prison Industries, Inc.—a wholly owned government corporation which provides training and employment for prisoners. And incidentally, makes a profit, while making goods for the government, saving taxpayer money, and paying prisoners a small sum for their labor. It has been in existence since 1934—long enough to show its worth. (Dividends of $36 million, moneywise).

* * *

EDUCATION IS available to all federal prison inmates, and mandatory for those who test under the fifth-grade level. The elementary students go to school half of each day until they reach the fifth-grade level, then they may continue in night school, through high school, if they wish. Correspondence courses of all descriptions are available.

Meanwhile, in the Georgia prisons, where nearly 10,000 are incarcerated, less than 200 inmates are getting any schooling at all, and these only in the juvenile institution.

By contrast, this news item shows up in the monthly prison magazine from New Mexico:

"Commencement exercises for the graduating class of the New Mexico State Penitentiary High School were held on the evening of May 20. . . .

"Commencement speaker was George P. White, director of instructional services, State Department of Education.

"Other dignitaries who participated were. . . ."

And in Georgia there are many, many inmates, completely illiterate, who have to ask a cellmate to write for them lines of endearment to loved ones outside. They leave a Georgia prison in the same shape, no matter how long they stay.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Woman's Anguish

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Women go to prison, too.

One who called herself "Ex-Reidsville" wrote in anguished plea:

"When a woman is given a one-way ticket to the town from where she was sentenced, no other monies, what does a woman do?

"Where can she go?

"To what social agency can she apply?

"Why doesn't someone at the prison advise the woman as to the possibilities of shelter, help and job placement when she leaves the prison?

"WHY?"

The woman was out of prison and she was bitter. What she had to say in her letter has been amplified and retold many times over by other former women inmates of the State Prison at Reidsville. Concensus: The women's prison is an unwanted stepdaughter of the penal system, both neglected and neglecting.

* * *

MANY FORMER inmates think the reason it is kept near the penitentiary for men—where it houses less than 200 women but could house 400 male misdemeanor prisoners—is because the wives of guards and other officials of the state prison have jobs there.

At any rate, the prison for women fosters bitterness. Ask anybody who has served in it. Here's more from "Ex-Reidsville":

"Does ANYBODY actually know what counselling or rehabilitation is given a woman who must serve at Reidsville?

"A woman serving for a misdemeanor has to serve her time at this one place. The filth, the schooling in criminal acts and the perversion is sickening to a first offender.

"I served time there and I know the loose, lax and shoddy methods and policies carried out. I stayed eight months and I was never approached by anyone who tried to find out what hope I had to adjust in this world when I left.

* * *

"I HAD EXACTLY 19 cents when I left Reidsville. I left on a Monday and didn't know until Sunday morning when my name was placed on the board to turn in my prison clothes. I didn't have time to write anyone asking them to meet me or even get my civilian clothes pressed before I was given a bus ticket back to the town from whence I was sentenced. I was thrown out like garbage with the words of the matron ringing in my ears . . . 'You'll be back.'

"There was never a time where anyone mentioned that the state was rehabilitating me. It was always that the state was 'punishing' me and while I was there I better walk the tow line.

"God help any woman who has to go to Reidsville for a short term sentence . . .

"God have mercy on those who have served and attempt to come back into society. I've been fired from three jobs because I couldn't make bond, sought out to write for the 'bug' operators in this town and I am now a waitress.

"Have pity on us that have erred but at least make it possible for us to serve the time without losing all self respect and confidence that tomorrow can bring a new horizon."

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Mrs. Burton Tells Futility

By JOHN PENNINGTON

With the women in prison, as with the men, there is an element of futility. There is also idleness, boredom and frustration. Jealousies and petty conflicts.

Education? Rehabilitation?.

One former inmate answered that question, spacing her words deliberately for emphasis: "I learned how to look a person in the face and stab them in the back."

She was one of numerous former inmates of the women's prison at Reidsville who talked to an Atlanta Journal reporter about that institution.

* * *

ONE WHO DID such was Mrs. Margaret Burton, alias Mrs. Janet Gray, who served 18 months for relieving a group of Decatur doctors of $186,000. She talked at length, though her lawyer advised her not to talk about the prison, and later told an ex-convict friend here:

"I've said it before. Something so terrible as this, something good has got to come after. If it gives us a chance to help some of those others, then I personally know that I owe it. . . ."

What she had to say, largely, has since been repeated numerous times by others who served at the prison, enough to imply a strong foundation of truth.

* * *

THIS REPORTER visited the women's prison, walking through it in the company of Warden R. P. Balkcom Jr. We saw dormitories with women standing alongside their beds, some hastening to tidy up for company; we saw empty dining tables, a row of empty solitary confinement cells. But what can a man really see in a woman's prison?

The inmates saw the inside, day after day, and here are some of the things they tell:

No. 1 complaint — an inmate, a "boss con," ran the prison. The one so accused, a big woman then doing murder from Muscogee County (recently released), reportedly had her way on everything. She could have a prisoner transferred from one dormitory to another, or sent into solitary confinement, without question.

* * *

SHE READ incoming mail. She demanded and got complete privacy in a dormitory bathroom. (Warden Balkcom said complaints to this effect reached him, but never stood up under investigation.)

The individual has no outlet for frustrations, no opportunity to discuss problems, to air grievances. "If you ask why, you are told, 'I don't have to answer to you.'"

One inmate, whose ills included dope addiction, became nervous and high strung last July 4. She sought an audience with a matron, and failed to get it. She asked for voluntary admission into solitary confinement, so she could be alone with her emotional problems.

She was ignored. Shortly afterwards she went berserk, broke soft drink bottles and assaulted a matron. Needless to say, she then was put in solitary.

* * *

WOMEN COMMITTED to "the box," former inmates said, wear a box gown only, no shoes, no underclothes. They get a bath once a week, are allowed no comb, no reading or writing materials, no smoking in the cell. They do have beds in the solitary cells for women.

Women on regular confinement are issued a can of Prince Albert smoking tobacco weekly.

Idleness, for all but about a third of the white women who work in the sewing room, and a few others on specialized jobs, is a major complaint. Women assigned to ward-cleaning average working about two hours a day, it was said, with sometimes as many as nine women assigned to clean a ward occupied by 16.

"If they'd just give you some work to do," said Mrs. Burton. "I got so upset at the futility of the thing. While paying my debt to society, I was incurring a further debt — for room and board."

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Vengeance Is Georgia's

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Georgia has her vengeance. More than any other state she has her vengeance.

In addition to standing out, right at the head of the national list, as the state with the largest per capita prison population (of nearly 10,000 persons), Georgia excels in another punitive area:

She consistently has put to death more criminals than any other state in the country—a fact that ties in with the attitudes prevailing generally toward justice and punishment.

This is a fact pointed out by Warden Fred T. Wilkinson of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, who is opposed to capital punishment, and an eloquent spokesman for his point of view.

* * *

EVERY YEAR, Warden Wilkinson said, Georgia executes more criminals than any other state.

Between 1930 and 1958, she put to death 346 persons. In a 13-year period to 1958, Georgia executed 29 persons under the age of 21.

A big year was 1957. Georgia put to death 14 criminals, out of a national total of 65. California was second, with nine.

Did Georgia deter crime thereby?

* * *

OBVIOUSLY NOT, for the rate of serious crime in Georgia ranks high in comparison of states with similar population.

As Warden Wilkinson points out in an essay on the question of whether it's proper to legally kill:

"It would take a poorly informed person or one indifferent to facts who would say that California and Georgia stand as models of crime prevention in the United States."

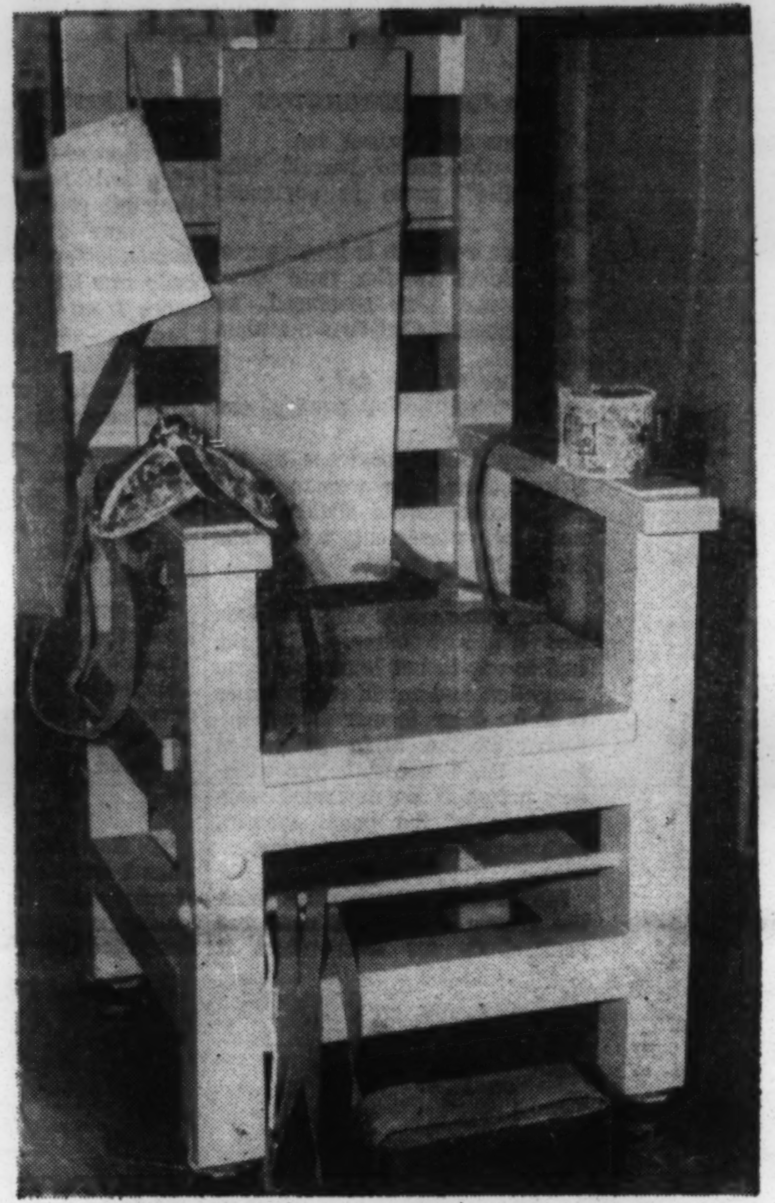
"My own position," said the warden, "is that the case for capital punishment . . . is unsound on the basis of religion, the concept of punishment and correction of offenders, and deterrence of crime.

* * *

"**THERE IS** no evidence that capital punishment, wherever it may be applied, has decreased crime either in number of offenses or in degree of severity.

"I am, therefore, opposed . . ."

Meanwhile, in more ways than one, revenge is ours.



"VENGEANCE" METED OUT HERE
Electric Chair Gives Georgia "Record"

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Starvation's No Cure

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Atlanta's famed "barbed wire surgeon," Dr. Alfred A. Weinstein, says solitary confinement on a bread and water diet is "exorbitant and excessive and cruel punishment."

"From the professional point of view," he said, the bread and water diet is one which will "rapidly lead to severe, irreversible vitamin deficiencies."

"It's strictly no good," he said. "From both the humane and professional point of view, I condemn it most bitterly."

Dr. Weinstein does not speak without feeling or first hand knowledge about incarceration. He went through World War II as a prisoner of the Japanese. He was isolated, starved, beaten and he wrote vividly of the experiences in his widely-acclaimed book, "Barbed Wire Surgeon."

* * *

HE SAYS the wilful starving of a man in isolation is worse than you would treat a dog. "If you treated a dog that way," he said, "the humane society could have you put in jail. You know that."

Likewise, he said, this kind of treatment gains nothing toward the rehabilitation of a prisoner, but rather intensifies the hatred of a man who eventually will be again in free society.

Dr. Weinstein said that now, "14 years after the fact," he bears no intellectual anger against "those who starved me."

"But I find it difficult to control my emotional anger," he said, "every time I see a Jap, or read about one."

* * *

EXCESSIVE punishment of a man in the penal system will have the same effect, he said—leaving him with a hatred permanently "against anyone connected with the penal system or law enforcement, even those who just control traffic."

Dr. Weinstein, drawing again from his own experience, said enforced starvation would be enough to adversely influence the central nervous system and damage the body beyond its capabilities of self repair.

"If you take a man who is on the brink of serious vitamin deficiency," he said (following 30 days in solitary, for example), "and put him back at hard labor, before his body has had a chance to heal itself, then the labor itself intensifies destruction. . ." This would include, Dr. Weinstein said, damage in the heart, liver, kidneys and brain.

Dr. Weinstein said a "minimal diet," for a man not working, should include eight ounces of meat, two glasses of milk, one fruit, two green vegetables, one ounce of a fat or butter product. Any person taking less ought also to be taking multi-vitamin capsules, he said.

* * *

PRISONERS in solitary confinement should get this minimal diet, he said, "unless you want to have sick animals on hand."

Looking at the diet from a calorie standpoint, Dr. Weinstein said a man should have about 2,200, depending on his size. Federal prisons give the convict in isolation a minimum of 2,300 calories daily.

About the effects of isolation itself, diet not considered, Dr. Weinstein said it is sufficient punishment. "I would rather be whipped than isolated," he said, "as I have been."

BEHIND PRISON BARS

DR. WELTNER SAW IT PLAIN AS A CHAIN-GANG VOLUNTEER

By JOHN PENNINGTON

An Atlanta man who went to a Georgia chain gang in 1912 in the interest of penal reform says it's time to take a fresh look at the penal system.

"The system we've got," he said, "doesn't make any sense."

Dr. Philip Weltner, former president of Oglethorpe University, long-time leader in the fields of education, jurisprudence and human relations, and a man known widely for his inquiring mind, shared his views on the prison problem through a series of piercing questions.

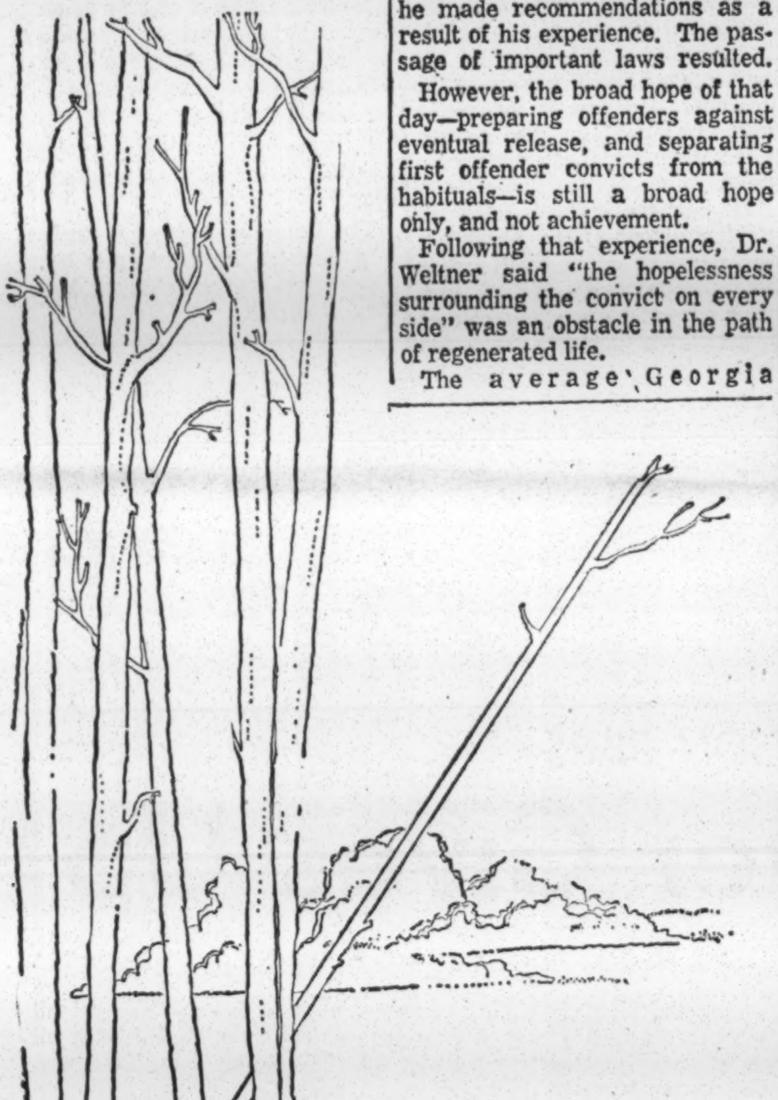
"I don't know the answers," he said. "But thank God we know the right questions . . ."

* * *

DR. WELTNER went on an old Campbell County chain gang 47 years ago, donning prison stripes voluntarily and working side by side with convicts as a water boy, to look at the problem from the inside. Then deputy solicitor general of Fulton County, he made recommendations as a result of his experience. The passage of important laws resulted.

However, the broad hope of that day—preparing offenders against eventual release, and separating first offender convicts from the habituals—is still a broad hope only, and not achievement.

Following that experience, Dr. Weltner said "the hopelessness surrounding the convict on every side" was an obstacle in the path of regenerated life.



DR. PHILIP WELTNER
One-Time Water Boy

The average Georgia convict is immersed still in hopelessness.

As Dr. Weltner found in 1912, the convict's day is filled with work, and no positive restorative action is taken "to fit him for an honest life." Ninety-five per cent of all convicts are eventually released back to the society they offended—in most cases not corrected, sometimes embittered, and always bearing the stigma of being an ex-con.

With the wisdom of years between his voluntary chain gang experience and the present, Dr. Weltner said:

"We need to take a fresh look at what we are doing in terms of what we know."

* * *

SO HE ASKED questions on the peral system — a system whose object is the protection of society against criminal acts, rather than raw punishment and revenge — questions asked "in terms of what we know."

Does society need protection? How do we get it?

"We don't get it by making people worse than they are.

"We don't get it by locking a man up a given number of years, then turning him out.

"We have two alternatives — either make him better, or shoot him."

Many of the answers to the penal problem are in the hands of the legal profession, said Dr. Weltner who started his diversified career as an attorney.

* * *

"IF WE LOOK for the best interests of all concerned," he asked, "wouldn't we have a different concept of the courts?"

The court is a battleground, he said, "a substitute for a personal feud," with the judge serving as an umpire and the jury deciding who wins. The court should not serve as a battleground, he said, but should conduct a "wide inquiry."

Dr. Weltner's inquiring approach to the penal problem:

When a person has committed an act against society, the inquiry should find out: Is he the kind of person who, unless restricted, would repeat the act? Does society have to be protected against repetition?

"Then the question is not how many years behind bars," Dr. Weltner said.

"The true question is, what must we do to get that fellow straightened out?

* * *

"YOU CAN'T protect society any other way, except by shooting him.

"That's the beginning of the inquiry."

That's the beginning, where's the solution? The question to Dr. Weltner brought another from him.

"What can we do now that will have greater value for the people 15 or 20 years from now?"

Prisons are full of individuals. You find as much diversity under prison suits as outside. How do you "straighten these fellows out?"

"First, know these people as individuals. Can this happen as the result of a court trial? No. Can we learn the answers through questions asked as a matter of record? No.

* * *

"WE JUST DON'T know enough. We're not asking the right questions."

Then is this a dead end, a futile hope?

"No," said Dr. Weltner. "It's not a dead end. It's the beginning.

"Collectively we know enough to answer those questions. As a group we know. It's up to us who don't know to learn from those who do . . ."

It's also up to those who don't know to say so, he said.

* * *

"SOMETIMES our duty requires us to say, 'I don't know.' It's no disgrace to say that."

Among those who could work toward a solving of penal problems, said Dr. Weltner, are the lawyers. "With their sense of justice," he said, "it's their baby. Society looks to them."

And who, Dr. Weltner was asked, would be in position to instigate the "fresh look" that he proposes?

"I would think the governor would be the one," he said. "He has pledged himself to honesty in government. He should be willing to take a fresh look at what we are doing in terms of what we know.

* * *

"I THINK Governor Vandiver is just the man to live up to his obligations . . .

"To live up to what we know: That's the greatest obligation of all of us."

BEHIND PRISON BARS

'The Most Brutal Man'

By JOHN PENNINGTON

"I will swear on 10 stacks of Bibles what (he) did to me . . . He is the most brutal human being I ever ran into . . ."

Forrest Turner speaking, Georgia's No. 1 reformed ex-convict, on the subject of one specific prison warden. Not too many years ago a No. 1 bad boy, Turner fought the uphill battle to respectability. Now he has a few words to say on what prisons need—and something they don't need, a heritage from the chain-gang past.

The heritage: Wardens who once exulted in chain-gang brutality and acts of sadism—wardens who despite their inclinations are highly placed still in the penal system of Georgia.

What prisoners need: Hope and Help. A desire for self betterment, some hope that all is not futile; and help from people who run prisons.

* * *

TURNER first went to prison in the 1930s, at the age of 19. In 10 years of confinement, he escaped 11 times and earned the Bad Boy title. He was paroled in 1943, during a surge of penal reform, and went on to become the state's No. 1 Reformee.

When Turner first went into prison, he wore chains. Later the chains were replaced by "picks"—metal objects welded to each man's leg—which he termed worse than chains. (How did they make him feel? "They were a constant reminder that if you could get away, you didn't have to wear them.") On many occasions, Turner said, he was beaten.

Looking back at the brutalities experienced and witnessed, Turner said Georgia prisons have come a long way. But he says they have a long way yet to go. It is his suggestion—one that he promotes in civic club addresses—that "the people" stand behind prison reform until the system is "second to none."

* * *

ON VISITS to prisons, Turner said, "I see some of the same old wardens and the same old guards that were connected with the system 25 years ago. Some of them have never done anything but cause confusion, and they have often been questioned in connection with brutality and graft."

On wardens and beatings, Turner signed an affidavit accusing three specific men of brutal and sadistic acts. He mentioned others in conversation. All of the wardens are still in the prison system, causing Turner to wonder how the building of a new prison and the easing of overcrowded problems would benefit the men serving under them.

Turner named the wardens . . . They will be referred to here as Wardens C, S and J.

* * *

ABOUT Warden C:

"He is the most brutal human being I ever ran into in my life. I served under him . . . in 1939-40. He did everything to prisoners . . . you could think of.

"He used to make Negro trusties go out with pitchforks and stick hogs to make them squeal, so the town people wouldn't hear the men screaming when he beat them with a hose pipe . . .

"He took me out at 2 o'clock in the morning and handcuffed me backwards, hooked a chain in the handcuffs and ran it through a ring imbedded in the ceiling, pulled it up and beat me unconscious.

"He beat me in the buttocks so bad the blueness, the bloodshot, went down to my feet. I've seen (others) beaten so bad, I took motor oil and put on their clothes to get them unstuck from the flesh.

"When he beat me, they were drunk. (Warden C) and a group of guards . . .

"I will swear on 10 stacks of Bibles what (Warden C) did to me. . . ."

* * *

AS MENTIONED before, Warden C is still in Georgia's penal system, head man at a prison branch confining over a hundred prisoners. . . .

About Warden S.

"I've seen (Warden S) on numerous occasions beat men with sticks, pick handles, hose pipe for the slightest infraction of any rules, such as failing to say yes sir, cap'n, and for failing to doff their hats when speaking to him . . ."

This man also is still prominent in the prison system, custodian and all-powerful over several hundred men.

About Warden J:

"I've seen (him) whip a lot of Negroes when he was a walking boss."

The latter is a deputy warden in a Georgia prison camp today.

One wonders: How much have they changed?

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Warden Never Gives Up

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Warden Fred T. Wilkinson of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary believes that many of the people in prison are victims of poor environment, unequal opportunities.

He believes they need and are entitled to help and correction.

He feels also that the root of the trouble, the national crime rate, Georgia's included, is embedded deeply in what we call society. In the teeming cities, in their slums and unlooked-after areas. He believes this is where some attention ought to be placed, at the breeding places of crime.

"I am personally very sorry," he says, "that we get such a late start on the corrections process . . ."

Mr. Wilkinson runs the big Atlanta penitentiary for federal offenders. Like the state's penal system, he is pressed with more inmates than he has room for—2,800 where his capacity is 1,890. And prison populations continue to rise, causing Mr. Wilkinson to look with alarm on the public treatment of crime-breeding areas.

* * *

WE REMOVE SLUMS, he said, to make room for a good quick highway—slums that should have been removed "for other reasons, long ago."

Allowing crime to breed in unlooked-after areas of poor environment, then fighting back through imprisonment and too-late correction, said the warden, is like standing in the middle of a swamp trying to kill all the mosquitoes with a swatter. It is not getting at the cause.

But about his correction efforts the warden speaks eloquently. He said:

On the kind of people in prisons, his and others—"We get all sorts. It's a melting pot. A very paradoxical situation, throwing all these people together, people who, 100 per cent of them, have been failures in society."

On prisoner work habits—"All the young people we get—they haven't learned to work. They haven't learned to set an alarm clock. We attempt to give them knowledge, a trade, prepare them to earn a living. We also attempt to get them to want to earn a living. . . ."

* * *

ON HOW CUSTODIAL OFFICERS should treat prisoners—They should set examples, give inmates something to emulate. Sympathize with them, talk with them "instead of breathing down their necks. We just don't like to breathe down their necks."

On incorrigibles—"We have 10 per cent we can't do anything with. They're irrascible, discontent. . . . Some in (that group) don't recognize anything except force—tight control and supervision. . . . Some ought to be kept out of society permanently."

On the others—"Almost 90 per cent can be helped. If I can do the job I hope I know how to do, and if I had the facilities, I feel we could have final success with 50 to 60 per cent of them, particularly the younger group."

Does he ever give up on a man?

"It would take a fool," said Mr. Wilkinson, "to look at a man and say, here's a fellow I'm going to write off."

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Tangled Web of Politics

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Prisoner welfare has to run the obstacle course of political comradery in the Georgia penal system.

Political implications start right at the top. The director of the State Department of Corrections, Jack Forrester, has been a Statehouse political figure for many years. He is an appointee.

Guided by the Board of Corrections—which is made up of five political appointees — Mr. Forrester runs the prison system. (The governor does not have complete control of the board. An appointee of former Gov. Marvin Griffin, Raleigh Rollins of Bainbridge, pleading no contest to a fraud charge, paid a $5,000 fine and drew a suspended sentence to the penal system he's supposed to help supervise. Gov. Vandiver wants him to quit, but so far he remains a member of the penal board.)

* * *

THEN THERE'S the county camp system, which spreads the political implications all over the state. The state disposes of about half of its nearly 10,000 prisoner population by farming them out to the custody of counties, which work them in return for their keep.

This naturally creates an atmosphere in which politicians elected on the county level, including state legislators, feel at least friendly; and in many cases beholden, to the corrections department and, in turn, the governor.

Local jobs are involved, from warden on down. Many county roads (often those passing the properties of influential citizens) get extra good care. (I recall many times riding over a south Georgia road that was county-paved 10 or 12 miles out from town, missing a big school by a couple of country miles, but running to the heart of a farm owned by a county commissioner, and stopping there.)

* * *

A LOT OF COMMERCE is involved, selling by local merchants. Takes a lot of groceries to run a prison camp, and trucks and tractors and gasoline and fuel oil, most purchased on the county level. There are 81 county public work camps in Georgia, thus happily spreading business and fixing roads and creating jobs, such as they are.

In addition, there are several branches of the state prison spotted throughout the state, doing the same thing. And of course when they got ready to build some prison branches during the past administration the logical place to put a couple was at Leesburg, hometown of Mr. Forrester, and Bainbridge, hometown of then-Gov. Griffin.

Down at Bainbridge, corrections board member Rollins did a neighborly deed and had some convicts get busy clearing some land owned by the governor. The convicts also cleared some for-sale subdivision land owned by Cheney Griffin, mayor of Bainbridge, and others.

* * *

MR. FORRESTER, who earlier had, as a favor to Cheney Griffin and to keep prisoners busy, let the city of Bainbridge have convict labor at half price, went down and investigated, but found little to fuss about.

It's easy to see that the line of political comradery is strong in the penal system: It goes much deeper and wider than this surface delineation indicates.

Thus it may be logical to assume that there will be no stampede by legislators in the direction of separating prisons and politics—a step that would be necessary to any real improvement of the penal system.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Take a Second Look

By JOHN PENNINGTON

Looking back — a recapitulation on prison visits and research:

In solitary confinement the men sat naked, on diet of bread and water. One said he was getting weak. "You should have thought of that," said the warden, "before you ran."

At Waycross, the Ware Prison Branch, a lifer prisoner was in charge of the front door key, and apparently more. He suggested to the prison's general manager, in manner authoritatively enough that he was heeded, that he wait for the warden before letting a newsman look around.

At the Putnam Prison Branch, Eatonton, a Negro convict wanted soap for his shower. It was denied. Insisting, he was told by the Boss: "Don't say a damn word to me."

* * *

CONTRAST: Curtains on the dining room windows at Pulaski Prison Branch, Hawkinsville, and a podium, all for the benefit of church services, at a camp where religion is emphasized. And back in solitary, in "the hole," sat two men, their heads shorn and their bodies stripped punitively for escaping.

* * *

PERSONNEL problems: One warden fires a guard for kicking a prisoner. Another warden promptly hires the offender without questioning the man who fired him. Prior violence on the guard's record.

Today's Feature Page shows scenes from Georgia's various prison institutions with a story by John Pennington. Page 16.

Prison laws say prisoners shall be rehabilitated. But how, at some of the places they're kept and worked, and under some of the high-up attitudes that prevail? The laws say prisoners shall be afforded educational and recreational opportunities. Another paragraph adds: "Where practical."

Who do you find in prison? You never know. An old friend, perhaps, for there are nearly 10,000 in.

* * *

ALL KILLERS and rapists and robbers by force? Hardly. The big majority of them are involved in petty crimes, misdemeanors. Many, many, many are those who are serving several months because they couldn't afford to pay a $100 fine. Yet, very recently a member of the State Board of Corrections, which supervises the penal system, paid a $5,000 fine to keep a sentence in suspension.

With all the overcrowding, prison officials have their problems, some seemingly simple but not that easy to solve: For example, 400 misdemeanors could be separated from the felons at the Reidsville State Prison if there were some place else to put 170-odd women.

Another product of overcrowding: Traffic in prison of dangerous drugs, taken for kicks by inmates.

* * *

A PRODUCT of short finances, or something: Georgia is one of the states which pays nothing for prisoner labor, leaving many broke and behind to start with when they get out of prison, some virtually under sentence to steal again.

Also a product of short finances, and perhaps some big - business reasons elsewhere: The state prison's productive capacity is barely tapped, to the loss of taxpayers, inmates, and all others concerned.

Along with her national ranking on prisoner population, Georgia also ranks No. 1 in executions, considered a dubious honor by some.

Forrest Turner, rehabilitated ex-convict, names wardens whose brutality he has witnessed and experienced. They're still in the system.

Dr. Alfred A. Weinstein, famous "barbed-wire surgeon" of World War II, a medical specialist, condemns the exorbitance of isolation on bread and water.

Dr. Philip Weltner, former president of Oglethorpe University, who once went on a chain gang in the interest of penal reform, thinks it's time to take a new look at the prisons, considering what's being done against what we know.

And then there's the tangled web of politics in which the penal system is enmeshed, county level on up.

Behind Prison Bars

FORRESTER FOR GALLOWS TO CUT DOWN CRIME RATE

By **JOHN PENNINGTON**

Jack Forrester

The man who runs Georgia's penal system is Jack (John Morgan) Forrester, a colorful, loquacious man who has been in the state capitol off and on, mostly on, for the past 26 years.

He is eminently qualified as a governmental administrator, having held numerous boss-jobs—in the public service commission, revenue department, welfare department, highway department, and now prisons department. He also has been in the legislature.

He is not, and readily admits it, "an expert penologist."

• • •

HE STARTED OUT on the job, in January of 1955, pledging for prisoners vocational training and the teaching of community responsibility. "You can do more good," he said then, "with sugar than vinegar."

In the meantime, he has built up the Rock Quarry bastion for tough punishment of tough individuals at Buford, promoted some hard - fisted personnel; defended some prisoner-slapping, and now favors returning executions to the gallows, on a county level, so the young people can watch hangings and thereby be deterred from juvenile delinquency. Back during the summer, when prisoners were rebelling at the State Prison in a so-called hunger strike, Mr. Forrester vowed to keep down such "if we have to pack them into isolation like college boys pack into telephone booths." (Isolation being "solitary" confinement, or "the hole," and diet of bread and water.)

Mr. Forester has held state jobs under favor of the late Eugene Talmadge, Herman Talmadge, Marvin Griffin, and Gov. Vandiver.

• • •

CONTROVERSY SORT of rides with him, a matter he blames some on the newspapers, and at one time on "selfish politicians." The penal system, supposedly reformed a time or two in the past decade and a half, has had more than its share of notoriety since Mr. Forrester took it over.

His job, paying $12,000 a year in salary and $2,000 subsistence, supposedly is nonpolitical, since he is an executive director of the State Board of Corrections, which itself is a board of appointive members with staggered terms. But the director served at the pleasure of former Gov. Griffin and he serves at the pleasure of Gov, Vandiver.

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MR. FORRESTER'S political career: He became secretary of the Public Service Commission in 1933, when Eugene Talmadge was governor, serving until 1937. He went to the Legislature from Crisp County in 1939. In 1941, he became state revenue commissioner, bossing the liquor industry and the collection of taxes. This job he held until 1943, when the political winds and the governor changed. In 1948, under another change, he became state welfare director under Herman Talmadge. Next year he got embroiled in controversy with a group of 14 doctors at the Milledgeville State Hospital, with them demanding his hide or they would quit. Mr. Forrester now says he was trying then to do what is now being done at the hospital, but he was thwarted. Reports from that day say he tried to install efficient business methods, with his business manager trying to make the doctors punch a time clock. They revolted.

At any rate, Mr. Forrester quit that job and swapped with Alan Kemper, who was at that time treasurer of the State Highway Department. Mr. Kemper took over welfare and Mr. Forrester the highway job, both with the blessings of then Gov. Talmadge.

From 1951 until 1955, and the advent of Mr. Griffin, Mr. Forrester was coordinator of the State Housing Authority. And then he got the job of penal boss.

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AFTER WORKING with the penal problems to now, Mr. Forrester blames many of his problems on money, the ever-present matter of fighting the budget. Always, he said, he has to keep back some money for emergency, running the system as sparely as possible. Then when the fiscal year ends, and the money hasn't been all used up because the emergency didn't materialize, what does he do with the money? Why, he gives it back to the state and they put it in next year's budget. He doesn't get to accumulate the unspent portion and the prisons have been run meanwhile at the astoundingly low rate of $1.09 per prisoner per day.

Meanwhile, prison population grows, despite lenient "good time" policies, and prison problems grow, despite citations of advances in the system's administration, and Mr. Forrester says the women and groups who jump into the call for reform are "do-gooders," and newspaper reports of the state of the system bother him not at all. He told this reporter that a letter, claiming prisons are getting two soft to deter crime, was "one hundred per cent true."

Mr. Forrester has indicated he would be happy to have a change of laws—to afford the warden more severe punitive measures at the Buford Rock Quarry. and to junk the big, awesome electric chair at Reidsville in favor of the gallows pole in 159 counties.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

Well, Is Reform Necessary . . . Or Do-Gooding?

By JOHN PENNINGTON

The cry for penal reform is dodged with nimble feet.

The need for it is denied with righteous protestation.

Interest in it is shunted aside, with ridicule.

Corrections Director Jack Forrester said members of women's groups who want to help are "do-gooders." Assistant Director J. B. Hatchett waved a booklet of laws governing the penal system at a reporter, whom he called a "90-day wonder," and suggested sarcastically: "Why don't you take this and rewrite it like you want it?"

While the issue is being ignored, let these questions get into the record:

—Do officials responsible believe the state is, or has been, doing its best, with the prisons? Can all the ills really be blamed on money?

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—DO THEY CONDONE and endorse methods used in solitary confinement, of stripping men naked of clothing and human dignity as well, of punitively shearing the heads of those so confined, of starvation diet? Are these methods conducive to rehabilitation?

—Can a prisoner be rehabilitated in a county camp where getting a day's work out of him is the main consideration, and where there are no facilities for any kind of improvement such as education, recreation, and where sometimes the prisoner has to take his religion, if he gets any, through the bars, with preacher on one side, him on the other?

—Can a prisoner be prepared for the honest life "outside" in a prison branch where the warden and chief example-setter is an old-timer chain-gang cap'n who has beaten dozens, yea, hundreds of men, and apparently relishes human suffering?

—Does the penal system overall, county camps included, lend itself to "correction"—the logical goal of modern penology?

* * *

—WITH MUCH purported inclination toward self-injury on the part of prisoners, and the obvious need for mental treatment of some people in prisons, why is so little emphasis put on the emotional aspect that the department of corrections in the past fiscal year paid $850 to its chief psychiatrist, according to the audit, while paying one surgeon who devoted only part time to prisoners more than $13,000?

—When will the state, when specifically, take advantage of the numerous opportunities for industralization, putting prisoners to constructive work and taking some business away forever by law from political figures who form brokerage firms just to sell to the state?

—Why not more cooperation between state departments, such as corrections and education, to benefit the state, and not the departments? Education for prisoners, prison-made product-buying by education folk?

* * *

—HOW LONG will the "corrections" system look down on its inmates in enormous superiority, justifying slappings and beatings, rehiring guards with records of brutality, promoting some of the same?

—Will the building of a fine new prison, which is needed, improve the lot of the prisoners serving under the warden that Forrest Turner described as "the most brutal human being" . . . ?

—Why is it so difficult to find new ideas on solitary confinement when federal prisons have found less severe restrictions effective for years?

—If the prisoner emerges as an alumnus of the Georgia prison system a worse person than he went in, what has the state gained except raw vengeance, and a good candidate for repeat? And insurance to keep our prison population statistics high?

* * *

—WHY DOES IT take years to solve the problem of where to put less than 200 women at Reidsville—to make room for separation of 400 misdemeanor prisoners from the main institution?

—Is the famous Navy menu adopted by prisons being used in a prison branch where convicts have for dinner fried fatback and dried beans four days in one week?

—Granted that it's a bargain for the moment: Is it a long-range bargain to run the prison system at a cost of $1.09 per prisoner per day—probably the lowest in the country—not counting those other four or five thousand prisoners kept by county camps, who cost the state nothing?

—Would it not be an advantage to the state, though a political disadvantage, to put prison custodial personnel under the merit system?

* * *

—IS IT REALLY necessary for security at the Buford Rock Quarry prison to haul prisoners from one point to another, including to court at Lawrenceville, in a pickup truck dog cage?

—Is it really necessary in the name of discipline to intimidate prisoners with harsh and abusive language and false promises?

—Should not some attention be given to new methods of sentencing, when the present system of handing the task to a relatively uninformed jury leads to grave inequities and everybody in the legal and related professions and everybody in the legislature and state capitol knows it?

—Some knowledgeable persons with a sincere and unselfish interest in the penal problem seriously question modern prisons and their methods. It is suggested that what is being done in the prisoner-handling line is not up to what is known about the problem. When will the state make an effort at finding the answers to known questions, aiming at a method which will come nearer the penal goal of protecting society against lawbreaking?

* * *

—WHEN WILL WE, in the words of Dr. Philip Weltner, begin to live up, penalwise, to what we know—"the greatest obligation of all of us"?

These questions emerge from about six weeks of studying the state's prisons, and about that long writing about them, adding up to the 90 days that Mr. Hatchett spoke of in his "90-day wonder" remark. The prisons have been described as seen by one not so close to the woods that the trees could not be seen, with no interest save the revelation of what was observed, as the average non-convict citizen would have seen it.

Several citizen-groups have asked for action, in one case demanded it. Their interest has been taken lightly

The Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs called for sweeping reforms, went on record "demanding reform of subhuman treatment of prisoners in solitary confinement cells.

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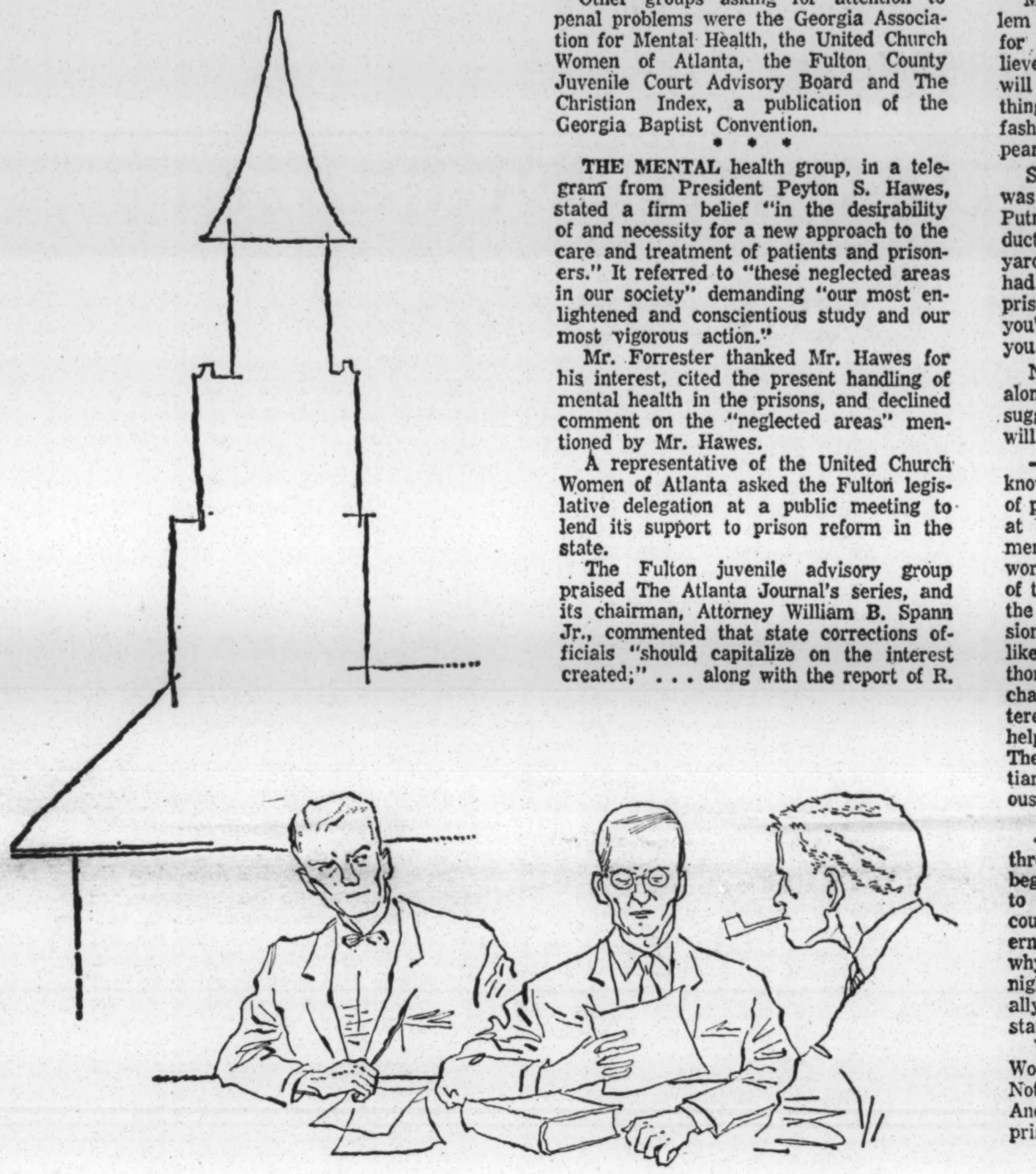
THE FEDERATIONS pledged full cooperation "in developing programs designed toward the rehabilitation of prisoners. . . ."

Mr. Forrester replied on the record that the corrections department would appreciate "any suggestions you may have which would enable us to more effectively punish prisoners which cannot be controlled otherwise than by isolation with restricted diet."

But privately he spoofed the women: he said he hadn't heard of any convention of them here; he referred to "do-gooders"; he suggested that the reporter-writer of this prison series had collaborated with the women to solicit their interest. Such was not the case.

Mrs. E. L. Barnes of Statesboro, president of the federation, later wrote Mr. Forrester:



"We believe that nakedness, hunger, loneliness and despair are not effective punishment. We consider it essential to improve the diet given prisoners . . . but we also believe that it is just as important to give food to the minds and spirits and encouragement that the future is not hopeless. . . ."

She said the group was asking authorities in the field of penology for suggestions.

Other groups asking for attention to penal problems were the Georgia Association for Mental Health, the United Church Women of Atlanta, the Fulton County Juvenile Court Advisory Board and The Christian Index, a publication of the Georgia Baptist Convention.

* * *

THE MENTAL health group, in a telegram from President Peyton S. Hawes, stated a firm belief "in the desirability of and necessity for a new approach to the care and treatment of patients and prisoners." It referred to "these neglected areas in our society" demanding "our most enlightened and conscientious study and our most vigorous action."

Mr. Forrester thanked Mr. Hawes for his interest, cited the present handling of mental health in the prisons, and declined comment on the "neglected areas" mentioned by Mr. Hawes.

A representative of the United Church Women of Atlanta asked the Fulton legislative delegation at a public meeting to lend its support to prison reform in the state.

The Fulton juvenile advisory group praised The Atlanta Journal's series, and its chairman, Attorney William B. Spann Jr., commented that state corrections officials "should capitalize on the interest created;" . . . along with the report of R. A. Chappell to the Atlanta Crime Commission on the same subject.

* * *

AN EDITORIAL in The Christian Index urged Gov. Vandiver to include help for the prison system in his program of reform at the Milledgeville State Hospital.

"We need the help of penal experts," said the editorial. "We need the help of some leading citizens."

Meanwhile, there's always the problem of money. The state is casting around for a place to build a new prison to relieve a terribly overcrowded situation. That will cost a lot of money. Nearly everything that needs to be done in constructive fashion would cost some money, it appears.

Several weeks ago, when this reporter was visiting prisons, one stop was at the Putnam Prison Branch at Eatonton. Conducting a look-around was Louie Tuggle, yardman. After an hour or so of looking had revealed the entire contents of the prison, Mr. Tuggle said: "Well, now that you've seen it all, what suggestions would you make for improvement?"

Ninety days do not an expert make, let alone an hour or so, but a few audacious suggestions concerning the prison system will here be put down by an outsider:

—Why not seek the advice and help of knowledgeable and interested citizens and of penal experts for the purpose of arriving at a long-range plan for penal improvement, for the purpose of creating a goal to work to? Why not listen to R. A. Chappell of the Federal Probation Board, who made the report to the Atlanta Crime Commission? Why not seek the advice of someone like Dr. Philip Weltner, the former Oglethorpe University president who went to a chain gang voluntarily in 1912 in the interest of penal reform? Why not seek the help of known authorities on the subject? There is one at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary who has been sought out by numerous other states—but not by Georgia.

* * *

—THE COUNTY CAMP situation is shot through with politics from fore to aft, from beginning to end, from the state level down to the precincts. The practice of running county camps is dwindling wherever modern penal practices are put into effect. So why not set up a plan, not a drastic, overnight one, but a longer-range one to gradually do away with county camp control of state prisoners?

What about county financial situations? Wouldn't this work a hardship on counties? Not an undue one, if a gradual situation. And in addition it can be said flatly that prisoners are not confined for county benefit anyway, political considerations notwithstanding.

What about the fine, well-built county camps in which thousands have been invested? Over a period of time, why couldn't the state acquire the better ones for branch prisons under state control? This it did in Putnam County. And it has built prison branches in other places.

* * *

WHILE REMOVING political considerations from the corrections system, this would also remove some political wardens.

—Meanwhile, why not set up a program seeking wardens with some penal and/or sociological background, likewise not an overnight thing. More immediate could be the removal of those who have repeatedly shown sadistic tendencies in the past.

—At the same time, guards could be put on notice—some need it and some don't, of course—that there will be no foot-in-the-rear overseeing, that example-setting instead will be demanded of custodial personnel. This would work only where the warden's attitude matched the directive.

* * *

—WHY NOT INSTITUTE immediately a program of industry to sell to the state and its agencies and political subdivisions—a program that could start with a moderate investment and build itself up if there existed a lawful compulsion that its products be favored over political sellers from one administration to another? This same program would lead to the solving of more problems than one, including the one of sending prisoners out penniless after their time has been served, invited to err again.

—Why not set up at least limited recreation facilities at all prison camps? The few camps which let inmates indulge about once a week in such as horseshoes and volley ball find it pays off in prisoner morale.

* * *

—WHY NOT START OUT an education process on a shoestring, even if limited in the beginning to inmate teachers working a few hours a week with those who can neither read nor write?

—Reassess punitive measures, retaining the certainty of punishment for rule-breaking but allowing the individual to retain his dignity and mental and physical health while undergoing extra punishment. This could include a standardization of solitary confinement practices.

—And why not provide a board removed from the department of corrections to hear prisoner complaints? Sometimes legitimate ones are ignored because some officials feel they must under all circumstances trust the guard over the prisoner. Under that circumstance, the complaining prisoner is never telling the truth—a situation adding to the hopelessnes and futility found in some prisons.

* * *

SUCH A GROUP to be in the least effective would have to be composed of individuals interested only in justice and humanity and not in political favor, individuals who would look upon the confined man as a prisoner, but not "only a prisoner."

—All the while, competent minds could be working conscientiously toward a corrections system that would seek to do what its name implies—correct the offender; a system that would seek more equal justice in the beginning; one that would make wider use of probation and parole powers, one that would incarcerate convicts on the basis of known background, and let them back to society, following their "treatment" and punishment and debt service, rehabilitated if possible and ready and able to enter an honest life.

The present system falls somewhat short of that.

For how long, how long will it do so?

14 THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Friday, June 10, 1960

Vandiver Rejects State Crime Board

By GENE BRITTON

Gov. Vandiver squelched a proposal for a state crime commission Thursday, declaring there is no rampant crime in Georgia.

The governor was asked at his news conference about a recommendation by the Atlanta Citizens' Crime Committee that a state crime commission be created under an administration law enacted by the last General Assembly.

Vandiver said he recommended the legislation merely as a standby authority and hoped it would not have to be used.

The Atlanta committee criticized ineffective law enforcement in some areas of the state and complained that the Georgia prison system is an archaic one which emphasizes custodial care rather than rehabilitation.

Vandiver said he didn't consider that the state's crime situation is severe, and, as to the penal system, he said the Corrections department is doing an excellent job under unfortunate circumstances.

Vandiver said planned expansion of physical facilities, including the establishment of an industrial prison system, would solve many of the problems.

On other topics, the governor was asked at the news conference about a recent statement by former Gov. Arnall, who predicted a "political revolution" in the state.

"Predicting or hoping?" Vandiver quipped.

He was reminded that Arnall had said that former Gov. Griffin seemed to be "copyrighting" the closed schools issue, and that he, Arnall, was advocating open schools. Vandiver was asked which of the two he would prefer if Arnall and Griffin were the only candidates for governor in the election.

He grinned and asked, "You don't really expect me to answer that question do you?"

Governor Can't Select Banks Chief

Gov. Vandiver cannot name a successor to the late Superintendent of Banks A. P. Persons until the legislature meets again, according to a 1919 law.

The law, apparently unknown to Gov. Vandiver and other state officials, was brought to light by State Auditor B. E. Thrasher.

The law states that the superintendent of banks is to be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.

But it adds:

"In the event there shall be a vacancy in the office when the Senate is not in session . . . the assistant superintendent shall act, holding the office until the Senate convenes and a successor . . . is appointed."

Another provision of the law stipulates that while acting as superintendent, the assistant shall receive the pay of the superintendent.

The present assistant superintendent is W. M. Jackson.

The law requires that the superintendent "be a man of good character and (have) at least five years' active experience in the banking business."

It also stipulates that he must not have business connections with any bank during his term.

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8 THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Thursday, June 9, 1960

Crime Board to Propose Statewide Probe Body

Citizens Group Hears Prison System Called Inefficient Political Plum

The Atlanta Crime Committee decided Wednesday to ask Gov. Vandiver to establish a crime probe group operating on a statewide level.

The decision followed a wide-open discussion which (1) characterized the Georgia penal system as an archaic and inefficient political plum and (2) lamented lax law enforcement in the far reaches of Georgia.

Charles Jagels

But, recognizing both problems as beyond the scope of its function in metropolitan Atlanta, the committee agreed to call upon the governor in a body to request establishment of a state crime commission.

WELTNER TO SURVEY

As a preliminary, the committee instructed Investigator Charles L. Weltner to survey state law and determine the extent of the governor's power in establishing a crime probe body, as suggested by committee member Charles H. Jagels.

Committee members claimed the problem lies in lax law enforcement in some sections of Georgia, coupled with the state prison system's emphasis on custodial care instead of rehabilitation.

The discussion was kicked off by Committee Chairman Morris B. Abram, who said he has been long concerned with reform of the penal system.

CORRECTIONS UNIT HIT

Referring to the state agency headed by Jack M. Forrester, he said, "It is labeled the Department of Corrections, but it does not correct."

He was joined by committee member Frank C. Bowen Sr., who said:

"Those in charge of prisons are not interested in reports or suggestions. We've not been able to get anywhere with Forrester. Our prisons are just a place to confine people, not rehabilitate them.

"Anything we start in Fulton County doesn't have much chance on Capitol Hill. We all know that."

Abram, citing the need for better prison facilities and classification of prisoners for rehabilitation purposes, said prison reform appeared to be "an extremely immovable object."

"POLITICAL PLUMS"

Prison reform efforts meet inertia, he said, because the creation of many small prison units throughout Georgia comprised "political plums" which boosted local economies and "made prison labor available for private and semi-private use."

"This is a state problem and beyond our scope," said Jagels, in suggesting the state committee. "What we can do is hard to tell. It's been my experience that periodic reform governors crop up, but I don't think Vandiver is a reform governor.

"My knowledge is only casual, but Vandiver is interested only in the commendable goal of saving the taxpayers money.

"I get the impression he wishes the newspapers would lay off some of this crime and corruption stuff."

YOU CAN GET

Baptists Urge Prison Probe

Call for Rehabilitation Of Convicts

The Christian Index, publication of the Georgia Baptist Convention, has called for an investigation of Georgia's prison system "by able men outside the prison administration."

In what seemed to be a criticism of Gov. Vandiver, an editorial in the Jan. 7 issue of the publication, which has a circulation of 106,697, declared that: "The General Assembly apparently must take the initiative if anything is to be done."

"The administration apparently finds no need for a fact-finding commission," the editorial said.

* * *

LAST WEEK, Gov. Vandiver received from a legislative subcommittee a report of brutality at the Buford Rock Quarry Prison and turned it over to the Department of Corrections, which administers that institution and the others of the system. The governor said the charges would be investigated by the department and any guard guilty of brutality would be fired.

The editorial added: "There is need for reform within the prison walls and there is need for a helping hand when the prisoner is released."

This was the second editorial The Index has carried on prisons since the beginning of a series of articles on the system in The Atlanta Journal. An editorial in the Dec. 2 issue urged Gov. Vandiver to move with "boldness" to lead a study of the system.

* * *

THE LATEST editorial declared:

"The administration apparently finds no need for a fact-finding commission. But all is not well within the walls. The solitary confinement cells, for example, are little if any better than the dungeons of earlier centuries. We even have the whipping posts as a carry-over.

"Let's establish the facts by able men outside the prison administration. The General Assembly apparently must take the initiative if anything is to be done."

Georgia is "sadly negligent" in the area of vocational training for prisoners, The Index said. Prison industries, it declared, will save money, "but of greater importance, will provide employment for otherwise idle men."

The only opposition to a prison industries program, it held, "will come from the private business interests accustomed to profits from sales to the state."

erved by calling up soldiers for less than a year active duty. Said Gilpatric:

"The purpose was to persuade Khrushchev to call off his threat of signing a separate peace treaty with East Germany, which would cut off our acess routes and threaten our vital interests in Berlin. We may face the same threat again this year."

ne of it in actual prospect.

efense Robert S. Mc- to trim down some of s part of the over-all of gold dollars abroad. ne U.S. manpower is de- y and France, where most men are assigned.

s units based in West Ger- pain and small elements else- about 75,000 men. Under the embers of air guard and reserve ized and sent to Europe, but be- e by mid-July.

s about 20,000 men assigned to Europe or on ships which "home por an harbors.

How s of thousands of other U.S. fighting men afloat in U.S. Navy ships operating in neighboring waters or are assigned to crews of Strategic Air Command (SAC) bombers which fly in and out of Europe.

Army combat power is centered in five divisions, four regiments, three battle groups and an

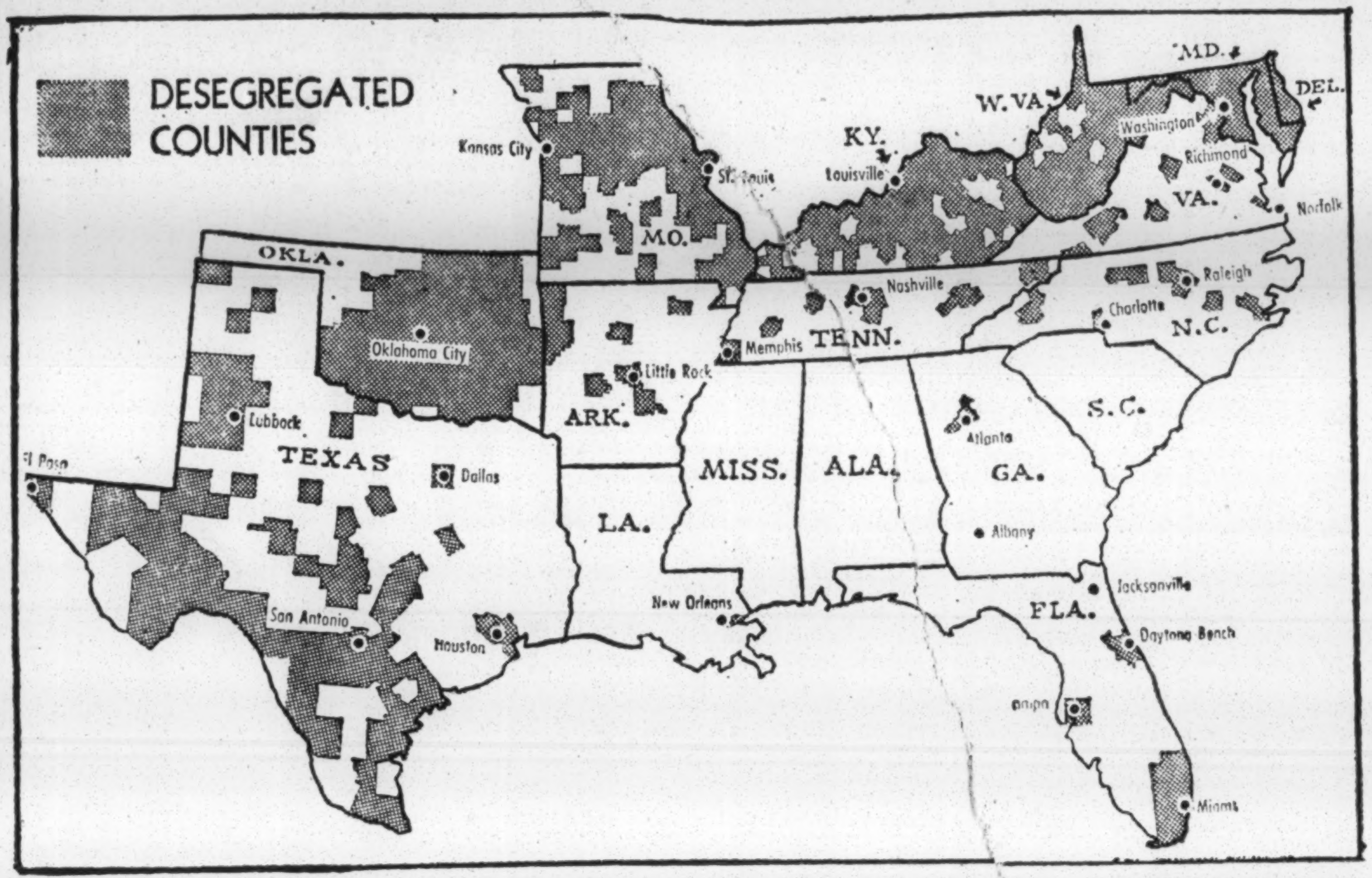
are separa

THE AIR FORC small, based in four countries,

Germany—36th Tactical Fighter Wing at Bitburg; 50th Tactical Fighter Wing and 586th Tactical Missile Group at Hahn; headquarters of 86th Air Division (defense) and of the 17th Air Force at Ramstein; 49th Tactical Fighter Wing at Spangdahlem; headquarters for the U.S. Air Force in Europe at Wiesbaden; 30th Tactical Missile Wing at Sembach. An Air Force tactical missile is the Mace bombardment weapon, with a range of about 1,200 miles.

France—366th Tactical Wing at Chaumont; headquarters of the 322nd Air Division (transports) at Evraux-Fauville air base; 66th Tactical Reconnaissance at Laon.

England—20th Tactical Fighter Wing at Wethersfield; 10th Tactical Reconnaissance Wing at Alconbury; headquarters of 3rd Air Force at South Ruislip. In addition, several other bases are used by SAC bomber units on rotational assignments.



Congressional Quarterly Map

GRAY AREAS SHOW COUNTIES WHICH HAVE DESEGREGATED IN 17 SOUTHERN, BORDER STATES
In May, 1962, 7.6 Per Cent of the Negro Enrollment in the Entire Area Was in School With Whites

INTEGRATION IN 948 DISTRICTS

Dixie Total Climbs Since '54 Decision

By NORMAN SHAVIN
Journal-Constitution Sunday Editor

3 STATES STILL BALK

This special report is based on data from various authoritative sources, including the Journal-Constitution's special correspondents, who filed exclusive summaries from six of the Southern states.

More public schools in 17 Southern and "border" states will be desegregated this fall, bringing to 948 the total number of school districts which have complied with the U.S. Supreme Court decision of May, 1954.

Only three Southern states — Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina — will open their schools without integrated classrooms.

In the other 14 states, 33 of the 948 districts will be desegregated for the first time. Twenty-four of the 948 districts, which already had been desegregated, will have Negroes in schools with whites for the first time.

In the parochial area, Roman Catholic schools in Atlanta and 71 north Georgia counties have been ordered by Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan to integrate this fall. His order affects 7,500 pupils, including 735 Negroes.

A much greater number — about 75,000 pupils — are affected in a mandate which Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel issued at New Orleans in March, calling for integration of the 153 archdiocesan schools.

Here is a brief analysis of public school desegregation this fall:

ARKANSAS

Little Rock's school board approved transfer of more Negroes to the previously desegregated junior and senior high schools, making 78 Negroes assigned to biracial classes. This is 30 more than last year.

DELAWARE

All 92 districts are desegregated. Laurel, one of the few large districts still with separate schools, has approved admission of at least 22 Negroes in formerly all-white elementary and high schools.

FLORIDA

More in in Brow erdale); integrate Escambi has assig tend 12 Hillsborou further d County (

Turn to

Crime Unit Weighs Alcoholics' Farm

By BUDDY DAVIS

An effort to curb Atlanta's drunkenness problem, deemed costly both in dollars and humanity, was launched Wednesday by the Atlanta Crime Committee.

Placed under serious study was establishment of a "drunk farm" to dehydrate alcoholic inmates during terms extending from two to six months. The first practical step planned by the committee is conferences with city officials.

Statewide crime committee suggested. Story on Page 8.

A committee report revealed Atlanta police made 46,110 arrests for drunkenness in 1959. Of this number, 98 per cent drew short-term sentences in the city prison farm.

Housing of these prisoners alone cost the city an estimated $1,200,000 last year, not including cost of police and court operations.

Crime Committee Chairman Morris B. Abram, terming short-term imprisonment ineffective, said the current procedure was "pouring money down the rat hole."

The Crime Committee had before it a report on alcoholism prepared under the direction of committee member Charles H. Jagels. The report was critical of current practice of sentencing drunks to "$15 or 15 days," then returning them to the streets to commit another offense.

It looked with favor on a plan

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

ess.

As Dr. Weltner found in 1912, the convict's day is filled with work, and no positive restorative action is taken "to fit him for an honest life." Ninety-five per cent of all convicts are eventually released back to the society they offended—in most cases not corrected, sometimes embittered, and always bearing the stigma of being an ex-con.

With the wisdom of years between his voluntary chain gang experience and the present, Dr. Weltner said:

"We need to take a fresh look at what we are doing in terms of what we know."

* * *

SO HE ASKED questions on the penal system — a system whose object is the protection of society against criminal acts, rather than raw punishment and revenge — questions asked "in terms of what we know."

Does society need protection? How do we get it?

"We don't get it by making people worse than they are.

"We don't get it by locking a man up a given number of years, then turning him out.

"We have two alternatives — either make him better, or shoot him."

Many of the answers to the penal problem are in the hands of the legal profession, said Dr. Weltner who started his diversified career as an attorney.

* * *

"IF WE LOOK for the best interests of all concerned," he asked, "wouldn't we have a different concept of the courts?"

The court is a battleground, he said, "a substitute for a personal feud," with the judge serving as an umpire and the jury deciding who wins. The court should not serve as a battleground, he said, but should conduct a "wide inquiry."

Dr. Weltner's inquiring approach to the penal problem:

When a person has committed an act against society, the inquiry should find out: Is he the kind of person who, unless restricted, would repeat the act? Does society have to be protected against repetition?

"Then the question is not how many years behind bars," Dr. Weltner said.

"The true question is, what must we do to get that fellow straightened out?

* * *

"YOU CAN'T protect society any other way, except by shooting him.

"That's the beginning of the inquiry."

That's the beginning, where's the solution? The question to Dr. Weltner brought another from him.

"What can we do now that will have greater value for the people 15 or 20 years from now?"

Prisons are full of individuals. You find as much diversity under prison suits as outside. How do you "straighten these fellows out?"

"First, know these people as individuals. Can this happen as the result of a court trial? No. Can we learn the answers through questions asked as a matter of record? No.

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* * *

"WE JUST DON'T know enough. We're not asking the right questions."

Then is this a dead end, a futile hope?

"No," said Dr. Weltner. "It's not a dead end. It's the beginning.

"Collectively we know enough to answer those questions. As a group we know. It's up to us who don't know to learn from those who do . . ."

It's also up to those who don't know to say so, he said.

* * *

"SOMETIMES our duty requires us to say, 'I don't know.' It's no disgrace to say that."

Among those who could work toward a solving of penal problems, said Dr. Weltner, are the lawyers. "With their sense of justice," he said, "it's their baby. Society looks to them."

And who, Dr. Weltner was asked, would be in position to instigate the "fresh look" that he proposes?

THE UNTIED D.A.

BILLINGS, Mont., Nov. 28 (AP)—One of the new door signs placed in the federal building in Billings by the General Services Administration sports this misprint: "Untied States Attorney."

"I hope I'll never have to use it." There is no point in wasting money on a commission that is not needed, he asserted.

Gov. Vandiver commented that the State Department of Corrections, which was criticized by members of the Atlanta Citizens Crime Committee, is doing "an excellent job under very trying circumstances."

Some parts of the prison system are overcrowded and the proposed industrial prison is greatly needed, he asserted, calling attention to action by the last General Assembly to expand prison facilities.

* * *

"I THINK the greatest part of our problems will be taken care of by this action," he said.

The governor's comments on crime were in response to a step taken by the Atlanta Citizens Crime Committee to look into the question of whether the governor should appoint a state crime agency of "impartial, distinguished citizens."

At its meeting Wednesday, at which the Department of Corrections was criticized and Gov. Vandiver was described as being commendably interested in economy but not in such matters as prison reform, the committee decided to have attorney Charles L. Weltner determine what authority the governor may have to establish a statewide crime commission.

* * *

CHAIRMAN Morris Abram said Mr. Weltner will make a report to the commission July 13.

The Atlanta committee, Mr. Abram said, has found that the problem of crime in Atlanta is "inextricably intertwined with the way the state deals with the problems of conviction and correction." He added:

"We noticed that 75 per cent of the violent crimes since Jan. 1 were committed by persons with previous service in some institution. We are not quarreling with the fact that they are out. What we are saying is that those who enter these institutions are not corrected, are perhaps embittered and are more of a menace to society when they come out than when they entered."

* * *

IT WAS Charles H. Jagels, re-

Turn to Page 6, Column 4

Vandiver Discusses Schools With Voter League Officials

Short Conference Apparently Changes No Segregation Views

Gov. Ernest Vandiver and two officials of the League of Women Voters of Georgia chatted briefly and amiably Monday about the school situation in Georgia.

But when the short conference was over, it was apparent to all that neither the governor nor the two ladies who visited his office had changed their minds one bit about segregation and the possibility of Georgia's public schools being closed.

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson, state president of the League of Women Voters of Georgia, and Mrs. Philip Hammer, chairman of the education committee of the league's state board, sought and received the talk with the governor.

* * *

MRS. VINSON SAID Monday that she and Mrs. Hammer represented only the league, and not the nine or 10 other organizations which sent representatives to the Capitol last Tuesday. That group found the governor not in his office, and some members of the group seemed to feel the governor was evading them.

Mrs. Vinson and Mrs. Hammer gave the governor a letter Monday, outlining the league's endorsement of a legislative commission to review school segregation laws in Georgia and urging Gov. Vandiver to set up such a commission.

* * *

SUCH A COMMISSION, said the letter, ought to:

"1. Devote immediate attention to evaluating methods used to prevent school closing in other states.

"2. Explore new legal channels which will conform to the Supreme Court ruling (on segregation in the public schools) but will give scope to the will and wishes of individual parents.

"3. Come up with recommendations to the 1960 General Assembly."

But Gov. Vandiver, expanding on what he had told his press conference an hour earlier, told the league officials that the request for such a commission had been sent from the Atlanta School Board to the General Assembly.

"The legislature will deal with it," he said.

* * *

MRS. VINSON TOLD the governor how the state convention of the league in May adopted a resolution urging creation of a special body "dedicated to finding ways of preserving the public school system."

"Nobody is more interested in keeping the schools open than I," Gov. Vanderbilt said. "But I want to keep them open and segregated."

"That's what we are working toward. . . . The governor is bound by the law, and I intend to comply with what the law is," he added.

"The state law, you mean?" asked Mrs. Vinson.

The governor said "yes," that was what he meant.

* * *

GOV. VANDIVER assured Mrs. Vinson and Mrs. Hammer that he is certain the General Assembly will give consideration to the plan for a commission to study the situation.

"That is the most we can ask," Mrs. Vinson replied. She said she and Mrs. Hammer would just leave a copy of the league letter with the governor and forward other copies to Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd and House Speaker George Smith.

After shaking hands again with Gov. Vandiver and standing by him for press photographers, the two league officials thanked him again for his time and departed. The entire conference lasted about five minutes.

* * *

GOV. VANDIVER permitted about a dozen newsmen to come into his office for the conference when he welcomed the two women.

Mrs. Vinson opened the talk by telling him: "It is so good of you to see us this morning." She said they realized how busy the governor is, and then got right down to business.

The governor assured the two league officials that it was a pleasure for him to meet them and talk with them.

He made it plain, however, that he had not composed a commission like the one being proposed and that it would be up to the General Assembly to consider the idea.

Vandiver's Text On Crime Control

Here is the text of Gov. Ernest Vandiver's prepared statement Monday, in which he set out his policy regarding reported incidents of law violations in two Georgia counties:

"Let it be clear and unmistakable that I do not condone crime, anywhere, any place, at any time.

"Should crime exist in Fulton County, McIntosh County and Gilmer County, it should be blotted out.

"The people of Fulton County, McIntosh County and Gilmer County elect law enforcement officers at the local level. It is the primary responsibility of those elected officials to deal with law enforcement in their own particular situations. Should local people feel that their local, elected officials are not properly performing their lawful duties, then, local people, if they so desire, can change these officials at the ballot box.

* * *

"IT HAS long been the policy of the State of Georgia—a very sound policy—not to interfere in local law enforcement unless requested to do so by local officials.

"Local self-government is the very bedrock of the American Republic, and it is local self-government that has made America strong, free and great.

"A few years ago Atlanta and Fulton County was overrun with slot machines of a gambling character. When local officials asserted their responsibility, these gaming devices were removed. This action was indeed commendable.

"TODAY within two blocks of the Atlanta City Hall, and in virtually every portion of Fulton County, mixed drinks are being openly and notoriously served across the bar—all one has to have is the money to pay for it.

"To be sure, a visiting CONVENTION TOURIST or a local citizen, in Atlanta and Fulton County can walk into commonplace or plush open barrooms, request and receive a Scotch and soda or a bourbon and gingerale—or a double Martini. SERVING MIXED DRINKS IS AGAINST THE LAW OF GEORGIA.

* * *

"IT IS POSSIBLE that I could send the GBI or the State Patrol or a State Revenue agent to investigate this violation of the state law, as aforesaid.

"As governor of Georgia, I do suggest a violation of state law is a violation whether it is committed in Fulton County, McIntosh County or Gilmer County.

"There is one important exception to the policy of the State of Georgia of not interfering with the duties of local officials. That exception is when organized racketeering and crime affect the economy and good name of the state.

"Should local officials fail or refuse to perform their duty to enforce the law after proper warning from the state, it then becomes the duty of the state to act.

"Again, let me make it clear that Georgia has a very minimum of organized crime.

"Where any isolated instances of organized criminal activities are reported to exist, the State of Georgia is and will be keeping such activities under close surveillance.

"Should it ever become apparent that local law enforcement is broken down throughout the state and that organized crime is running rampant, I will implement the State Crime Commission and investigate violation of state law, whether that be in Fulton County, McIntosh County or Gilmer County."

Deadline Near

Churchwomen for Reforms in Prison

Statewide Organization Tells Governor 'It Is Clear' System Needs Revision

A statewide organization of church women has written Gov. Vandiver that "it has become increasingly clear" a complete revision of the state prison system is needed.

The comment was included in a letter to the governor from the United Church Women of Georgia, an organization composed of an estimated 20,000 women.

The letter, agreed upon at a statewide meeting Friday in College Park, pledged cooperation with the governor "in your efforts to take initial steps to improve Georgia's penal system."

* * *

IT HAS ALSO been announced that the National Probation and Parole Assn., at the behest of the church women and the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs, is sending to Georgia Monday an expert to lead a "citizens' action" program for penal study and reform.

Aubrey Elliot, a field representative of the national organization, will arrive Monday for "a lengthy stay." His visit will be financed by the Ford Foundation.

The letter to the governor was composed and dispatched at a meeting at St. John's Episcopal Church. All but one of the group's 28 councils were represented. Mrs. John Patton of Atlanta is president of the United Church Women, and Mrs. W. Sheffield Owen of Atlanta is chairman of the penal reform committee.

* * *

THE LETTER said:

"We want you to know that we are solidly behind you in your efforts to take initial steps to improve Georgia's penal system. We are grateful that Mr. Frank Gross, as head of the House Committee on State Prisons and Property, has given prompt attention to find out firsthand about some of our most pressing prison problems.

"We have been working for an improved prison system for several years, with particular emphasis on young offenders. We have dedicated ourselves to continue this work, since we feel even more strongly now. It has become increasingly clear that we need to work for a complete revision of the whole system. . . .

* * *

"WE WISH to assure you and other public officials of our willingness to cooperate with you in your effort to meet immediate crises in our prison system, and also to work for a long-range program."

The churchwomen also agreed to visit prisons and jails in their own communities and get firsthand knowledge of them.

Gov. Vandiver, in his speech two weeks ago to the General Assembly, laid out plans for an "initial program" to relieve overcrowding in the penal system and foster rehabilitation through industrialization.

A three-bill package has been introduced in the Legislature to set up the prisons indu
its management.

* * *

REP. GROSS, mention
letter to the governor,
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head of the State Board
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Visitor to Quarry Charges 'Roughing'

Deputy Warden at Buford Denies It, Citing Prison's New Search Rule

By JOHN PENNINGTON

A young Roswell man said Tuesday he was manhandled and intimidated by the deputy warden when he went to the Buford Rock Quarry Prison Branch over the weekend to visit his brother, a convict.

James V. Foster said deputy warden Dan Johnson, in the process of searching him, lifted him up on his tiptoes by the seat of his britches, telling him:

"I'm going to search you like one of these d----- convicts."

* * *

ASKED ABOUT the incident by telephone, deputy warden Johnson said:

"When they come in, we search 'em. If you come in, we search you. We search the newspapermen or anybody. Nothing happened (with Foster). Only he got searched, see? He complained. I told him if he didn't like it, he could just get out of there."

Johnson said he did not search Foster in a rough manner. He said he just searched him.

Warden Hubert Smith said the quarry prison has a new rule that all incoming persons are searched. He said he knew nothing about the Foster incident.

* * *

FOSTER SAID that in addition he was restricted, by a guard standing inches away, in his conversation with his brother.

Foster, of Rte. 1, Roswell, said he and his wife went to the quarry prison during early Sunday afternoon to visit his brother, Troy, who is doing a long term for several offenses, car theft, arson, armed robbery and shooting at another. He took along a package containing some sweatshirts and work gloves.

"I laid the package down and wrote Troy's name on it," he said. "Then this man said, 'I haven't searched you yet.'

"I said, 'What do you mean? Search me?'

"He said, 'I'm going to search you like one of these d—— convicts.'

* * *

"HE GRABBED me by the belt and by my pocket and jerked me straight up on my tiptoes. It broke two belt loops on my Sunday britches."

Foster said when he complained, Guard No. 27 commented to Deputy Warden Johnson, who had done the searching: "I'll throw 'em out the —— door if you want me to."

Foster said that when he commented casually about some articles on prisons in the paper, the guard told him:

"Wait a minute. You can't talk to the prisoner about anything that doesn't concern his welfare."

* * *

FOSTER SAID that on a previous occasion his wife and father and mother had a visit abruptly terminated when Troy began to cry and complained that he had been slapped for asking for an aspirin.

Gov. Vandiver has said he feels the state's prisons are being properly run by able men, and he finds it difficult to work up sympathy for the incorrigibles at the Buford prison.

Governor Says Brutality Charge Unsubstantiated

Has Read Corrections Report On Buford Quarry Conditions

By CURTIS DRISKELL

Gov. Ernest Vandiver said Thursday he has read a report by the State Corrections Department on alleged brutality toward prisoners at the Buford Rock Quarry Prison and that he found "The allegations are not substantiated."

The governor told his news conference the report from the Corrections Department was "an objective report."

He said it contained the facts and circumstances concerned. The report referred to is one gotten up by the Corrections Department during the past session of the Georgia Legislature and delivered to him, but apparently not read by the governor until just recently.

* * *

GOV. VANDIVER did not offer to release the report itself. His statement on it was in answer to questions at his morning news conference.

Corrections Dept. Director Jack M. Forrester delivered the report to the Governor, in response to a request by a legislative committee that the Corrections Department do the investigating of the rock quarry, a prison branch for hardened and habitual criminals which has been under fire on numerous occasions in the past.

Mr. Forrester declined at the time to release the report or to comment on it himself, saying it was a report intended for the Governor and that any statements on it should come from Gov. Vandiver.

nservative Balloting

Associated Press Wirephotos

"TIP" TAYLOR Makes Strong Race

those who makes it come true."

To achieve that he had to buck the all-powerful political machine

Turn to Page 6, Column 2

STREET SCENES

Gray-haired lady with walking cane wearing shorts on Highland.

Sign on new Expressway route: "This House Will Not Be Wrecked Until After Oct. 1, 1960." House leveled to ground.

Flustered young man, his $5,000 car stalled on impatient Forsyth street, seeking to borrow 30 cents from passersby so he can get enough gas to leave downtown.

PINEY WOODS PETE Says:

DEAR MISTER EDITOR:

Either most politicians are dumb or they think a lots of voters are. (Maybe it could be both.)

What brought this on was the Republicians bragging about what they call a Eisenhower surplus of $1.1 billion for the year ended June 30, 1960, and that the Treasury will pay $600 million on the national debt in August.

But they ain't mentioning the Eisenhower deficit of $12.4 billion for the year ended June 30, 1959, and they ain't pointing out that the overall Eisenhower deficit since he's been in office is $18.2 billion, after subtracting 3 surpluses totaling $4.3 billion. (Of course, both the President and Congress are responsible for this big deficit.)

Yours truly,
PINEY WOODS PETE.

Red Awaked After 18 Years

MOSCOW, Aug. 4 (AP)—A Soviet soldier knocked out by a bomb blast in World War II has been brought back to consciousness after 18 years by a new method of treatment, Tass reports.

The Soviet news agency said Pyotr Vetrov had been in a coma since he was wounded when the Nazis were trying to take Moscow in 1942. He was an army driver.

Dr. Leonid Konderyakov successfully used a new treatment including electric therapy, Tass said. Vetrov, now 47, told Soviet newsmen he hopes to become a driver again. Doctors are certain he will be able to return to work soon, Tass said.

Prisoner Schooling At Alto Is Urged

By RICHARD ASHWORTH

The State Board of Corrections has urged that laws be passed, if necessary, to set up an educational program for young prisoners at the Georgia Industrial Institute.

The recommendation was made in the annual report of the board to the governor and the General Assembly. The report was released Wednesday.

A similar recommendation came recently from the State Board of Education. However, the school board suggested that legislators "consider" whether such a program should be set up.

And the school board also wanted the General Assembly to "designate which state agency should have the responsibility—and the funds—to do this."

The corrections board proposal went further than this. It said such a program should be instituted by the State Department of Education in cooperation with the corrections board.

The corrections unit would maintain custodial supervision and the education department would employ teachers and have

Continued on Page 10, Column 7

FRAGMENT

The Forrester Reforms

REFORMS IN Georgia's prison system have been greatly needed, though there have been some, including prison administrators, who emphatically have denied that the system falls short of perfection.

However, the chief apologist for the prisons, Director of Corrections Jack Forrester, now has come up with a fine new program designed to correct some of the deficiencies which The Atlanta Journal among others has been emphasizing.

One is an educational program for juveniles under the system's jurisdiction. This is a basic need.

Another basic need also is on Mr. Forrester's list. It is an upgrading of prison personnel by making their jobs more attractive, and through a training program for guards and others with supervisory jobs.

Critics of the system have found many of the publicized faults of Georgia prisons can be traced directly to wardens and guards who do not know their jobs and who try to substitute cruelty for intelligent treatment.

Mr. Forrester says he would like to remedy this. We'd like to see him do it. We'd also like to see the state carry through with his suggestion that these prison employes be given retirement and old age benefits, as a means to this end.

Until they get these benefits they will remain second class employes of the state, and the state can expect only substandard performance from them.

Mr. Forrester's plans for the New Year are impressive. If he is able to put them into effect it will mean a better deal for prisoners and the state at large.

Crime Delay a Great Risk

THAT GEORGIA desperately needs a statewide citizens crime committee should be evident to citizens and politicians alike.

It should not be necessary for the Atlanta Citizens Crime Committee, which has done such an excellent job in its home territory, to recommend the formation of a statewide group.

But it has, and the proposal should not be buried by the state administration simply because it originates in Fulton County.

The Atlanta Crime Committee speaks with considerable authority. It has worked on local crime problems for months. It has seen how closely many of these problems tie in with poor state administration.

There is a need for study and action on the state front for two very good reasons: (1) the state penal system is archaic and inefficient and the Department of Corrections has shown it isn't going to move a peg to change it; and (2) law enforcement has broken down in some Georgia localities.

The situation is critical and a great many citizens are concerned. They are concerned that flagrant violations of the law are being condoned—openly—and that even when court action is instituted the violators too often go unpunished because of technicalities.

Months ago, when troubles at the Buford Rock Quarry Prison were getting out of hand, The Atlanta Journal appealed for a citizens committee to study the state prison system.

No such committee was named; yet prison administration and law enforcement have not improved.

Now Atlanta's crime probers have spoken. The state will be taking a great risk if it continues to ignore these warnings for an honest appraisal of where we are falling short.

Church Group Urges State Crime Study

By JOHN PENNINGTON

The United Church Women of Georgia urged Gov. Ernest Vandiver Saturday to "recognize with us the urgent need for a crime study commission."

The church women sent a telegram to the governor—and another to Morris Abram, chairman of the Atlanta Citizens Crime Commitee—following a semiannual conference in Atlanta.

The organization, which has a statewide membership of about 20,000, joined a growing campaign for a state study of crime and punishment and associated problems.

* * *

THE PAST Fulton County Grand Jury urged the governor to create a study committee to look into crime, "from causation to correction."

The governor has said he does not intend to use his authority to appoint a crime commission because crime is not "rampant" in the state.

The telegram to him said:

". . . Since we know your and Mrs. Vandiver's interest in the social problems of our state, we believe you will recognize with us the urgent need for a crime study commission. We hope you will give this matter serious consideration."

* * *

THE TELEGRAM was signed by Mrs. John Patton of Atlanta, president of the organization, and Mrs. W. Sheffield Owen, chairman of the group's penal reform committee.

The telegram to Mr. Abram stated a belief "in the urgent necessity for a crime study commission," and endorsed "heartily" a proposed conference at Athens on the subject of crime and prevention.

The church group actively has been seeking penal reform and better detention facilities for juveniles on a statewide basis. In co-operation with the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs, it secured a "docu-drama" presentation which presents the plight of the juvenile offender in Georgia.

The drama was presented Friday at the state conference and Mrs. Owen said the group has been "bombarded" with requests for it.

Forrester Pledges Full Quarry Probe

Buford Story to Be Sought on Both Sides As All Will Get Chance to Talk

Jack Forrester, director of the State Corrections Department, has promised "a complete and thorough investigation" into alleged brutalities at the Buford Rock Quarry Prison.

Mr. Forrester announced plans for a quarry probe after receiving from Gov. Vandiver the Frank Gross report on inmate reports of beatings and brutalities.

The report "alleges certain acts of brutality toward prisoners serving at the state institution for incorrigibles at Buford," said Mr. Forrester in a prepared statement.

* * *

A PROBE WILL BE made "in order that the truth may be determined," he said.

"All parties who have any authentic information will be given an opportunity to be heard, including wardens, guards, doctors and other personnel," said the corrections director.

Mr. Forrester's announcement came after House Speaker George L. Smith termed the Gross report a "serious" one needing further investigation. He said he felt sure the Board of Corrections "will immediately begin an investigation and report back to the governor and to the House."

Rep. Gross of Toccoa, chairman of the legislative committee on state institutions and property, reported to Gov. Vandiver Tuesday that he made a surprise visit to the quarry prison and heard numerous allegations of brutality from prisoners.

Women's Clubs Demand Georgia Prison Reforms

The Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs Monday called for sweeping prison reforms in the state. The group urged this action in a telegram to Jack Forrester, director of the State Board of Corrections, meeting during the day.

Mrs. Hellice Clark, executive director of the federation, said the telegram was prompted by Atlanta Journal reporter John Pennington's current series of articles on conditions in the prison. She added that the federation "has always been interested in prison reform" and that members felt the articles have aroused public interest in improving prison conditions.

* * *

THE TEXT of the telegram follows:

"Our organization is looking to you and your staff to develop and implement broad programs to improve our antiquated correctional system. We are on record demanding reform of subhuman treatment of prisoners in solitary confinement cells in state prisons and county work camps.

"You will have our full cooperation in developing programs designed toward the rehabilitation of prisoners including: classification centers; developing prison industry; increase use of probation services, especially for misdemeanants, and job placement for prisoners eligible for parole."

The telegram was signed "Mrs. E. L. Barnes, president, Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs."

Forrester Pledges Full Quarry Probe

All Parties Will Be Heard, Corrections Chief Declares

The Department of Corrections' investigative service will make a "complete and thorough investigation" into reports of brutality at the Buford Rock Quarry Prison, department director Jack Forrester said Wednesday.

He said he personally would investigate the charges "as much as the time will allow."

Meanwhile, House Speaker George L. Smith joined Gov. Vandiver in calling for an investigation.

He termed "serious" a report by Rep. Frank Gross of Toccoa which gave details of interviews with prisoners who said they were beaten and subjected to other cruelties at the state's prison branch for incorrigibles.

Forrester said "All parties who have any authentic information will be given an opportunity to be heard, including wardens, guards, doctors and other personnel."

Gov. Vandiver earlier said he thought the Department of Corrections should look into "both sides" of the report, interviewing the warden and guards as well as inmates.

A Brighter Future?

THE STATE Board of Corrections has plans to correct some of the evils of Georgia's prison system.

Its annual report was accompanied by a letter to the governor from Director Jack Forrester, requesting the establishment of an authority to help relieve overcrowding in existing camps and prisons and as a means of planning for the future.

The board also wants to go ahead with a prison industries program and would like money for an educational program at the Industrial Institute for young offenders at Alto.

These plans for the future are happy signs that the days of official complacency with the status quo are at an end.

Staff Writer John Pennington's series on conditions within the system brought to light many discouraging and some occasionally brutal aspects of this phase of our way of life. Included were the high incidence of repeaters and the sad fact that Georgia has the highest ratio of prisoners to total population of any other state.

There is much the state can do to improve prison conditions, but there also is much that can be done on the local level. Lay leadership and community interest in the problem last Sunday resulted in the dedication of a chapel at the Bulloch County Public Work Camp near Statesboro. Plans also are under way for a recreational program there.

What the good people of Bulloch have done can be done wherever there is a camp. With state officials reviewing their position in respect to the prisons, and with the public sincerely interested, the old days of brutal treatment and the functioning of the system as training ground for further crime may be gone forever.

Another Incident Mars Buford Prison Record

More than 30 convicts at the Rock Quarry Prison, where the more dangerous and incorrigible prisoners are confined, have gashed their arms against steel benches in their cells as a protest against solitary confinement.

This is one of a long list of such incidents at the prison. Slashing of leg tendons has been the drama of protest in the past.

In a second bit of news the wife of one of the inmates charges her husband was placed in a strait jacket and then beaten. She visited him later and saw, she says, stitches in his head and arm.

First, let us say that these convicts are at the Buford Prison because their records in other prisons have been bad. They are screened and typed as the most dangerous and the most resistant to discipline. And there is no illusion about how dangerous and brutalized some of these men are after long years of prison life.

But against that background is the unquestioned fact that much as Georgia's prison methods have improved, they still eave much to be desired. If prison life s one of degredation and brutality then he product becomes an incorrigible and s accurately tagged "dangerous."

We are sure there is need for a special prison for such men. But the Buford prison seems to appear too frequently in the news. Something is wrong with the discipline, the methods and the direction.

The issue seems to be whether the prison at Buford has a policy of strict discipline or one in which brutality is an accessory of that discipline. Georgia, so far as we know, has no training courses for its prison staffs and its guards have had no professional schooling in handling such prisoners. A staff upgrading is at least one of the needs.

ETTERS TO THE E

Pain Too O As Crime D

The Editors: All nations seem to have had supreme confidence in the deterrent power of threatened and inflicted pain. Punishment has been regarded as the shortest road to reformation.

Imprisonment, torture and death constituted a trinity under whose protection society might feel secure.

In addition, nations have relied on confiscation and degradation, on maimings, whippings and exposure to public contempt. . . . The ingenuity of man was exhausted in the construction of instruments that would reach the most sensitive nerve. All this was done in the interest of civilization—for the well-being of states.

Curiously, no matter how severe the punishment, crime increased. It was found that the death penalty made little difference. . . .

Crimes were committed to punish crime. Crimes were committed to prevent crime. The result was that those who inflicted the punishment become s degraded as their victims.

WHEELER B. GLENN.
Hapeville.

Top Prison System Pledged by Vandiver

Gov. Vandiver promised Tuesday that his plans for developing Georgia's prison system will go far toward putting it on a par with the best in the nation.

At the same time he received a report on alleged brutality to prisoners at the Buford Rock Quarry with an insistence on hearing "both sides" of the story.

The report was delivered by Rep. Frank Gross of Toccoa, chairman of the House Institutions and Properties Committees.

Gross told reporters that the report is based on charges made to him and Rep. Robert E. Coker of Walker when they paid a surprise visit to the prison last week.

Gross originally had announced his report would include recommendations, but he apparently withdrew these in view of the governor's request for a fuller investigation.

Vandiver told his news conference that the charges would be investigated by the Department of Corrections. Any guard guilty of brutality will be fired, he added.

The governor said a new spending program for the prison system would be outlined in his state of the state-budget message Jan. 11.

"I think that the legislative program will go far to bringing the prison program in Georgia up to par with any in the nation," Vandiver asserted.

Although he did not go into details, the program probably will include money to build a new prison. Much of the current troubles have been blamed by prison officials on overcrowding.

The Vandiver program also is expected to follow an Economy and Reorganization Commission recommendation for setting up a prison industries program to teach trades to convicts and keep them occupied.

The report delivered by Gross to the governor outlines numerous instances of alleged beatings at the quarry, some supposedly administered while prisoners were mechanically restrained.

The Rock Quarry, the "last resort" prison for incorrigibles, has been in the headlines many times since its founding 10 years ago.

During the past several months, the institution reportedly has been undergoing the most serious discipline difficulties of its existence. The core of the trouble reportedly comes from prisoners transferred to Buford after staging a "hunger strike" at the Reidsville prison last year.

State Keeps Sweat on School Unit

Gov. Vandiver has reappointed Lonnie Sweat of Blackshear and three other members of the State Board of Education, State School Supt. Claude Purcell said Thursday.

There had been considerable speculation that the governor might pick State Sen. Wallace Jernigan of Homerville to replace Sweat on the board. Sweat's term expires this month. Purcell said the governor had reappointed Sweat to a full seven-year term.

He said Paul Stone of Waynesboro, J. J. McDonough of Atlanta

CARLTON C. HENRY
GEORGIA STATE PRISON
REIDSVILLE, GEORGIA

CARLTON:

WE HAVE YOUR LETTER OF RECENT DATE. YOU OF COURSE REALIZE THAT THE CONDITION IN WHICH YOU FIND YOURSELF HAS BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT BY YOUR OWN ACTS AND NOT BY THE ACTS OF ANY ONE ELSE. I WISH THAT THERE WAS SOMETHING WE IN THE BOARD OF CORRECTIONS COULD DO FOR YOU WITH REFERENCE TO THE MENTAL ATTITUDE THAT YOU HAVE. YOU SHOULD BEGIN TO MATURE AND REALIZE THAT THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH YOU FIND YOURSELF HAS BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT BY YOUR ACTS AND NOT WHAT SOMEBODY ELSE DID.

YOU BROKE YOUR LDG AND THE DOCTORS HAVE DONE THE BEST THEY COULD IN RE-SETTING IT. IT IS JUST A MATTER THAT YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE TO LIVE WITH AND IT IS SUGGESTED THAT YOU QUIT FEELING SORRY FOR YOURSELF.

YOURS VERY TRULY,
JACK M. FORRESTER
DIRECTOR

JMF:cmc
cc: WARDEN GEORGIA STATE PRISON, REIDSVILLE, GEORGIG

I have the original of
this copy

~~One of~~ The most remarkable mother I've known ~~woman I have ever met~~ is Mrs. A. Clarence Henry, who is ~~[illegible] bitterly grieved and~~ considerably driven by the death of her son, ~~[illegible]~~ Carlton Henry at the age of 27 in ~~[illegible]~~ April of 1958. ~~[illegible] Henry,~~ Mrs. Henry has six other

hard-working & church-going

children and a number of grandchildren, all doing well, in whom she rejoices; but ~~of course~~ the death of a first-born son is not a matter to be sighed or smiled away, and Mrs. Henry suffers a good deal. But she does not sentimentalize ~~her grief,~~ nor sanctify her grief. ~~[illegible], and~~ If, in the circumstances of her son's death there is grisly horror, she ~~does [illegible]~~ faces it and recounts ~~and expresses it in its fearless accuracy.~~ Mrs. Henry is not given to soothing euphemisms, self-deception or pretense that things are not as they are. And, if in her anger or protest, there are elements of humor, she does not cringe from the honesty ~~and~~ relief of ~~[illegible]~~ laughter.

Mrs. Henry believes her son was beaten to death at the Buford Rock Quarry, or at Reidsville Penitentiary, and she has a ~~formidable~~ formidable mass of circumstantial evidence and perhaps inadmissable testimony from fellow prisoners to substantiate this frightful conviction. The rebuttal of prison officials is that Carlton Henry, a mental case after off-and-on sentences at the Rock Quarry and participation in ~~at least one~~ leg-breakings, injured himself in deranged frenzies, several attempts at suicide ~~by hanging,~~ and finally did hang himself at Reidsville. He was, they say, "an incorrigible," and I daresay ~~Carlton Henry~~ he like many others, was incorrigible to the savage administrators of the Rock Quarry. He was arrested for a young infringement against society at the age of 16 and sent to Reidsville. He had a later sentence to the Boys' Training School. And from there on out you have it, including a sentence to Chillicothe, a federal prison where, as Mrs. Henry's letters and records show, her son Performed ~~distinguished himself~~ as an apt pupil and a "good" prisoner under a more enlightened penal system than ours.

Mrs. Henry thinks her son was early led astray by older criminals, and later picked up on circumstantial evidence~~, as a man with a record, and blamed~~ for crimes ~~(like auto theft)~~ which he didn't commit. If so, he would not be the first one, but ~~Her evidence strongly suggests that she is right, though~~ I am willing to concede that a mother's judgement on her first-born son is liable to be prejudiced in her [redacted] favor.

All of which, of course, is beside the point. Carlton Henry was no murderer, rapist, [redacted] knife-wielder or gun-toter, according to the record. But even if he had been, his treatment in prison is a disgrace to every Georgian. [redacted] Perhaps ~~I rather doubt that~~ he was a real "mental case" who bashed holes in his head against the prison walls and hanged himself on mattress ticking, as prison authorities report. But if he did, why did Warden Hubert Smith, Corrections Director Jack Forrester and his assistant, J. B. Hatchett, all of whom had suffered and rebuffed tearful and furious [redacted] protests from Mr. and Mrs. Henry over their son's condition, permit a mental case to stay in the Rock Quarry?

There are most curious type discrepancies also in the death certificate and other records on the death of ~~of~~ Carlton Henry, which I have seen. [redacted]. And, while undertakers, [redacted] an employed pathologist and the prison administration do not [redacted] testify to the curious condition of [redacted] Carlton Henry's body when it was delivered to the family, several of their friends and neighbors can and do. ~~Mrs.~~ They recall bruises, lesions and "holes in the back of his head you could put your finger in."

~~I do not quote Mrs. Henry on the appearance and condition of her son when she saw him at the Rock Quarry on the Sunday before his death on Monday. She is not a competent witness, being his mother, nor is his father. Besides, Mrs. Henry's stalwart ability to face up and to sustain such horrors, (even if we could, within the law of libel, print it) is not a brave and clear-eyed gift which all of us enjoy, and it would look pretty ghastly in print.~~

"good job" on a defiant, but defenseless man to a guard whose daily chores include beating, cursing, slapping, stringing up and ~~[illegible]~~ half-starving prisoners could, ~~you know,~~ result in fatal injuries. I ~~am informed~~ by a pathologist not inexperienced in these cases that police and prison ~~guards have interesting techniques~~ in beating by which the pain and injuries are ~~so inflicted~~ that they can't be diagnosed as cause of death.

But, back to the remarkable Mrs. Henry, who seems to endure her personal hell by channeling it into a crusade against our prison system. She has knocked on the door of every state office she knows of, ~~of every news channel,~~ of private lawyers and state and local politicians for help in establishing ~~[illegible]~~ what she believes was the murder of her son, but so far in vain, since all her evidence is circumstantial.

The interesting thing about Mrs. Henry, and her husband, is their concern "with those other boys up there and in the work camps."

As Mr. Henry put it, "Even if we can't ever prove Carlton was killed, we can spread around what goes on up there for the sake of these other fellows. . .treating a man like that makes him hate the law and everything else."

~~But what seems so intolerable this Mother's Day of 1960, is that it is possible~~

What seems intolerable to some of o~~thers~~ us mothers in 1960 is that, in a whether or not Carlton Henry hanged himself ~~(and that would be a considerabl feat in his condition after un-denied beatings)~~ it ~~is quite possible~~ cant happen ~~for~~ in ~~an "incorrigible" prisoner to be killed by xxxx beset guards instructed~~ by ~~their warden to "do a good job of it" when they beat a helpless prisoner.~~

~~for~~ in ~~an "incorrigine"~~ in a prison where guards are

~~for angry and ignorant guards,~~ instructed by a man like Hubert Smith to "do a good job of it" when they beat a helpless prisoner.

PAGE (s) MISSING

~~I hail Mrs. A. Clarence Henry, a brave, honest and possessed~~ mother, ~~who~~

I hail Mrs. A. Clarence Henry, a brave mother who will not let us forget that many sons still endure in Georgia prisons.

So, of course I don't know if Carlton Henry was beaten to death at the Rock Quarry or Reidsville, on April 1958. But I don't know why any boy's body should be sent home to his mother and father with ~~holes~~ deep dent in the back of his head, a blood-clotted lesion on the top of his head, purple bruises on his hands, scars on his face, some of whicn showed up a day or two after his embalming ~~prison authorities~~ at Reidsville, an embalming which took place illegally before the family was notified of his death.

In justice to Mr. Forrester, Mr. Hackett, Mr. Smith and Warden Balkcom of Reidsville, and to satisfy Georgia churchwomen and others aroused over the Henry story, I think perhaps Carlton Henry's body should be exhumed to see whether or not he had a fatal skull fracture, which he could scarcely have inflicted on himself.

But what I ~~started~~ out to say about Mrs. Henry being such a remarkable woman is that what drives her so restlessly in her quest for justice is her concern for "them other boys up there---my God, look what they're doing to them!" ~~Mr. Henry has not followed, but rather indulged and supported Mrs. Henry in her grief-driven appeal to newspapers, TV and radio stations, public officials.~~ Mr. Henry, I think is rather more worldly-wise about position and power, than Mrs. Henry and he says "if we can never prove Carlton was murdered, the thing to do now is ~~help~~ protect them other boys in prison." ~~up there" at the Rock Quarry.~~

And I think the Henrys are quite right, It would serve the interests of justice to find out of Carlton Henry was beaten to death--- and let's remember it's quite possible at the Rock Quarry, where they do, admittedly, beat straight-jacketed and shackled prisoners with pipes and tubes, on instructions from Warden Smith to "do a good job of it." But if that can't be proved, then let's get rid of wardens and administrators who will keep what they call "a mental" case" in a hell hole like the Rock Quarry.

Carlton Henry

Lamotte Smith, assistant warden at Reidsville, after talked to husband and told about Hubert Smith's prison record and Carlton tried in Hall County , killed in Hall? Said Hubert Smith shot a nigger in cold blood, and Gene Talmadge pardoned out and give him a job. Hatchett an ex guard studied law at night.

Calrence Henry, "We may not ever be able to prove the boy was murdered, but we could do something about the brutalities, beatings; working before daylight to after dark. Makes them have hatred for the law. Ouhgt to have eight hour day such hard work, and treat like men."

Nine hours and 50 minutes difference in death certificate and letter from Forrester. Deatbcertificate said ~~died at~~ pronounced dead at
9:2- p. m.
~~12:20 p~~ m. Aprl 1st, 1958. Letter from Forrester said died at 12:15 a, m. April 1. death certificate 9:30 p. m.

Appeared to have skull fracturw, broken neck and broken jaw. Strung up by neck at Buford? sawed-off pick handles.

Early charged, ~~at~~ included robbery, maybe armed robbery under behest of 24-26-year-old man. ~~Signed a paper~~ Carlton signed a paper admitting "everything been done in the last three months." When? where?

two men now in Marietta jail testify to Carlton's murder. Mr. Williams at Couch's?

Dr. James Olley, pathologist hired to look at him after embalming, said couldn't prove anything, but most thorough embalming ever seen. Couch said (not to quote) enough fluid for three men, from Reidsville. Olley---illegal to embalm there?

At Buford, big cement ~~pokes~~ poles, trace chains locked around poles, so on toes, leg irons, scarred ankles, strung up four or five days. Hubert Smith told her one time said strung up March 26, took down on Friday, when Carlton said he'd "do right and not try to hang self any more. Letter Jan. 1958. ~~Saw~~

They saw him Dec. Sunday, 57, couldn't hold head up, just wobbled around around, two guard present, eyes red and rims red whites red from tear gas, ~~two~~ tow guards present. Said, honey what's the matter, nothing, mama.

Talked to Mrs. Henry Toombs, Georgia Feeeration of Eomen's Clubs; a Mrs. Collete, Mts. Dorothy Paul, a juvenile woman.

OTHER LANDS
OTHER PEOPLES

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for Americans Entertaining Visitors from Abroad

By Elizabeth M. Thompson

Committee on International Relations

National Education Association of the United States

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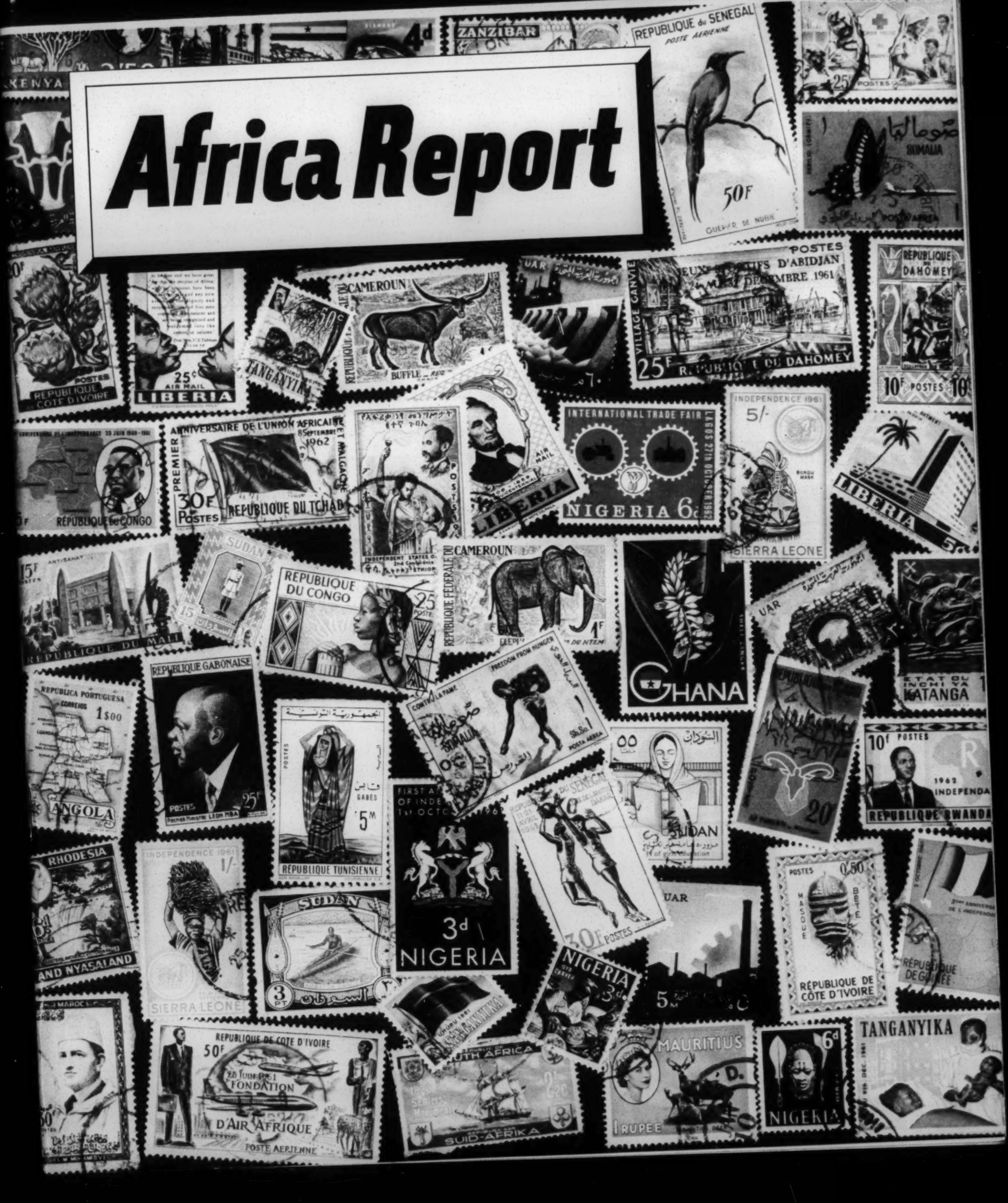

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SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE COMMUNITY

trans-action

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SOUTH AFRICAN SCOPE

VOL. 7 No. 4 APRIL 1964

South African Games Draw Huge Crowds

Eighteen months ago, the South African Olympic Games Association began planning the biggest and most colorful gathering of sportsmen ever to take place in Southern Africa. The event—the South African Games—took place in the Wanderers Stadium, Johannesburg, from February 29 through March 14th.

With competition in 35 different sports — ranging from archery to yachting — the Games gave thousands of amateur athletes a chance to compete against the best. Unique events like parachuting and paraplegic athletics drew huge crowds of spectators.

Mr. Frank Braun, chairman of the Olympic Council, characterized the S. A. Games as a great success and said that they could play an important part in maintaining the country's high standards in sports. Money collected at the Games will be used to send South African teams on overseas tours and to assist Springboks to attend world championship meetings.

One of the highlights of the occasion was the convergence on Johannesburg of torch-bearing athletes from all over South Africa and South West Africa. The first runner left Cape Town on February 27th with a torch lighted from the flame of the 1960 Union Festival.

Similar torches originated in all parts of the Republic, with schoolchildren carrying them in relays during the day and athletes from local sports clubs taking over at night. (The torch from Windhoek, South West Africa, had to be flown from there to Kimberley, since nobody volunteered to run it across the Kalahari Desert.)

A tableau of massed flags and athletes climaxed the first South African Games.

The runners rendezvoused outside Johannesburg and on the afternoon of March 7th, marched through the center of the city to Wanderers Stadium, where they lit the Games Flame. State President Charles R. Swart, who was the Chief Patron of the event, was standing ready to declare the Games officially open.

In several sports, notably track events, trampoline and rugby, South Africans competed with athletes from foreign countries, including the United States, West Germany, New Zealand and Rhodesia.

The organizer of the Games, Mr. Gerhard Roux, said their success meant they will probably be repeated every four years. Plans are already underway for the Games to be held in Durban in October, 1968.

The roster of events read like a syllabus for a physical education teachers training college. Inter alia were archery, athletics, baseball, boxing, canoeing, cricket (for men and women), fencing, gliding, judo, marksmanship, parachuting, polo, power boating, rugby, show jumping, tennis, water skiing, and wrestling.

PARAPLEGIC CHAMPS

Wheelchair athletes from all corners of South Africa and Rhodesia took part in the first South African Paraplegic Championships, at the Wanderers Stadium as part of the South African Games on March 9, 10 and 11. Altogether, 65 wheelchair athletes were seen in action, including those who won gold medals for South Africa at the 1963 International Paraplegic Games held in the United States.

A demonstration by young crippled children was also given to show the public how sports give even the youngest person confined to a wheelchair a new interest in life.

50 CENTS APRIL 1964

THE PROGRESSIVE

APRIL AND THE NATIONAL CONSCIENCE

Hal Borland

SIX—OR MORE—CANDIDATES IN SEARCH OF A PROGRAM

James A. Wechsler

RETURN OF A NATIVE

William Worthy

SOUTH AFRICAN SCOPE

VOL. 7 No. 5 MAY 1964

WHITE NATION NOT ALIEN TO AFRICA

Multi-National Future for South Africa

The first fact fundamental to understanding of South Africa, or Africa for that matter, is that it is not the exclusive preserve of any one race said Dr. W. C. Naudé, South African Ambassador to the U. S. in a speech to the Alexandria, Va. Rotarians on March 24. Africa may long have been the "Dark continent". But it never was the "Black continent" — whatever the image might be that has grown up, or that has been built up. It has over the millenia of recorded history been the home of Carthaginians, Egyptians, Greeks, Israelites, Hamites, Berbers, Negroids, Europeans, Arabs — and, if one must speak of colors, it has been the home of the blacks, whites and browns: these are Africans, all of them. He whose ancestors came from Europe centuries ago is no less a child of Africa than the black man — or the Arab, said Dr. Naudé.

"It will therefore be appreciated that there is no single African race — just as little as there is an Asian race, or an Australasian race, or an American race.

"In more recent history, it is also a fact that the south of Africa became known to people in Europe as long ago as some five hundred years. It was then, as the Renaissance flowered on the western peninsula of the Eurasian land mass that the explorers of Europe, first the Portuguese and then the others, set sail. In Africa these men and women founded a nation, with cultural origins in Western civilization but today, after three centuries, with indestructible roots in the soil of Africa. The people who make up this nation are not settlers. They are a permanently established society with all the attributes of a modern, advanced nation. This nation is no foreign nation in Africa. It is, in fact, as indigenous a nation as that of most countries. It is no usurper. Its right to a seat in the councils of nations is beyond legitimate dispute. Proof of this was shown on numerous occasions by its sense of responsibility, its maturity, its contributions in war no less than in the cause of peace.

MULTI-NATIONAL

"Just as Africa is a multi-national continent so the microcosm of South Africa is multi-national. Just as the diversity of countries, large or small, in the rest of Africa is recognized and accepted, so logic demands the recognition and acceptance also of the concept of a multi-national South Africa. Some 17 million souls live in South Africa but they are not consciously one nation. True, they live in what is today one overall political entity but there is no all-inclusive sense of common nationhood. There is no common creed or language, tradition or moral code. Rather, there are some half-a-dozen nations, each with its own identity: each entitled to the recognition of that identity.

Dr. Willem C. Naude, Ambassador of the Republic of South Africa in the United States.

"I submit that the yardstick for objective opinion in respect of South Africa should include acceptance of, amongst others, these propositions:

a. that black Africa be not equated with Africa: there is in fact also an Arab Africa as well as an Africa with the closest cultural, economic and social ties with the West;

b. that the Negro in the U. S. be not equated with the Bantu in South Africa:

c. that the black man in South Africa was never made the slave of the white man;

e. that the Bantu does not have a claim, deriving from prior occupation, to all of South Africa;

f. that the image of "colonialism" is wholly irrelevant to the South African situation;

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Family to Family

How to be Good Without Really Trying

On a Sunday Afternoon

Interracial Marriage

EDITOR, NEW SOUTH
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July, 1964 • 25c
next issue: September

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE COMMUNITY

trans-action

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The consumer's changing image / Rokeach

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Crusaders for the right / Wolfinger, Wolfinger, Prewitt, and Rosenhack

Roundup of current research

JULY 1964 1/5

BACKGROUND REPORTS

BACKGROUND REPORTS is published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews project,

Religious Freedom and Public Affairs

A REVIEW OF CHURCH-STATE CASES AND ISSUES

SEPTEMBER, 1963 — SEPTEMBER, 1964

by George Kellman

This is the third of a series of annual reports on Church — State cases and issues, prepared for the Religious Freedom and Public Affairs Project of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The year commencing September 1, 1963 was marked notably by reactions to the Supreme Court's historic decisions of the preceding two years, banning prescribed forms of prayer in public schools, and finally prohibiting public school ceremonial Bible reading and devotional exercises of any kind. Between the extremes of outright defiance and accession, there appeared a confusing variety of purported solutions and substitute practices. Too, this period was highlighted by legislative moves to circumvent the Supreme Court via constitutional amendment, and a plethora of petitions for amendments finally brought on a Congressional hearing at which many divergent views were aired.

Again, the period will be remembered as that during which massive federal aid was voted to aid education and combat poverty, its recipients and beneficiaries including private and church-related institutions and schools.

AFTER SCHEMPP — MURRAY

The Supreme Court's June, 1963 decision in the companion cases of *School District of Abington Township vs. Schempp,*[1] and *Murray vs. Curlett*[2] set off an emotion-charged public discussion. This landmark decision struck down ceremonial Bible reading and prayer in public schools, holding these practices to be in violation of the First Amendment's prohibition against the establishment of religion and a trespass upon its guaranty of religious freedom.

Presaged a year earlier by the Court's decision in *Engel vs. Vitale*[3] barring the use in public schools of a "non-sectarian" prayer composed by the New York State Board of Regents, controversy over the *Schempp-Murray* decision, though widespread and intense, was attended with far less bitterness. Indeed, a growing spirit of reason on the part of most disputants was evident toward the close of the period of this report.

Rev. Billy Graham expressed "shock" over the barring of prayers and Bible-reading, which, he said, "have been part of American public school life since the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock," while the Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, Episcopal Bishop of California, declared that the decision's result was "not neutrality, but an imposition upon the public school system of a particular perspective, namely, secularism by default." Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, the then President of Union Theological Seminary, wrote of his regret that the decision barred "the affirmative recognition and collaboration by Government at all levels with all organs of religion in all relationships and circumstances." The Assemblies of God church, by resolution at its 1963 meeting, charged the Supreme Court with moving the country toward becoming "an officially Godless nation." Bishop Fulton J. Sheen characterized the decision as saying, in effect, "Thou shalt not pray." *Ad hoc* groups, such as the Constitutional Prayer Foundation (chaired by the former Baltimore City Solicitor who represented the Commissioners in the Murray case) charged that "a small minority of atheists is seeking . . . to impose its views on all Americans."

In contrast, support for the decision was evidenced by statements such as that of the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, who, voicing the opinion of the leadership of major Protestant denominations within the National Council of Churches, hailed the Court's ruling because it underscored "our firm belief that religious instruction is the sacred responsibility of the family and churches." Similarly, *The Catholic Universe Bulletin,* official publication of the Cleveland Diocese, expressed the sentiments of many Catholic publications when it said that "Nobody has challenged the right of children to pray voluntarily in public school . . .", and that the Court's decisions "boil down to this: . . . that public school administrators and teachers, being agents of government, are forbidden by the Constitution to compose, propose

Africa Report

OCTOBER 1964

HOW
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CAME TO BE

REPORT from
KAMPALA

Py/155

YWCA

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How Men and Science Can Preserve the Past

View from a Spanish Harlem "Fortress"

Campus Report on Why Students Fail

Wheelchair Pastor's View of His Ministry

Three Ways the Pension Fund Serves the Church

—The Hands of God, the Dove of the Holy Spirit, and the Sacrament of Baptism, from a Stained Glass Window at the Thomas W. Phillips Memorial

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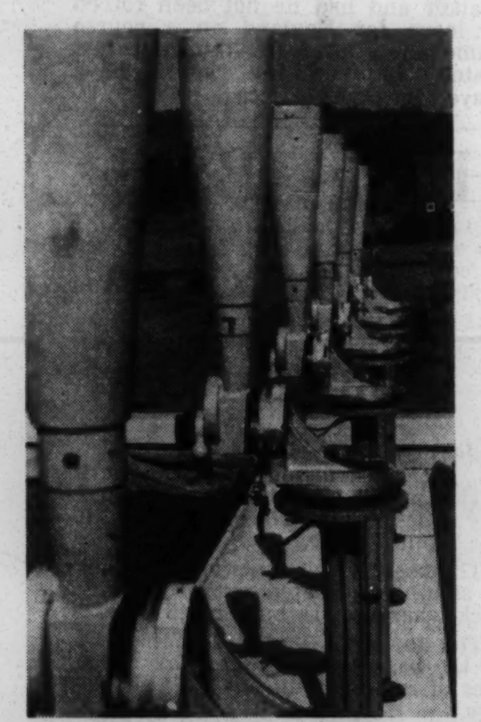

Line-up for satellite watching. See feature article on page 8.

WEEK ENDED 27-11-64

Mr. R. I. C. Scott-Hayward, Honorary Consul of the Republic of Ireland in South Africa, last week presented the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, with five books written by his late brother, Dr. Richard Hayward. From left to right are Dr. Verwoerd, Dr. A. de Klerk, Mrs. K. Lawrence, Mr. Frank Nortcliffe, Mrs. Verwoerd and Mr. Scott-Hayward. Mrs. Lawrence and Mr. Nortcliffe, an Irish landscape painter and poet, were well acquainted with the late author. (Complete story on page 5.)

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"BUCCANEER" COMMITMENT

P.M. STRESSES SANCTITY OF CONTRACTS

THE South African Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, recently warned Mr. Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister "One cannot be a partner in a defence arrangement when you cannot be assured that any commitment will be fully upheld at all times."

In the previous week Dr. Verwoerd had said that South Africa would break off the Simonstown Agreement if Britain did not honour the contract to deliver "Buccaneer" bomber aircraft to South Africa.

Dr. Verwoerd said in Heidelberg, Transvaal, that he would not, at this stage, reply to the recent statement by Mr. Wilson about the supply of arms to South Africa and the British contract for the supply of "Buccaneer" aircraft because Mr. Wilson's statement was incomplete. He awaited with interest any further statement by the British Prime Minister.

"Mr. Wilson dealt in the course of the week with a ban on arms purchases by South Africa generally" said Dr. Verwoerd. "The implication of that will be properly studied in due course. Mr. Wilson held out for a further statement on his government's attitude towards the sale to South Africa, according to existing contracts and commitments, of Buccaneer aircraft."

"Until that statement of Mr. Wilson's has been amplified it

(Continued on page 10)

SOUTH AFRICAN SCOPE

VOL. 7 No. 11 DECEMBER 1964

CONTINUED ECONOMIC GROWTH IN 1965

Slower But Sustained Increase Forecast

THE EXPANSION of the South African economy, which has gone ahead at a record rate during the past two years, is expected to continue during 1965 — although the momentum will tend to slow down.

This is the main prediction of an annual survey of the prospects for the next year, made by the Bureau for Economic Research of the University of Stellenbosch.

The survey forecasts that the net domestic product, which rose by 8.9 per cent in 1962-63, and is estimated to have risen by 10.6 per cent during 1963-64, will rise by a further 7.7 per cent over the year ending June 30, 1965. In value terms it is expected to reach $9,136 million this year. The authors state that "this would represent a very satisfactory achievement. The present upswing is the longest yet experienced in the post-war period."

The survey stresses the role of private manufacturing in sustaining this high rate of expansion. This sector is expected to expand by a further 10 per cent in 1964-65, but replies from manufacturers questioned by the Bureau indicate that capacity and employment bottlenecks will put a definite ceiling on growth.

On the expenditure side, estimates of the level of gross domestic expenditure suggest a slightly sharper tapering off. While expansion achieved in 1964 is estimated at 12.1 per cent, the forecast for 1965 suggests a rise of only 8 per cent. Under this head, personal consumption expenditure, expected to rise by 10 per cent in 1964, will rise by no more than 6.9 per cent in 1965. One important forecast is that the rapid rise in the sales of new motor vehicles will taper off.

Investment in the private sector of the economy is also likely to slow down, mainly because of the physical inability of the private sector to expand at a faster rate, rather than through any lack of incentive. Investment spending in the public sector of the economy will continue at a high rate.

These forecasts have important consequences for the balance of payments situation — the tendency for this to be less favorable as internal expansion accelerates, is likely to be reversed in 1965.

The authors also forecast a moderate improvement in exports, and with gold output forecast slightly higher, the account of the balance of payments is expected to show a deficit of not more than $21 million in 1965 compared with the estimated deficit of $63 million for 1964.

The survey concludes that expansion has been achieved at the cost of only moderate inflation and without any undue strain on the reserves. "A slowing down in the rate of expansion appears to be a welcome and necessary pause to relieve the pressure on scarce labor resources."

* * *

HAPPY CHRISTMAS!

SOUTH AFRICAN SCOPE
WISHES ITS READERS
A HAPPY HOLIDAY SEASON
AND A
PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR.

* * *

South African Digest

●

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to volume 11

1964

Let Freedom Ring

Surprise Summer

A Plea for Standards

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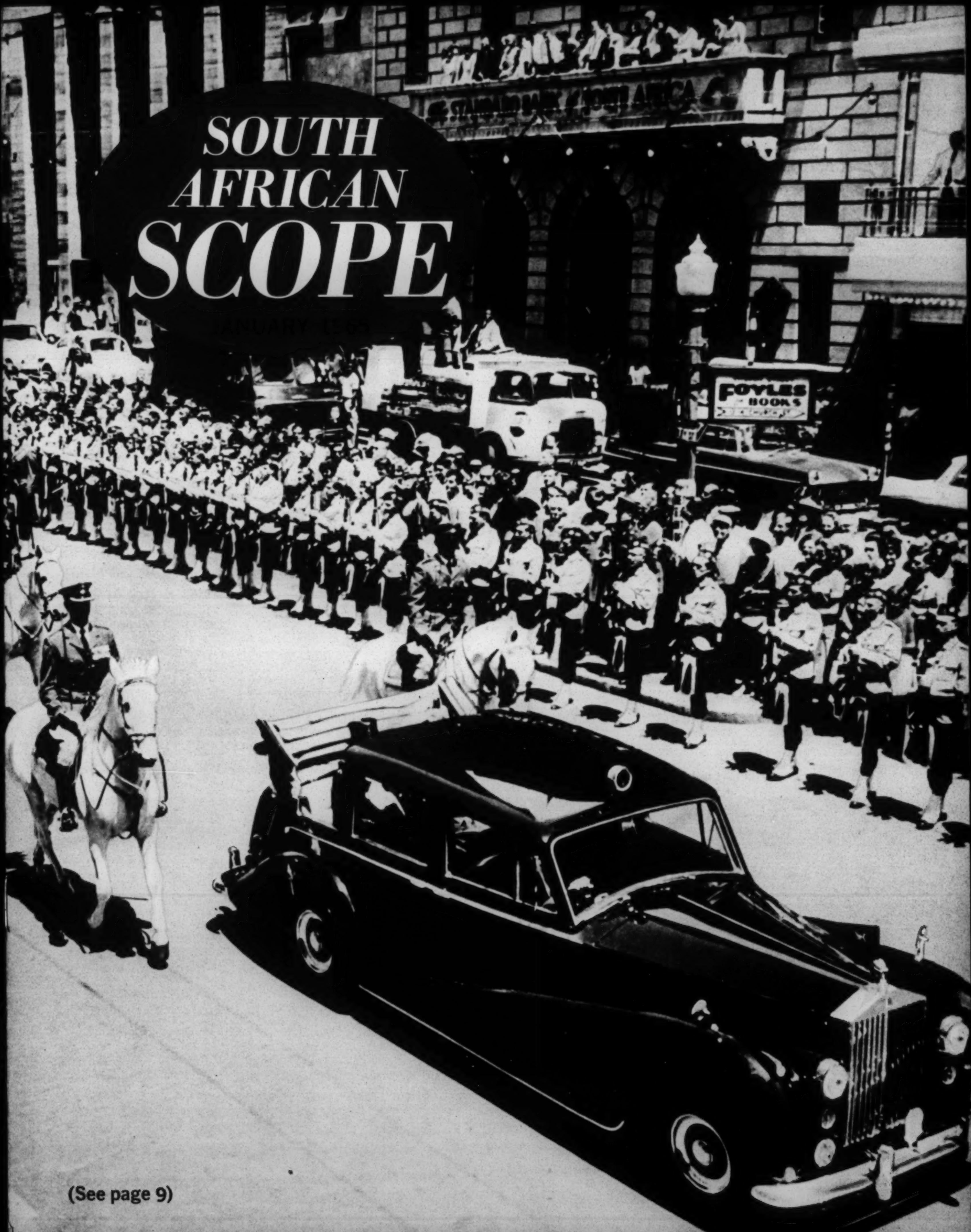
SOUTH AFRICAN SCOPE

JANUARY 1965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JANUARY 1965

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Building boom in South Africa. See feature article on page 8.

WEEK ENDED 19-2-65

In order to provide more facilities for the steadily increasing number of passengers travelling to and from Cape Town Railway Station, the construction of additional platforms with covering decks, tracks and new station buildings is at present in progress. The work is expected to be completed by June 1967.
After 100 years of steam-power traffic to and from Cape Town, the last steam train left the old station on November 23, 1963. The picture shows the modern design and spaciousness of an interior concourse in the new Station Building.

R30m. FACTORY TO BUILD JET AIRCRAFT IN S.A.

THE Atlas Aircraft Corporation of South Africa Limited has announced that its factory will be situated near Jan Smuts Aiport, Johannesburg. Apart from housing, a total capital of more than R30-million will be required.

The announcement by Mr. F. S. Uys, Managing Director of the Corporation, states that the factory will be situated next to Jan Smuts Airport in order to use the runways of the airport for the purposes of the factory. The size of the ground is approximately 230 morgen and adjoining properties have already been purchased for housing.

Mr. Uys said that preliminary estimates indicated that a labour force of 1,300 would be exceeded within five years.

In terms of contractual arrangements between the State and the corporation, the corporation will undertake to manufacture jet training aircraft for the South African Air Force.

The corporation will also maintain some of the existing aircraft of the South African Air Force. This maintenance will be carried out on S.A.A.F. premises until the corporation's own

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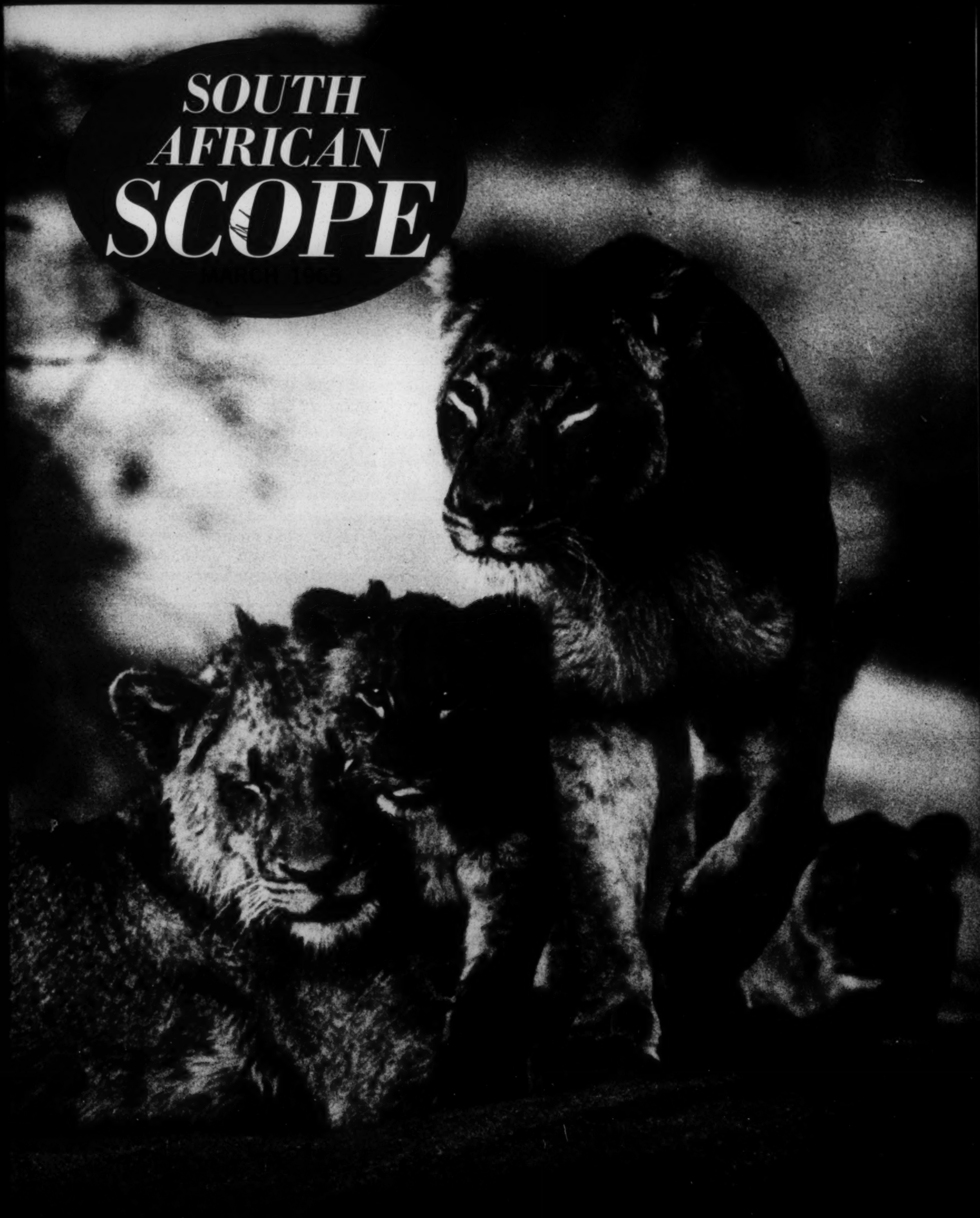
SOUTH AFRICAN SCOPE

MARCH 1965



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MARCH 1965

NEW DIRECTIONS for FRENCH-SPEAKING AFRICA?

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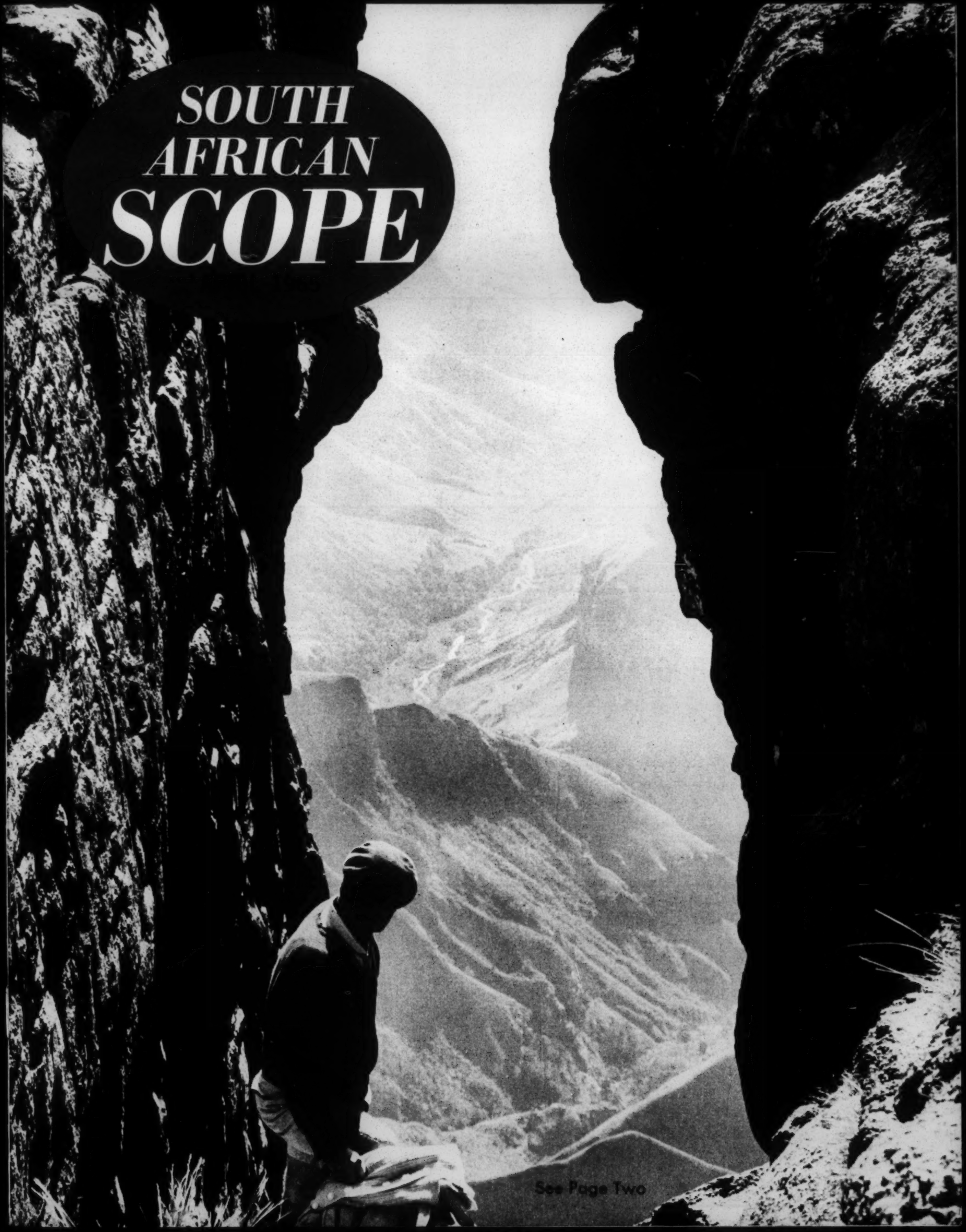

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APRIL 1965

THE CONGO REBELLION

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THE KHARTOUM CONFERENCE

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STUDENTS FIGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN TOUGH SPOTS

Rugged, Ragged 'Snick': What It Is and What It Does

Ex-Chicago Schoolteacher Leader in Deepest Dixie

BY M. W. NEWMAN

Staff Writer

ATLANTA — In a seedy office here, you find the command post of an amazing bluejean army that fights Jim Crow behind enemy lines.

Husky James Forman, 34, sticks out his hand and says hello. This onetime Chicago schoolteacher is executive director of what everyone in the seething "rights" movement calls Snick.

Snick is short for SNCC, which in turn is the initials of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee.

That long handle offers protective cover for as rugged, and perhaps ragged, a band of individualists as exists in this country.

The boys and girls of Snick risk their lives deep in the South's Hate Belt in sit-ins, freedom rides, voter registration drives and other unsafe forms of citizenship.

Most of them are college students or former students, aged 20 or so. High school youngsters also take part. They have been shot, beaten, jailed, hounded or denounced by guardians of the Southern "way of life." Their skin color generally is brown, but some are white.

* * *

THEY generally are surprisingly disciplined, but they have their stagey hotheads. SNCC sympathizers were accused of taking part in the booing of Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley at a July 4

Luther King Jr., apostle of nonviolence, and their constitution states firmly:

"Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate; hope ends despair."

* * *

SNICK'S goal, like King's, is to appeal to the white man's conscience — thus setting the stage for equal rights and peaceful co-existence of the races. By any definition, this amounts to virtual revolution, at least in Dixie.

Forman himself has been arrested six times, and this may not even be par for the course. Some Snick workers are in and out of the lockup so often they can't get their laundry done.

To get where they're going, these determined young boys and girls apparently will have to pass through all the jail cells of the racist South.

They will go into towns like McComb, Miss.; Selma, Ala.; Lebanon, Tenn., and Cairo, Ill., to reach the masses of "degraded, disenfranchised and exploited Negroes," as they put it.

SNICK leader James Forman, former Chicago teacher, in Fort Payne (Ala.) Jail.

counties where the U.S. Justice Dept. has brought voting suits, according to SNCC.

"You're just never sure what the police will do," said a white Chicagoan who had worked with SNCC gadflies in Greenwood. "You never really feel safe.

"And when you sit in the Snick office and see cars filled with white men drive by slowly, you're always wondering

for things like trying to integrate a "white" waiting room. Once, he recalls, all that the police seemed to have against him was that he was riding in a car.

In Greenwood, he said, police grabbed him because he took a picture of a police dog biting a protest marcher. Forman's wife Mildred took over his duties while he lingered in jail. Despite all the arrests, Forman added, he never has been convicted of anything.

be ashamed of the word 'agitation.'"

Receives Diploma At Roosevelt

In Chicago, Forman was graduated from Engelwood High School and Roosevelt University. He became a specialist in public administration, served in the Army and worked for a while for the Institute for Juvenile Research on Chicago's West Side. His mother, Mrs. Octavia Rufus, lives at 7437 South Park.

In 1960-61, he said, he was a substitute teacher at Kenwood School, 49th St. and Blackstone. The Negro protest movement in the South already was in swing with student lunch-counter sit-ins, voter drives and mass action, influencing Forman.

He heard about sharecroppers in Fayette County, Tenn., near the Mississippi line, who were being evicted in a battle over voting rights.

"I knew that if they could be driven off the land it would be doomsday for Mississippi," he said.

* * *

THE young teacher took leave and went to Tennessee to organize help for the farmers, some of whom were living in tents and dodging bullets.

His work there drew so much attention that he was drafted to head SNCC, which had been formed in 1960 as an outgrowth of student "sit-ins."

That was the fall of 1961, and SNCC at the time occupied a hole-in-the-wall cubicle on Atlanta's Auburn Av.

Its present-day offices on

After continuing uproar, SNCC reported, the white community agreed to work out a plan to increase jobs for Negroes and integrate lunch counters and other facilities.

In return, the two crusaders had to agree to leave jail.

Agitation Pays Off

They did. Hansen, in fact, moved on to Pine Bluff, Ark. He met there with students at Arkansas A.M.&N. University, a Negro state school.

Sit-ins began in Pine Bluff Feb. 1 at a chain variety store. Eight days later, an SNCC report says, 15 students were expelled from the college.

Eight of these undaunted young rebels, with Hansen and another SNCC worker, then launched a communitywide attack on segregation in Pine Bluff. They zeroed in on restaurants, theaters, hotels. A wave of arrests got under way.

These young people "live cooperatively in two houses in Pine Bluff," a staff report says. They hope to develop a voter registration program and voters' leagues in surrounding counties.

* * *

SNICK'S daring young folk also penetrate into southwest Georgia, heart of the Black Belt and still a very unsafe place for civil rights advocates.

Twelve field secretaries operate out of an Albany (Ga.) GHQ—a cramped cold-water house with a kerosene stove.

Carver Neblett, 19, is a Negro, student from Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. Joyce Barrett, 24, hails

* * *

THEY generally are surprisingly disciplined, but they have their stagey hotheads. SNCC sympathizers were accused of taking part in the booing of Chicago's Mayor **Richard J. Daley at a July 4** rally of the NAACP.

In the South, Snick workers often are on the receiving end of boos, boots and even bullets.

* * *

ONE of them, slender Robert Travis, was punctured by a white night rider's rifle bullet. It didn't stop him and he returned to his voter registration campaign in Greenwood, Miss., bastion of white supremacy.

Another SNCC staffer, Lawrence Guyot, removed his overalls and showed newsmen in Jackson, Miss., savage bruises and clots on his brown skin.

Guyot said deputies in Winona, Miss., beat him while he was protesting against the arrest of five other Negroes. Their crime, he said, was entering a "white" waiting room in a bus terminal.

All this happened while the six were on their way to Jackson for the funeral of Medgar Evers, murdered NAACP official.

The undaunted Guyot, according to Snick, went on to take part in a Negro registration drive that has brought fierce resistance from whites in Greenwood.

He wound up in the county work farm after a courthouse "stand-in" — and led a "sit-down" while in custody.

They Practice Nonviolence

These disciplined young people do not strike back when clubbed by rednecks. The most they may do is

They will go into towns like McComb, Miss.; Selma, Ala.; Lebanon, Tenn., and Cairo, Ill., to reach the masses of "degraded, disenfranchised and exploited Negroes," as they put it.

Some friendly farmer may give them a pad to sleep on and dish of chitterlings. Their "uniform" will be overalls or shirt and blue jeans.

They will go up and down the roads—by foot, by jalopy, by bus—talking, explaining, exhorting, trying to get simple rights for brown-skinned citizens living a "slavey" life and buried deep in poverty and despair.

Sometimes, out of this hard and dangerous work, come sit-ins and protests aimed at integrating lunch counters, hospitals and theaters, or at improving jobs and housing for Negroes.

* * *

SNCC's campaign to register Negro voters, to end the reign of error and terror that has kept them from Southern polling places, is acutely important. It could help change the South if successful.

That perhaps is why Mississippi officialdom has fought so hard to keep Negroes from voting. Threats, boycotts, economic pressures, jailings and violence all have been used, according to Negroes.

In Greenwood, Miss., a police dog attacked two registration workers. The city's mayor complained that the voters-registration drive followed "the Communist line of fomenting racial violence."

Police officers have killed three Negroes in Mississippi

worked with SNCC gadflies in Greenwood. "You never really feel safe.

"And when you sit in the Snick office and see cars filled with white men drive by slowly, you're always wondering what they're going to do."

Tests Keep Them Out of the Booth

Negroes who manage to overcome all these barriers find still another when they seek to register in Greenwood and many other cities—unusually stiff "qualification" tests aimed at keeping them voteless. About three out of four are turned down by the Greenwood registrar.

"And on top of that," Forman says, "Negroes throughout the South have been brain-washed into thinking that voting is none of their business. Our goal is to change their thinking."

SNCC works in this kind of civil rights battleground—and as the rugged Forman puts it matter-of-factly:

"It's dangerous. We know we're risking our lives."

* * *

LIKE most of the young people he directs, he takes violence as it comes.

"There was that time in Selma, Ala., when a mob of 150 white people surrounded some of us in a church," he said.

"We had to get on the phone and call the Justice Department and the FBI in Washington in order to get the local police to take action. After Washington got in touch with them, they dispersed the mob.

"Oh, yes, there also was that time in Monroe, N.C., when a fellow pointed a shotgun at me. Fortunately, it didn't go off."

Forman has been arrested

lice grabbed him because he took a picture of a police dog biting a protest marcher. Forman's wife Mildred took over his duties while he lingered in jail. Despite all the arrests, Forman added, he never has been convicted of anything.

* * *

BLOND Sandra (Casey) Hayden of Austin, Tex., confided that she is the only staffer in SNCC's Atlanta office who never has been arrested.

"Texas is such a big place that they just never got around to it," explained this blue-eyed beauty of 25.

Like many SNCC volunteers, she came to the work through religious and ethical beliefs. A number of the staffers are clergymen's sons. Most are Southern born. About 10 per cent are white.

They usually are paid about $35 a week. Most of their peers in the commercial rat race would not even consider that petty cash.

* * *

THE cool, poised Forman came out of Chicago's densely packed South Side, where Negroes live jammed together.

He was born in Chicago but spent part of his youth in northern Mississippi. He got his first taste of race prejudice when, as a 6-year-old, he went into a Memphis (Tenn.) soda fountain to buy a soft drink.

"Even at that age, the porter made me go to the back," said Forman with a shake of his head.

"That really shook me up. I guess I learned early that you have to do something about segregation.

"There has to be some form of mass agitation to get freedom. And you don't have to

had been formed in 1960 as an outgrowth of student "sit-ins."

That was the fall of 1961, and SNCC at the time occupied a hole-in-the-wall cubicle on Atlanta's Auburn Av.

Its present-day offices on Raymond St., while roomier, barely qualify as dilapidated.

SNCC now consists of representatives from some of the student protest groups that have helped to spark today's massive Negro revolt. The budget is about $75,000 a year, with much of it coming from Northern students. They flood in as volunteers during summertime, when as many as 40 per cent of the workers may be white.

SNCC quickly won a name as a major Negro freedom group.

Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, gave it his blessing and aid. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund took over the job of getting these young people out of jail.

* * *

YOU find SNCC workers on hand wherever the Negro mass movement bursts into action—be it Jackson, Miss.; Birmingham, Ala., or Albany, Ga.

What these tough-minded young folk call the "white power structure" (downtown businessmen, bankers, politicians) has become used to the idea of negotiating with them.

"Start your action against things these guys own," is a Snick byword.

In Little Rock, Ark., site of the famous school integration crisis of 1957, sit-ins began in late 1962.

Students from Philander Smith College and Shorter Junior College sat at segregated downtown lunch counters under direction of Bill Hansen, a Snick "veteran." He himself was a student.

A White Citizens Council threatened violence. But the city had suffered a black eye and economic chills since 1957, and some of the prominent people in town indicated readiness to talk.

"At first the city was not willing to yield," according to a SNCC version, "and so renewed sit-ins began in December."

Hansen and a Snick buddy, Worth Long, were arrested. They chose to stay in jail.

Twelve field secretaries operate out of an Albany (Ga.) GHQ—a cramped cold-water house with a kerosene stove.

Carver Neblett, 19, is a Negro, student from Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. Joyce Barrett, 24, hails from Philadelphia and is white. Jack Chatfield, 20, is a white student from Bradford, Vt.

They and others conduct mass meetings in churches or tents, stirring up hope and belief, battling deep fear. They canvass from door to door, seeking to build trust.

They try to work with teenagers, teachers, ministers, and encourage people to register.

A lot of their time is spent in documenting stories of threats and firings suffered by voter applicants.

It's hard going, and slow, but these young SNCC workers apparently have banished thoughts of self and pelf. They can be likened to missionaries in a dark and dangerous land, risking their lives for a cause bigger than themselves.

They're Angry And Honest

Are they angry? Of course. Zealots? Undoubtedly. Political radicals? Some of them may be. Honest? Obviously.

The contrast with beatniks, panty-raiders and beach rioters is painful—or refreshing, depending on how you look at it.

Certainly these young people are revolutionaries, tackling "the monster in the backwoods" or the downtown white businessmen who hire Negroes only as porters and segregate the races in separate toilets.

* * *

AMONG themselves, SNCC missionaries almost automatically assume that American society is corrupt and commercial. That's the lever they use to pressure white bosses into concessions:

"Hit him in the pocketbook; Babbittry comes before bigotry."

But, notes a thoughtful Atlanta newspaper columnist, who can deny their assumptions?

"For the goals of their revolution," he writes, "are simply the basic rights guaranteed in the Constitution."

Some day, Forman hopes, SNCC will have done so well that it can put itself out of business. That will be the day.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

MUrray 8-0331

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, Mon., May 20, 1963

STUDENTS' ROLE IN RACIAL STRUGGLE

How Nonviolent Warrior Feels On Firing Line In Rural Dixie

Here is the second of two articles by Robert S. Bird of the New York Herald Tribune. His survey of Negroes' views on white America, described as "brilliant" by Walter Lippmann last week, has received widespread attention.

By Robert S. Bird

Special from the New York Herald Tribune

I met Carver Neblett in about the same way you reach in and pull a number out of the hat. I dropped into what is called "Snick" headquarters in Atlanta and buttonholed for an interview the first typical, Negro Snick kid I could find who was fresh off the firing line, so to speak.

Snick is the way they pronounce the initials of the Students Non-Violence Co-ordinating Committee—SNCC.

These are the nonviolent, Negro and white student commandos who are risking their lives in the Negro voter registration drives in rural Georgia and Mississippi with courage not easy to understand.

And these drives to get for Negroes in the Deep South the tool of voting power to improve their lot is becoming this year the most important breakthrough of any in the struggle for Negro rights. SNCC is one of several organizations, including the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), that are active in this turbulent and dangerous field.

'Get Into More Hell, Too'

"But we go into more hell than any of the others," Carver said.

Their headquarters is in a very small building off Hunter Av. in the Negro section out beyond Morehouse College. When you enter the door you find yourself in a cramped little warren of small, connecting offices, all busy with the comings and goings of students

strain of white hatred, threats, beatings, arrest, jail and even shootings?

Carver Neblett is 19 and a sophomore at Southern Illinois University, who has been on leave for more than a year. He was born into a sharecropper's family in rural Tennessee. The family moved north six years ago, to Carbondale, Ill., but he was not able to rid himself of the resentments he felt in growing up as a segregated Negro in the South.

When he was in his last year of high school in Pulaski, Ill., in 1960 his brother Charles, now 21, wrote him from Southern Illinois University that he was joining in a SNCC desegregation "action" in Cairo, Ill., and why not come along?

Carver went to Cairo, was arrested promptly, and went on a hunger strike in jail. This was the beginning of his conversion to the nonviolence philosophy of "creative protest," and to what he calls the "Snick way of life."

Deeply Moved By Philosophy

He learned the nonviolent techniques in endless SNCC workshop sessions, and found himself greatly moved by the power of the nonviolence philosophy and by the examples of SNCC leaders who had been through the fire.

Although he had become well embarked on his studies at the university, he decided to quit school temporarily and go South to throw himself into the most perilous "actions" of all.

Telling how the first student workers to enter a new rural area go in with nothing but the clothes on their backs, placing themselves deliberately on the charity of the frightened Negro community, Carver said:

"Usually they don't know who we are, except they think we're dangerous to them. Most of them never heard of SNCC, but

and the lawyer and the field hand and the servant girls are all going to jail together.

Becomes Community Project

"Then it is that we have become part of the community ourselves, and everybody is knit together and the whole Negro group is ready to do anything—anything—to get their goal."

Carver was not able to express very well the quality of the peril which envelops such a Snick-invaded rural Negro community like a chill miasma. But older and more mature Negro workers who help to guide the missionary students on the scene did provide moving accounts.

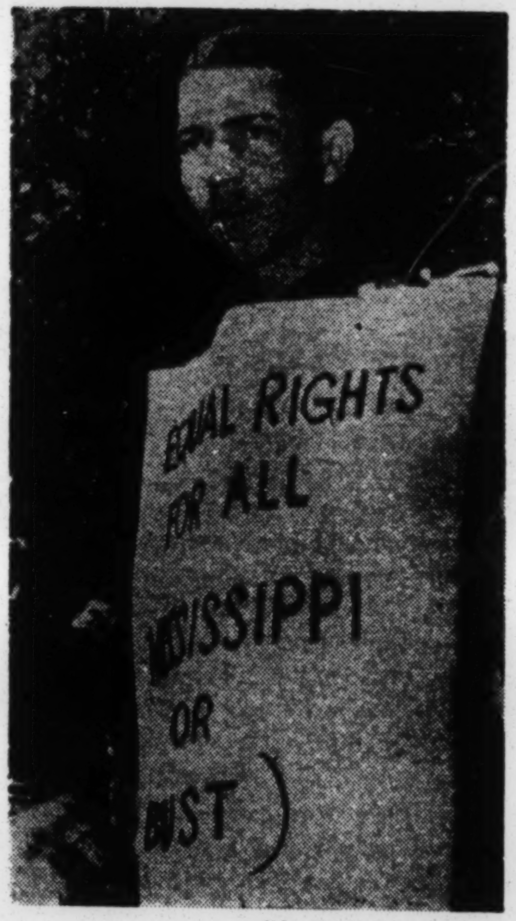
One was Randolph T. Blackwell, the Negro field director of the voter education project, a law graduate and specialist in government and economic studies, who was in a car with SNCC workers that was shot up outside of Greenwood on Feb. 28.

"I don't know how these kids are able to stand up to the strain and danger," he said. "As for myself it seems like being in combat, where you move through the town expecting anything to happen and looking ahead of you and behind you both at the same time.

"But I have learned that it is helpful if you have in mind an absolutely clear understanding of the nature of your opposition. One of the experts taught me that it's not too difficult to stay in a community if you start with the following assumptions:

"No 1, that there are a lot of white people in the community who will want to kill you and who will try. No 2, that the police are hostile to you and not your friends. No. 3, that the courts are not going to be fair with you. No 4, that a sizable portion of the Negro community will not understand what you're trying to do at first.

"And No. 5, that it will require great persistence and continuation of effort before the



N.Y. Herald Tribune Photo

CARVER NEBLETT

"Pretty soon the idea of freedom is in the air."

the car began to pull up they could expect bullets.

Very soon that time came. The other car moved forward. Travis, at the driver's window, was in the most exposed position. Moses was in the middle and Blackwell at the right window. The car pulled up beside theirs. The gun appeared. One of the white men opened fire.

Driver Shot In Neck

There were seven shots fired. Blackwell shouted to Travis to pull over to the right and stop. But Travis cried that he had been shot—in the neck, as it turned out. Moses grabbed the controls and pulled their car to a safe stop while the other auto sped away.

The bullets had smashed both side windows in front and the left side window in back. They found succor at a nearby Negro vocational school and Travis was removed to a hospital where the bullet was taken from his in all kinds of dress—boys and girls, white and Negro.

At a desk near the door I saw a white girl wearing scuffy sneakers and owlish spectacles, and an air of supreme calm amid all the hurly-burly. She absorbed the explanation of my mission faster than I could say it.

"Follow me," she said cheerfully, and led the way into the labyrinth of offices to a corner where two Negro youths were chatting. She pointed to one of them and said:

"He's Charles Neblett. He's been working in Greenwood, Miss., but he's leaving today to go on tour with the freedom singers. The other one's his brother, Carver. He's working on voter registration in Terrell County (Georgia) and he's just in from the field. Maybe he's the one you want."

He Interviews Carver

So I ended up the following morning interviewing Carver, trying to pry out of him something he couldn't quite put into words.

It was typical of this action-minded boy that he was one who embarked on the walk from Chattanooga to Mississippi with the band of Negro and white youths commemorating the killing of Baltimore postman William Moore. Moore was shot on a lonely road in Alabama while on a demonstration march on this same journey.

Carver is a tall. rangy lad with a somewhat loungy, offhand manner and a low but quick way of speaking. He has very alert eyes. He was wearing a bright-red sports shirt and black slacks of collegiate-slim styling. and he was feeling mighty good in them.

"Can't wear these things on the job in Terrell County," he said, fingering his red shirt and grinning. "You gotta wear work clothes there."

Whence Comes Courage?

What I was searching for from him and others was, what is the nature of the dedication and strength these students have that enables them to stand up to the prolonged

[illegible]

and tend to think that's what we are. They have been told by the whites that if any freedom riders come into the town, stay away from them, they're trouble makers, and it would be very dangerous to talk to them.

"But in any of these rural areas you are going to find a few dynamic Negro persons who will take you in and understand the situation. That's how we get the first toehold. These few members of the community give us food and a place to stay, and they know that we're doing nothing wrong but are working for the betterment of the Negroes.

"So what do we have to lose? The ordinary people at first think we are crazy in a funny way, that we are absolutely fearless, sort of inhumanly brave. We have to get that idea out of their heads fast and make them understand that we are completely human, though not fearful in the way they are."

Only Place To Go—Up

In all these areas, Carver said, the Negro community in general has a pervasive feeling that they cannot go down any lower, that the only place they can go is up. He continued:

"Gradually you start dealing with the Negro people on several different levels. You go to the night clubs. You go to the churches. You go everywhere that people gather and talk. And very slowly they begin to respect you and to look on you as symbols of the respect which they themselves want and should have."

The slowest to respond in many cases are the Negro ministers of the local community. and it is they who have always been "set up on a pedestal," Carver continued.

"In the beginning they shy away from us. I guess they are afraid of their position in the community and afraid that their churches will be bombed. But SNCC knows how to use a a little psychology on them. We get things going, and pretty soon the idea of the freedom is in the air, and we're having mass meetings and people are getting involved, and the doctor

nation will wake up to the point where it will call on the administration to live up to its national responsibilities."

Here is how the strain of peril falls on both Negro and white workers in such a danger area. It summarizes the account given by Blackwell.

The Technique Of Terror

On Feb. 28 Blackwell drove in a rented car to the SNCC office in Greenwood, arriving at 1 p.m. He noticed a car with no license plates parked in front of a Negro cafe near the SNCC office which later was burned down. Three white men were in it. Just sitting. They were still in the car, still sitting. at 2 p.m., at 3 p.m., at 4, at 5, at 6.

At 6 p.m. they switched on their lights and stayed there, just sitting. They were still sitting in the car at 7, at 8. at 9. At 9:15 p.m., Blackwell, finally aware that trouble was in the offing, got into his car and prepared to leave.

The car with the white men instantly pulled away and drove around the block, coming in behind Blackwell's car as he was leaving his parking place. It followed him so he drove around the block, returned to the office and warned the eight or nine student workers in the headquarters to close up for the night and be careful in leaving. because he was being followed.

He got back in his car with two other workers, Robert Moses and James Travis.

They drove to a nearby gas station, where they refueled the car and ate sandwiches. The car with the three white men followed them and circled while they ate. Then, with Travis at the wheel, they headed out on the main highway toward Greenville, Miss., with the other car following them.

All three were in the front seat. They knew they would be attacked. The only question was when. For a while there was too much traffic on the highway for the other car to come up beside Blackwell's. Btu they knew that when

neck. He recovered. The others were not hit.

Carver Neblett assured me he is prepared to take any risk whatever, fortified as he is by his nonviolence philosophy, though up to now he has not been shot.

"No matter what happens to me, I am going to participate in the movement for as long as possible, even when I go back to school," he said, simply. "I was not always nonviolent"—he laughed at the thought—"but we won't go into that.

Fear Of Jail Vanishes

"I was brought up—all Negroes in the South are—with a fear of jail. But I don't care about jail now. Sometimes I get lonely there, or frustrated, but think of our freedom song, 'Paul and Silas were bound in jail, had no money to go on bail, keep your eyes on the prize, hold on . . .' Or I think of what that poet said, about bars do not a prison make if a fellow's soul is free, and that gives me content. And I pray."

Carver Neblett talks awkwardly about his feelings of spirituality, and I felt it was because he hesitated to commit to words things he feels as deeply as the spirituality of the nonviolence philosophy.

Still he tried to explain it, and this is what he said:

"I don't believe in approaching a person and asking him to accept nonviolence as a way of life. It's something you have to come to yourself. But if you are on the demonstration line, the opposition will start engaging in things that are so unpleasant that you really have to use nonviolence in order to survive.

"You see, we believe we can overcome hate with love, overcome violence with nonviolence. And this is a tremendous force. It amounts to a conversion to a new attitude toward life."

There are many Carver Nebletts working today in the brooding, rural country side of the Deep South, where the Civil War and the days of Negro slavery seem very close.

Albany Police Arrest 25 As Racial Protests Continue

ALBANY, June 22 (AP)—Arrests mounted in this South Georgia city as police coped with renewed desegregation efforts.

About 25 were arrested Friday. Police Chief Laurie Pritchett said they included five white persons.

Those arrested had refused to disperse when ordered to do so, Pritchett said. The police chief said they had lain on the sidewalks and refused to move.

THE ARRESTS brought to about 175 the number of persons taken into custody since desegregation efforts were begun Wednesday. Nearly 1,000 were arrested in demonstrations last summer.

Pritchett said most of the 15 or 20 white persons arrested were leaders in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

A spokesman for SNCC in Atlanta said 20 of the organization's 24 staff representatives in Albany have been arrested on a variety of charges.

A POLICE CAR window was broken in Friday's demonstrations, but there were no other incidents reported and no injuries, Pritchett said.

Mrs. Goldie Jackson, secretary of the Albany Movement, said a mass meeting was called off Friday night because "We want to make it clear that the Albany Movement's meetings are not responsible for this week's violence."

Mrs. Jackson charged that police beat demonstrators with clubs Wednesday night, and that prisoners were beaten in jail cells. Pritchett denied the charges.

Saturday, June 22, 1963 The Atlanta Journal

THE SOUTH'S WAR AGAINST NEGRO VOTES

LOOK
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF. INCORPORATING COLLIER'S
MAY 21, 1963 • VOL. 27, NO. 10

BY JOHN POPPY

LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

We have walked through the shadows of death,
We've had to walk all by ourselves:
But we'll never turn back, no, we'll never turn back
Until we've all been freed and we have equality.

That is part of a song Bertha Gober, a tense, fragile-looking girl of 21, composed not long ago for an organization known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. On paper, the song struck me as awkward, even a little pretentious. But it is a favorite of the student civil-rights movement in the toughest areas of the Deep South. To find out why, I asked Bertha to sing it. She looked around at her friends in the busy SNCC *office in Atlanta and said, softly, "No." She is shy, I thought, because I am an outsider, the only white person here.*

"Please," I said.

"Close the door," she said.

We sealed ourselves off from the others. Bertha began to sing hesitantly, hunched over, staring at the floor. Then, as if she had found a way to tell a painful secret, she relaxed and forgot me as her own words set to her own melody took over. She stood very straight, tilting her head back so she could sing upwards in a strong, rich voice that warmed and overflowed the little room. When she finished, the office on the other side of the door was still. No talk, no footsteps, no typewriter sounds. There were tears in her eyes, and I understood the power of her song—part lament, part prayer, part battle cry.

A few hours later, I was talking with James Forman, SNCC*'s executive secretary. Bertha Gober's song came up again. "You see why this is a singing movement? The songs help. Without them, it would be ugly," Forman said. "Ugly."*

Negroes in Mississippi are "still scared" to vote, says James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He is tortured by the thought that his people suffer more than they have to, and accuses the Kennedy Administration of not using all its muscle to protect SNCC *voter-registration workers.*

The main job of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is to persuade frightened, reluctant Negroes to register and vote. It is concentrating on two bedrock segregationist areas where Negroes account for over 50 percent of the population: southwestern Georgia and the Delta country of Mississippi.

Occasionally, there is well-publicized violence—for instance, the disorders that began in Greenwood, Miss., in March. Until then, there had been just two or three lonely voter-registration workers in Greenwood. When a young Negro passing through town was shot, however, more workers moved in. Fire damaged the office they were using, and a shotgun blasted the windows of an SNCC man's house. Aroused and united, Negroes marched to the courthouse in protest; local police dispersed them, arresting some; the Department of Justice arrived on the scene, and so did dozens of reporters. National attention was suddenly focused on Greenwood.

But in the fight for Negro votes, explosions like this one are the exception rather than the rule. Terrible as it seems, the excitement will eventually pass. For the real story of the voter-registration struggle in the South, we must look behind the headlines to the grim, everyday reality. Why does Bertha Gober sing, *We've had to walk all by ourselves?*

James Forman knows. Because of what he has seen in the past two years, he is a bitter man. He and some other Negro leaders feel that voter-registration workers pay a needlessly high price, in mental and physical anguish, for the gains they make. One of the ironies of the struggle in the South is that these leaders direct much of their bitterness, not at their enemies the local segregationists, but at their friends in the Federal Government.

Forman knows that diehard whites will use all their muscle to prevent Negro voting. "They have a lot to lose," he says. But he is tortured by the thought that his people suffer even more than they have to, and he accuses the Kennedy Administration—particularly the Department of Justice—of not using all *its* muscle to protect SNCC voter-registration workers in the South.

Justice Department spokesmen vehemently disagree. The Department's overworked civil-rights staff has filed more than 35 voting suits under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, at least a dozen of them in defiant, unyielding Mississippi. During the past month and a half, it has taken legal action on behalf of the Negro demonstrators in Greenwood. But, says Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division, "I'm not running a police force."

An important suit, requesting an order barring discrimination against qualified Negroes who want to register, is now under way in Sunflower County, Miss. Sunflower is the home county of U. S. Sen. James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy recently said that, although we still have a long way to go, "1962

continued

"All right, I'll go down to register, but what you going to do for me when they beat my head?"

was a year of great progress in civil rights." It was. But for the Negro on the front lines, the price was high.

One of the costs of that year of progress was a bleeding ulcer that nearly killed Forman this January. He had to send field secretaries into towns where he knew they might be killed. He saw seven SNCC fieldmen in Mississippi goaded by police harassment, lynch threats and beatings until they filed suit against Attorney General Kennedy and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in a desperate effort to get physical protection. He had to watch voter-registration workers not only in Mississippi but in Louisiana and southwestern Georgia driven to the edge of nervous breakdowns. He is constantly fighting the ugly suspicion that he and his people are alone, deserted by friends they had counted on.

"It is hard to describe the irony of the situation," Forman told me. "Voting is a constitutional right. We take time out of school, take all sorts of risks and try to register folks. When you get no help, that's pretty demoralizing. Take Mississippi. The Government has filed suits. OK. But people are still scared. They tell us, 'All right, I'll go down to register, but what you going to do for me when I lose my job and they beat my head?' And we can't do anything. The local folks are beginning to doubt that it's worth the risk."

Your name is Samuel Block. You are a Negro, 23 years old, born and raised in Mississippi. For the past year, you have been in the front lines of the voter-registration battle, as an SNCC *field secretary.*

Before all the help arrived in Greenwood last March, you and one or two others tried to cover all of Leflore County in the Mississippi Delta cotton country. Leflore's population is 65 percent Negro; almost all its voters are white. When you arrived last June in Greenwood, the county seat, you found a place to sleep, cheap as possible. Then you started knocking on doors, introducing yourself and your mission, trying to convince people who have never seen a ballot that it is their passport to freedom.

You found many of your own people afraid to talk to you because a police car followed you to each house, and the police parked in front, writing things down. They jailed you several times. Three white men beat you up, and you escaped being hit by a speeding pickup truck only because you jumped behind a telephone pole. One Thursday night last August, you barely got away from a group of whites armed with bricks, chains, ropes and pistols. You assume they meant to kill you, but you don't know for sure. You never know. You demanded protection from the Justice Department. You're not sure who it was you talked to in Washington, but you remember he said he couldn't move until a Federal statute was clearly violated. A reasonable answer, but it didn't make you feel any safer as night fell in Greenwood.

In the first six months, you managed to register five new voters.

Americans have read so much about lynchings, torture and murders that many of us, I suspect, are no longer troubled by an occasional atrocity. "There goes Mississippi again," we sigh, and move on after a moment's regret. But the possibility of death is only a part of the ordeal for men like Samuel Block. His enemy is ingenious; Block never knows where the next blow will fall. Perhaps someone to whom he talked will lose a job, or go to jail, or be dropped from the welfare rolls.

In cotton country, where almost all Negroes suffer from underemployment every winter, welfare and Government surplus food are important, not just for comfort, but for survival. Last October, the Leflore County Board of Supervisors discontinued a major part of the commodities program for 1963. As a result, more than 22,000 people who lived on surplus food in the winter were cut off. The total included Negroes *and* whites, but Block's people suffered most. Suspecting that his activities had caused the reprisal, Block suffered too. This spring, the departments of Justice and Agriculture managed to persuade Leflore County to start the program again—but it had been a hard winter there. And if your people are too cold and hungry to worry about a concept like the vote, no matter how important you tell them it is, you can't help wondering. . . .

If you are lynched, says Samuel Block, "you're dead, that's all." Dying takes courage. Living day by day, week in and week out for a year, with no relief in sight, under endless harassment, tests not only your courage, but your sanity.

I have been in many towns in Mississippi. I was in Greenwood before the recent upheaval there, and have been back since it began. The first time, I went to see Block because his troubles were—and are—commonplace by Mississippi standards. It was not easy to locate him. He was, to all appearances, in hiding. He moved constantly: his mail went to a friend, who passed it on to him; he had no telephone. Luckily, I met three young Negroes in Greenville, not far from Greenwood, who knew where Block *might* be the next day. They offered to guide me to the place.

The four of us drove the 51 miles from Greenville to Greenwood the next morning, with the radio turned up loud to blanket the tension in the car. Three Negro passengers and a white man at the wheel do not feel comfortable driving through the Delta country. The stares and angry mutters of people along the road provoked nudges and nervous laughter among my companions.

Near Greenwood, a sign pointing to "Business District" directs the traveler off U. S. Highway 82. "Go past that," said one of my passengers. The highway separates Negro from white. We turned onto a dirt temporary road and found ourselves on narrow streets among wooden, two-story buildings. My passengers relaxed; they were in familiar territory. Now, I was the outsider.

We met Block on a street corner in the Negro section of Greenwood and headed off for a sandwich, but we didn't get it. The waiter in the café said, "Police told me I'd have big trouble if they ever caught me serving a white man." Block told him, "Well, don't bother serving me either," and we left.

BLOCK WALKS in long strides. His movements are abrupt, and even when he is sitting still long enough to talk, you can feel the tension in him. "We're working hard toward voter registration," Block said, "but it is beginning to seem impossible. We've carried 80 or 90 people up to the courthouse, but only five of them got registered. . . ."

That was not surprising. Mississippi law requires each applicant for registration to read and write and to interpret in writing any section of the state constitution and write an explanation of the duties of a citizen. The state constitution has 285 sections, some of which are, in the words of a Mississippi lawyer, "extremely difficult, long and tedious." The registrar is the sole judge of whether or not an applicant has passed the test. The name of each applicant is listed for two weeks in the local paper, "so they know who you are," says Block.

When I saw him, Block was still doggedly taking people to the courthouse. (Most would not go by themselves.) He refused to admit despair, but his talk was angry. "In the state of Mississippi," he said at one point, "every animal has a season but the Negro; you can shoot him anytime." To understand some of his bitterness, follow Block's early progress in Greenwood in these excerpts from his reports to James Forman:

June 20, 1962: "On my arrival in Greenwood, everything seemed the same as in Parchman, Miss. [site of the state prison farm]. Negroes working hard for nothing, each waiting for the other to do something. . . . In a conversation with Greenwood's big [Negro] businessmen, I was told to sponsor anything I want. Where? None other than the big [Negro] Elks Club. . . ."

June 30: "I have cut my office and room rent very much. Office now $14 a month, living quarters $2.50 a week. . . ."

July 11: "We lost our meeting place at the Elks Club. The members did not approve of our meeting there and singing Freedom songs. They could have turned us off in a better way than they did, waiting until we were fixing to have a meeting, then telling us to have it in our office. . . ."

July 16 [from one of Block's temporary helpers]: "Say, are we supposed to work both day and night like Sam? Man, he doesn't even take time to eat now; I don't know what has gotten into him lately."

July 26: "In all my hard days of [voter] workshop recruiting, I was only able and glad to get six to attend from Greenwood. . . . By the way, I cannot send a budget for this week because I did not have any money to spend anyway. . . ."

August 11: "With things going bad for me in Greenwood, some of the citizens have asked me to protect myself and leave now because the

continued

Miss. Police Cool Negro Voter Crisis

The Virginian-Pilot, Saturday, March 30, 1963 3

GREENWOOD, Miss. (AP)—The tense civil rights crisis cooled a bit here Friday as police kept pedestrians scattered and moving.

Wooden barricades and police squad cars blocked off the street in front of Leflore County courthouse. Uniformed officers were backed by volunteers with riot clubs and wearing yellow Civil Defense helmets.

However, Police Chief Curtis Lary said Negroes trying to register as voters were free to enter the courthouse — so long as they walked in small groups instead of in a demonstration march.

In a City Court hearing, eight Negroes convicted of disorderly conduct drew the maximum penalty: $200 fines and four-month jail terms. Appeal bonds were set at $500 each.

One of them, Lawrence Guyot of Chicago, also was convicted of contempt of court. Punishment on that charge was one day in jail and a $50 fine.

The eight were among 11 arrested in the first registration march Wednesday. Six were tried Thursday. Guyot and James Forman of Atlanta were tried Friday.

Mayor C. E. Sampson, at a news conference, bitterly accused the Justice Department of helping "professional agitators". foment racial trouble in an attempt to win Negro votes.

When a voter registration march formed across town, about a mile from the courthouse, Chief Lary sped to the scene with three patrol cars backing him.

"It's all right for you to go down there," he told about 40 Negroes through a portable bullhorn, "but go in small orderly groups."

One Negro was arrested during the dispersal. He was booked as Donald Harris, 22, of New York City. The charge: disturbing the peace. Officers said he ignored orders to move on.

WHITES, TOO

White people loitering on street corners near the courthouse also were dispersed and told to keep moving.

The three-day-old crisis flared a few hours after nightriders fired blasts of heavy buckshot slugs into the home of a Negro who has two sons active in civil rights work. No one was hit.

It was the third incident involving bursts of gunfire. Each one served to spur on the registration drive started by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee eight months ago.

Negroes were urged, in church rallies Thursday night, to keep trying to register.

They came in scattered groups to walk past the barricades at the courthouse and stand in line outside the circuit clerk's office, where voter registration is handled.

At one point, about 50 were waiting.

They were admitted one by one to take the qualifying test. One requirement is that they interpret the state constitution. The verdict on the test comes in 30 days.

Mayor Sampson said investigation showed that the recent fire in SNCC headquarters here was deliberately set — but that the arsonists were Negroes.

"From our investigation, it is pretty clear no white people were involved," the mayor said.

NEGRO VOTES continued

Volunteers have received death threats

white people are planning to kill me. I replied, 'I am not leaving. . . .'

"Not more than a week ago, two Greenwood city policemen came to our office. I met them at the foot of the stairway and was told they were investigating an automobile theft. [One] voiced his opinion that I was a 'smart nigger from up North and if I didn't say Yes Sir and No Sir to him I would end up on the concrete without any teeth.' Last Friday, I took four Negroes to the county court in Greenwood. . . . I had given them instructions in how to register before we went. We arrived at about 2:30 p.m. and found a female deputy registrar, who acknowledged the presence of Negroes by asking me, 'What's for you, boy?' The four Negro applicants were frightened by the deputy registrar's attitude. . . .

"When I arrived home, I received a call from an individual who identified himself as speaking for the White Citizens Council. He told me, 'If you take anybody else up to register, you'll never leave Greenwood alive.' I get such calls with some frequency. About a week and a half ago, Miss ——, from who I rented a room for some time, told me that she received a similar call.

"Today, I took two Negroes to the registrar's office. The Negroes finished filling out the application form and the literacy and citizenship tests . . . and left the office. Two policemen were waiting just outside the courthouse. They said something to me, but I just ignored them, got into a taxi and took the applicants home. The police followed, stopping in front of the homes of the applicants and sat writing something. . . ."

Ironically, the recent incidents in Greenwood have proved more effective than all Block's persuasion. Since the beginning of March, hundreds of aroused Negroes have tried to register there; few have passed the tests, of course, but at least they tried.

But Block and others like him do not want to depend on violence for results. He pretends to see hope in the Justice Department's suit to open the voter rolls in Senator Eastland's Sunflower County, which borders Leflore County on the west. "Maybe if the Justice Department wins the suit over there, things will ease off here in Leflore," he says. But he doesn't really believe that. The Department, he knows, has had to work county by county in its tedious, expensive effort to break down 150 years of tradition in a defiant state.

As lawyers fight their battles in court, lonely young people will continue to struggle for voter registration in less public places. Block and his companions are outnumbered. SNCC and other groups like it are small, and they do not seem to attract many new recruits. That means there is little prospect of relief for the field secretaries. They have been at their posts for over a year now, and will try to stay there indefinitely, despite the inevitable battle fatigue that makes some weep—and sing—in anguish. For them, the voter-registration movement is an endless, nerve-racking series of guerrilla battles in dark corners of the Black Belt. In many ways, it is like underground warfare in an occupied country. To have to think in such terms of American citizens on their own soil is, as James Forman says, ugly. END

"But, We'll Never Turn Back"

These are the faces of the children and adults of Greenwood, Mississippi during a mass meeting in March, 1963 -- as Negroes braved jail and snarling police dogs to register to vote in the Leflore County Courthouse. These are the faces of Negro citizens who have lived their lives in the Mississippi Delta, where voter registration sometimes means a burning home, shots in the night, police harassment -- even possibly, death.

On the night of February 28, James Travis, a 20-year old field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was shot by white assailants near Greenwood. Travis, a gentle Mississippian and former Freedom Rider, almost died from bullet wounds near his spine.

Travis is one of 30 SNCC field secretaries who work on voter registration in the state of Mississippi. These workers -- most of whom are native Mississippians, and most of whom are in their late 'teens and early twenties -- each day knock on doors all over rural Mississippi urging Negro citizens to register and vote. For this, they have been beaten, shot, jailed, and mobbed, and live each day never knowing whether there will be a next one.

These young people see a new day in Mississippi's future when legislators will be truly representative of the state's citizenry, when there shall be equality before the law, and when all citizens shall have a chance for equal employment and equal education.

But they cannot do it alone. As you have read in this LOOK article, SNCC's financial needs are great, and the work is long, hard, and dangerous. Please send your contributions to:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N. W.

Atlanta 14, Georgia

ASK YOURSELF THIS IMPORTANT QUESTION:

What have I personally done to Maintain Segregation?

If the answer disturbs you, probe deeper and decide what you are willing to do to preserve racial harmony in Selma and Dallas County.

Is it worth four dollars to prevent a "Birmingham" here? That's what it costs to be a member of your Citizens Council, whose efforts are not thwarted by courts which give sit-in demonstrators legal immunity, prevent school boards from expelling students who participate in mob activities and would place federal referees at the board of voter registrars.

Law enforcement can be called only after these things occur, but your Citizens Council prevents them from happening.

Why else did only 350 Negroes attend a so-called mass voter registration meeting that outside agitators worked 60 days to organize in Selma?

Gov. Wallace told a state meeting of the council three weeks ago: "You are doing a wonderful job, but you should speak with the united voice of 100,000 persons. Go back home and get more members."

Gov. Wallace stands in the University doorway next Tuesday facing possible ten years imprisonment for violating a federal injunction.

Is it worth four dollars to you to prevent sit-ins, mob marches and wholesale Negro voter registration efforts in Selma?

If so, prove your dedication by joining and supporting the work of the Dallas County Citizens Council today. Six dollars will make both you and your wife members of an organization which has already given Selma nine years of Racial Harmony since "Black Monday."

Send Your Check To

THE DALLAS COUNTY

Citizens Council

SELMA, ALABAMA
YOUR MEMBERSHIP IS GOOD FOR 12 MONTHS

The fund appeal for the Dallas County Citizen's Council of Selma, Alabama on the other side of this sheet directly affects the two boys above as it affects you.

the fund appeal appeared in the SELMA TIMES-JOURNAL. Its readers will heed the plea to "prevent sit-ins, mob marches and wholesale Negro voter registration in Selma."

Its readers will prove their dedication "by joining and supporting the work of the Dallas County Citizens Council today."

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee also has an active program in Dallas County and in neighboring Wilcox County.

Bernard LaFayette, a 22 years old minister and his wife, Colia, have been working out of Selma since January, 1963. They have set up six voter education classes in Dallas and Wilcox Counties, and in April, accompanied the first group of Negroes to ever attempt to register in Wilcox County to the courthouse there. Significantly, no county officials--sheriff, registrar, or judge--were to be found.

When SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman spoke at a Selma mass meeting in May, 500 white men in cars surrounded the church and kept a crowd of 300 Negroes inside until midnight.

Three weeks ago, 19-years-old Bosie Reese, a local youth who has been working with the LaFayettes, was roughed up and arrested by a deputy sheriff when he accompanied some Negroes to the registrar's office.

LaFayette was beaten by two white men in June after he answered their call for help with a stalled car.

Now four other local people have joined the LaFayettes in the vote drive. One is a minister, fired from his job when his employer learned he had been attending voter registration meetings.

Others have also lost their jobs because they want to register and vote.

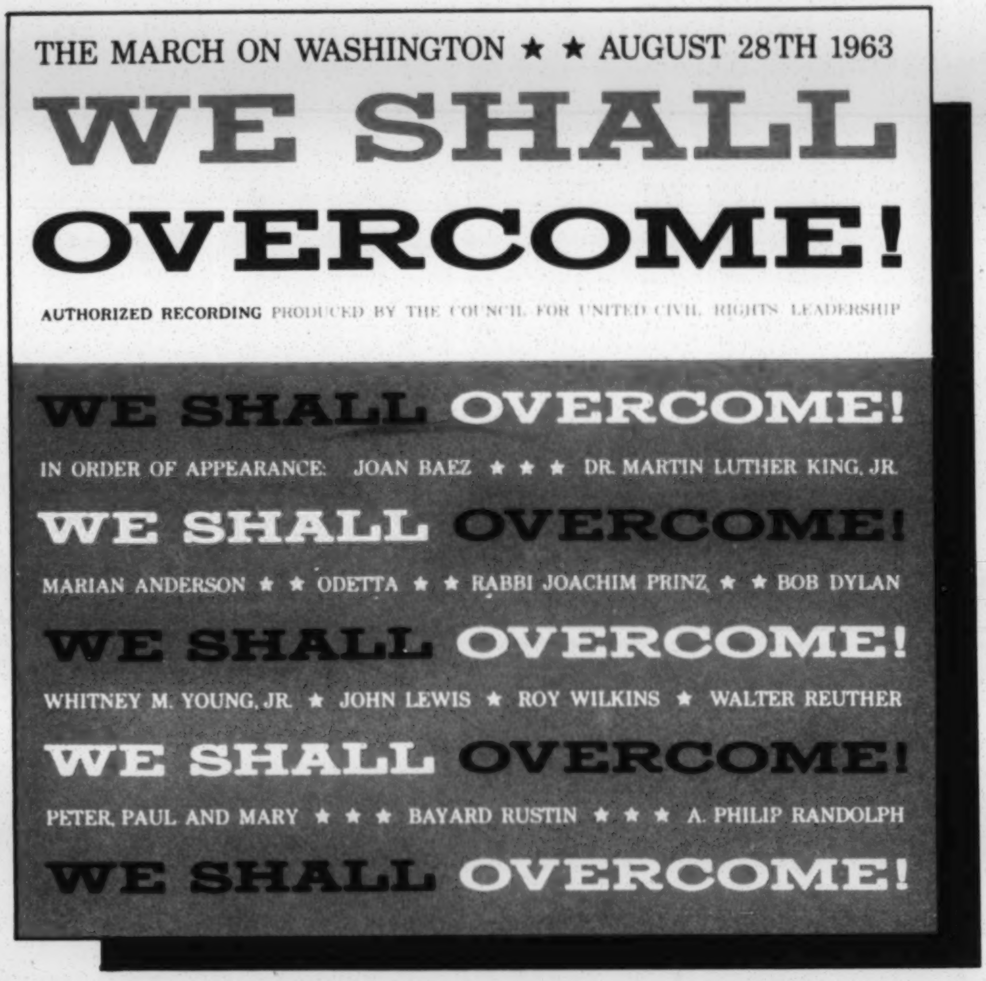
But LaFayette - and other Alabama Negroes (who in Wilcox County are 0% of the registered voters but 77.9% of the population) - will continue to try to become real American citizens.

But they need your help.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

THE AUTHORIZED RECORD OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON PRODUCED BY THE COUNCIL FOR UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP.

WE SHALL OVERCOME!



THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON ★ ★ AUGUST 28TH 1963

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

AUTHORIZED RECORDING PRODUCED BY THE COUNCIL FOR UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE: JOAN BAEZ ★ ★ ★ DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

MARIAN ANDERSON ★ ★ ODETTA ★ ★ RABBI JOACHIM PRINZ ★ ★ BOB DYLAN

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR. ★ JOHN LEWIS ★ ROY WILKINS ★ WALTER REUTHER

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

PETER, PAUL AND MARY ★ ★ ★ BAYARD RUSTIN ★ ★ ★ A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

Here, authentically recaptured, are the songs, the speeches, the spirit that touched the heart ...and the conscience...of the world. Here is **DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,** quietly envisioning a future brotherhood... **"I HAVE A DREAM."**©

Here are—

JOAN BAEZ · MARIAN ANDERSON
BOB DYLAN · PETER, PAUL & MARY
ODETTA

with the inspiring songs of freedom.

Here are—

RABBI JOACHIM PRINZ
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.
JAMES FARMER · ROY WILKINS
WALTER REUTHER · BAYARD RUSTIN
JOHN LEWIS · A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

voicing the aspirations of millions of Americans. Here is the mighty sound of 200,000 men, women, and children who fervently resolve:

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"

IF YOU MISSED IT... AND WANT TO BE PART OF IT,

IF YOU WERE THERE... AND WANT TO RELIVE IT

Participating Organizations

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Urban League
National Council of Negro Women
N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
Congress of Racial Equality
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

PROCEEDS FROM THE SALE OF "WE SHALL OVERCOME" WILL BE USED TO FURTHER THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

COUNCIL FOR UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York.

Please send me ______ copies of the authorized recording(s) of the March on Washington at the special Council price. I understand the proceeds from the sale of this record will benefit the civil rights movement throughout the country. I enclose $3.00 for each record ordered.

NAME____________________

ADDRESS____________________

CITY____________________ZONE______STATE________

Please make check or money order payable to Council for Unity.

S.N.C.C. Branch ____________________

SNCC

RULEVILLE, MISS.

We, the . . . . students who make up the staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the thousands that make up its base, have staked our lives on the principle that an interracial democracy can be made to work in this country, even in the fields, bayous, and deltas of our deep South.

We have not spared ourselves in attempting to make that faith good. We call on the federal government to do likewise. We would have it understood that we are not calling on the country for what she might do for us, but rather to inform her of what she must be prepared to do for herself.

. . . from SNCC testimony, before
the House Judiciary Committee,
May, 1963

HISTORY

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was born out of the history-making sit-in movement that erupted across the South in the spring of 1960. At Easter of that year, the first southwide meeting of sit-in leaders was held in Raleigh, North Carolina. Here a temporary committee to promote communication and coordination of activities among protest groups was set up. This Committee met monthly during the summer, opened an office in Atlanta, and at a second conference held in Atlanta, October, 1960, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was formally organized. One representative from each Southern state and the District of Columbia made up the Coordinating Committee.

Participation in the Freedom Rides in 1961 and a growing sense of the depth of fear that shackled most Negroes of the South convinced SNCC leaders that *some one would have to TAKE the freedom movement to the millions of exploited, disfranchised and degraded Negroes of the Black Belt. . . .*

SNCC DID JUST THAT.

. . . August, 1961—SNCC launched its first voter-registration project . . . choosing Walthall, Pike and Amite Counties of Mississippi.—This sparked nonviolent direct action by hundreds of high-school students in McComb, Miss., and led to the development of a statewide voter registration program, recently dramatized by the use of snarling police dogs to stop Negroes from registering in Greenwood, Mississippi.

. . . October, 1961—SNCC workers went to Albany, Georgia, and became the catalytic fuse for the massive protests of the Albany Movement.

. . . By November, 1961, some sixteen students had volunteered to take out a year or more from school to work in the hardcore rural areas for subsistence only.

SAVANNAH, GA.

There is
NO QUOTA
on
FREEDOM

ATLANTA, GA.

PROGRAM

SNCC's grass-roots approach is designed to . . . . *build indigenous, trained leadership* . . . on college and high school campuses, and in local communities . . .

*** * * In recruiting potential student leaders from college campuses and sending them to work in rural communities, SNCC hopes to bridge the gap between centers of learning and the work-a-day communities.**

*** * * SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership.**

This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today *more than 150 SNCC field secretaries* are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, *in the most difficult areas of the South. . . .*

Mississippi—Southwest Georgia—Central Alabama—Eastern Arkansas—Southern Virginia

These students work for subsistence salaries when funds are available, but at times they have chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food. They live in the community, often in the homes of local residents, for the weeks and months that are required to break through generations of fear and intimidation. The students' courage helps emerging leaders achieve a new self image and the strength to act. Sustained personal contact, discussion and persuasion and his determination to stay with them and their problems, give the local people confidence in the SNCC worker and the program he advocates. The people then begin to gain enough confidence in themselves to seek and assert their rights.

In the community SNCC workers organize for voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they have been denied this right since Reconstruction. And, fully as important, the program deepens an awareness of the meaning of first class citizenship, develops a community of action, and creates mutual trust and support among people who too often have been suspicious and divided by fear.

As of summer, 1963, SNCC had initiated and participated in . . . . direct action campaigns in 49 cities in 13 states. . . .

THE FUTURE...

The future means redoubled efforts to continue . . .

—introducing educated and determined young workers into hard core areas;

—maintaining a college contact that leads to militant action in cities and provides new recruits for full time work.

The future means . . .

—expanding our pilot voter registration projects in cities to provide workers in surrounding counties.

—finding more funds to support students willing to work at subsistence wages and share the life of the Southern rural Negro while trying to convince him of his rights.

—providing more and better workshops and conferences on the meaning and techniques of nonviolent community action and political involvement.

Change will be slow, but change must take place. SNCC will need *three times our current staff* to do the job we have only begun. We will also need *three times our current budget*.

The future means your support . . .

—in contributions and in stimulating your local community to break down every form of racial discrimination now.

—in letting us know how we can help you and how you can help us.

DANVILLE, VA.

WE BELIEVE AND WE ASK YOU TO BELIEVE WITH US: **WE SHALL OVERCOME!**

SNCC

SNCC: Structure and Leadership

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.

The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program.

Chairman: JOHN LEWIS
Executive Secretary: JAMES FORMAN
Staff Coordinator: WORTH LONG
Communications Director: JULIAN BOND
Project Directors:
  Mississippi: ROBERT MOSES
  Southwest Georgia: CHARLES SHERROD
  Central Alabama: BERNARD LAFAYETTE
  Arkansas: WILLIAM HANSEN
  Eastern Shore: REGINALD ROBINSON

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
8½ Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta 14, Georgia
Telephone: 688-0331

Photos: Danny Lyon
August, 1963

[illegible]

HIGH OFFICIAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Young, D-Ohio, denounced Mrs. Nhu as "viciously anti-American" and urged that her visitor's visa be cancelled. He called her a woman with "a serpent's tongue."

Rep. Silvio O. Conte, R-Mass., suggested in the House that U. S. aid to South Vietnam may be paying for "expensive bangles and wild shopping binges in Rome, Paris and elsewhere" by Mrs. Nhu.

Conte called Mrs. Nhu "one of the potentially dangerous figures in the world today."

The editors and broadcasters attending the State department session were told that the CIA in South Vietnam is not doing anything that is not known about and approved by the State Department.

There were again official denials of a "split" among the State, Defense, and CIA agencies on policy objectives, but it was conceded that in a "frustrating, mean and dirty affair" a variance of opinion is likely to be heard.

Mme. Nhu, flew into New York last night on her three-week American speaking tour.

She said at the airport:

"I do not intend to lobby any official persons during my trip."

WHITEFISH

(Continued from Page 1)

David S. Cohen, [illegible], Knoxville, Tenn., furniture company executive, and his [illegible] daughter, Amy Beth, died of botulism yesterday.

Health authorities of Tennessee said Cohen and his daughter, as well as five others who became ill, all had eaten smoked whitefish purchased at the same chain food store. The store said the fish came from Dornbos.

A Kalamazoo, Mich., couple, Chester O. Mitchell, [illegible], and his wife, [illegible] of Type E botulism. They had eaten smoked whitefish on a trip to Northern Michigan.

Embargo Imposed

The Michigan State Department of Agriculture imposed an embargo of the Dornbos plant's inventory pending an investigation of the [illegible] deaths.

Dornbos said it had closed down its operations prior to the state embargo "until we can find out what is happening."

The Food and Drug Administration identified the Dornbos product as packaged in vacuum-sealed plastic bags bearing red and yellow labels.

The package has the words "Ready to eat—Keep under refrigeration. Dornbos smoked whitefish (or whitefish chubs). Dornbos fisheries. Since 1880 Grand Haven, Michigan."

In Philadelphia, a spokesman for Food Fair Stores, Inc., said all its [illegible] fish products are processed locally and distributed locally.

AIDE IN SENATE

(Continued from Page 1)

was involved in behalf of the Serv-U.

Vend magazine, in a copyrighted article last month, said that Serv-U had grown from an almost unknown corporation in March, 1962, to a major vending machine firm.

It listed five major contracts which Serv-U had obtained with California Aerospace Industries in that period, including two at North American Aviation plants. In each case, the article said, Serv-U supplanted vending machine firms which had been in business 20 years or more.

SAVINGS

FACT SHEET ON THE RAID AND ARRESTS

Conducted by State and City Police at SCEF New Orleans Headquarters at the Behest of the Louisiana Committee on Un-American Activities October 4, 1963

THE CHARGES: Violation of Louisiana Revised Statute Title 14, Section 358 et seq. "The Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law" and Section 390 et seq. "The Communist Propaganda Control Act" by "organizing between themselves and with other unknown people and their doing certain acts to carry out said agreement, to violate the aforesaid statutes by knowingly and willfully participating in the management of a subversive organization, and secreting books, records and files of a subversive organization, said subversive organization herein referred to being specifically the Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc., and also distributing and storing Communist political propaganda in the State of Louisiana."

THOSE ARRESTED: Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the SCEF. Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF treasurer, labor and civil rights attorney and counsel for the ACLU in Louisiana, and former assistant district attorney in New Orleans. Bruce C. Waltzer, Smith's law partner, who has no connection with the SCEF.

THE RAID: Conducted by about 100 policemen and jail trusties in five simultaneous strikes at the offices and the homes of the three arrested men. Streets outside were cordoned off during the three-hour ransacking, in which personal and official property was indiscriminately seized.

The Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities proclaimed it had inspired this action.

The committee's legal counsel told the press the raid hadn't been "coordinated" with the FBI because, while the committee had complete confidence in J. Edgar Hoover, "we have no confidence whatsoever" in U. S. Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy.

"We know that if we told the FBI about this raid they would have to tell Bobby Kennedy. We cannot trust him and we expect him to tell his friend, Martin Luther King."

Although the committee boasted that the raid had been planned for eleven months, the raiders first came to the wrong office in the building and broke down the door of an empty room with sledgehammers.

At the Dombrowski home, policemen repeatedly threatened to shoot the family dachshund, although the dog was on a leash.

THE REACTION: The Rabbinical Council of New Orleans declared, "We denounce the subversive practices [illegible] theirs."

The rabbis also endorsed the statement of the Louisiana branch of the ACLU, which called the raid "a dangerous act of political repression committed by our state government" and said the law under which the charges were filed "is an unconstitutional device designed to inhibit the flow of free ideas and free speech."

At the time of this writing, other groups in New Orleans—religious, labor and legal—were reported preparing similar denunciations.

In Atlanta, the Reverend Martin Luther King said, "Such smear tactics against efforts to bring about true brotherhood of man in the South have shown signs of increasing in intensity during recent months. This Friday action followed shortly after a peaceful demonstration last Tuesday in New Orleans by some 10,000 Negroes and approximately 300 whites seeking freedom, and followed . . . charges brought by Ross Barnett and George Wallace before a congressional committee in recent weeks that the search for freedom in this country was communist-inspired."

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee wired Attorney-General Kennedy, asserting that "state sedition laws under which these persons were arrested, were outlawed by the U. S. Supreme Court seven years ago."

"This is another demonstration of [illegible]

WHAT CAN BE DONE: WE SUGGEST:

- Wire or write the U. S. Attorney General and the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D. C., asking them to intervene in this unconstitutional outrage. Protests to Louisiana Governor Jimmie Davis and New Orleans Mayor Victor Schiro would also be helpful.
- Spread the word of the raid to [illegible] organizations, to individuals. A letter to the editor of your local paper can do much to foster nationwide interest.
- Advise us of what action you have taken.

PLEASE, if possible, send a special contribution to help us with the expenses of [illegible] and [illegible] with the [illegible] legal [illegible] that lie ahead.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, La.

[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

October 25, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, La. -- Judge Bernard J. Cocke of the Louisiana Criminal District Court Division, at a preliminary hearing today, discharged and dismissed the case against James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (S.C.E.F.), Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of S.C.E. F., and New Orleans attorney, and Bruce C. Waltzer, Smith's law partner.

Judge Cocke ruled that there was no factual basis for the State's charge that the men had conspired to violate the State's Subversive Activities and Control Law or its Communist Propaganda Control Act by managing S.C.E. F.

S.C.E.F. is an organization dedicated to furthering integration. Smith and Waltzer are active civil rights lawyers.

The Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of S.C.E.F. and leader of the Birmingham integration movement, said: "The dismissal of the charges against Smith, Waltzer and Dombrowski, is a signal victory for the forces of civil rights and civil liberties in their efforts to bring about justice, freedom and fair play."

The three men had been arrested on October 4th by the Louisiana State Police and New Orleans police at the behest of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities; and their offices and homes were searched. Records and personal possessions were confiscated.

Arrest and search warrants had been signed by Major Russell Willie of the Louisiana State Police. Defense attornies brought out in court today that Major Willie had acted upon alleged information from a "confidential informer" whose identity Willie refused to divulge.

In a strongly worded statement, Judge Cocke ruled that the State had failed to produce a single fact to justify its actions. The three men were cleared of all charges in less than 90 minutes.

Testimony at the hearing by James A. Pfister, chairman of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, revealed that the records and personal effects seized on October 4th were subpoenaed on October 5th by Senator James O. Eastland's U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

"The fact that a State District judge dismissed the charges," said Reverend Shuttlesworth, "solidifies our hopes that justice has the same meaning in the deep South as it has in the rest of the nation. This is a definite setback to the three-state plot to destroy the integration movement master-minded by Senator James O. Eastland, Governor Barnett and Governor Wallace."

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REPRINTED FROM:

THE NEW

October 26, 1963, 35 cents

REPUBLIC

NEGROES ARE DRAGGED OFF FEDERAL PROPERTY AS THE FBI LOOKS ON

Registration in Alabama

Selma

There are 30,000 Negroes and less than 25,000 whites in Dallas County, Alabama. On the voting rolls, however, there are about 130 Negroes and 7,000 whites. On the first and third Mondays of every month, the Board of Registrars of Dallas County takes additional applications from would-be voters. The form, however, is a long one, and the applicant is also questioned orally. As a result, the Board has never been able to enroll more than 30 new voters in a day.

At this rate even making the incredible assumption that the Board accepted every Negro applicant, it would take the Board 10 years to enroll as many Negroes as whites. Nevertheless, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) began a voter-registration campaign in Dallas County last summer. It proclaimed October 7 as "Freedom Day." At 9:30 a.m. on Freedom Day there were 50 Negroes in line before the county courthouse, in the cotton town of Selma.

By 11:00 a.m. there were 250 Negroes in the line, which extended the full length of the block, around the corner, and halfway down the street. Two hundred of them would never get inside the courthouse door.

Standing over these men and women, were helmeted men with clubs and guns, members of Sheriff Clark's posse. By noon, the line of Negroes reached 300. The sun was hot, and the line did not seem to be moving.

Directly across the street from the county courthouse in Selma is the Federal Building. Here are the federal court, the draft board, the social security office – all the visible manifestations that the Civil War was won by the Union and that the national government is supreme all over the United States. In this building, on the first floor, its windows looking directly at the county courthouse, is the office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the police force of the national government, created to enforce the laws of the United States.

Four FBI agents and two Justice Department lawyers spent Freedom Day in this building. The FBI agents were taking pictures, and watching. The Justice Department men were just watching.

Through all that happened on that Monday, while federal law was broken again and again, these law enforcement officials of the federal government stood by and watched. By the time Freedom Day was over in Selma, the Constitution had been violated in a number of its provisions, several statutes of the US Congress had been ignored, the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 had been turned face down on the sidewalk. For all the good the federal officials did, George Wallace might have been President of the United States.

What happened in Selma on Freedom Day?

A Negro registrant, before he got to the door of the county courthouse, had to run a gauntlet of armed troopers and a local cameraman whose pictures could cost the Negro his or her job.

The registrants waited from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., standing in the sun without food or water, without being able to go to the toilet. State troopers told them they could not leave the line and return. (When I asked a Justice Department lawyer standing by if he would go over to the state troopers and say that these Negroes had a right to get a drink of water, he said: "I think they do have that right. But I won't do it.")

There were two "incidents."

1. At 11:55 a.m. I looked away from the line of registrants, across the street to the Federal Building. On the steps of the building – so still that for a weird second I thought they were statues – stood two young members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, facing the county courthouse across the street and holding signs. One, in overalls and a fedora, carried a sign saying "Register Now for Freedom Now." The other, in a polo shirt and slacks, carried a sign which read, "Register to Vote."

I crossed the street to get a better look. At that moment – it was a few moments before noon – Sheriff Jim Clark and two members of his posse also crossed the street, walked up the steps of the Federal Building, snatched the signs, and pulled the two young fellows down the stairs and into a police car. I have seen a number of examples of the invisibility of federal power in the South, but I didn't quite believe this. I turned to the Justice Department man and asked, "Is that a *federal* building?" "Yes," he replied.

2. Lunchtime passed, but no lunch for the more than 300 Negroes on the registration line. The sun was hotter now. Jim Forman, in charge of the day's operations, sent some people for sandwiches and water. By now, Al Lingo's blue-helmeted state police – commanded by Major Joe Smelley – had taken over from the posse, but

Sheriff Clark and his men were still around. Jim Forman and Mrs. Boynton (a local Negro leader) walked over to talk to Sheriff Clark (it was 1:55 p.m.). Forman said: "Sheriff, we'd like to give these people some food." Clark replied: "They will not be molested in any way." Forman said: "We don't want to molest them. We want to give them food and to talk to them about registration." Clark shouted: "If you do, you'll be arrested. They will not be molested in any way and that includes talking to them."

Forman and Mrs. Boynton went back across the street to the alley alongside the Federal Building, where a shopping cart with a keg of water and sandwiches were set up. Newsmen were called over. Mrs. Boynton said: "We want to see if to Mr. Clark 'molesting' means giving people food." Forman told the newsmen: "We wired the Justice Department last night for marshals; we figured Clark might be violating federal law today. But we've had no reply."

Two SNCC members, Chico Neblett, a tall, good-looking former student at Southern Illinois University, and Avery Williams, dark, quiet, stepped forward and filled their arms with sandwiches and registration material. It was an unreal scene: food was going to be delivered to people standing in line in front of a public building, and it was as if paratroopers were preparing to drop into enemy country in wartime.

"Let's go, man," Neblett said. He and Williams crossed the street. We – newsmen, photographers, a few others – followed. The state troopers converged on the two young men as they approached the line. Major Smelley yelled: "Get 'em!" Suddenly the two were on the ground. I saw Chico Neblett stretched out, troopers over him. I saw them jab at him with their clubs and saw him writhe under what looked like shock induced by the electric cattle prods the troopers carried. Four of them picked him up and dragged him away, and then I saw them throw him and young Williams into the green arrest truck at the corner. In the meantime state troopers and posse men were pushing and shoving all of us standing nearby, cursing, threatening, ripping one photographer's clothes. We retreated across the street. The Justice Department men hurried in and out of the Federal Building. The FBI watched.

I walked down to the corner a few minutes later, to see if the line that had extended all the way around it and halfway down the block was diminished by the tension. Some 30 more Negroes had joined the line. I went back to the steps of the Federal Building and waited for Freedom Day to be over. At 4:30 p.m. it was, and the several hundred men and women in line drifted away. A young Negro lawyer, visiting from Detroit, who had observed the day's events, said with emotion in his voice, pointing to the people walking quietly from the line: "Those people are heroes. They should be given medals."

Then what should be given the President and the Attorney General of the US?

HOWARD ZINN

THE NEW REPUBLIC OCTOBER 26, 1963

This article points out some of the problems that have been faced by workers for the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE in many parts of the resistant South. Selma, Alabama is not an isolated example.

The STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE has similar voter registration projects in Southwest Georgia, Southeastern Arkansas, and the five Congressional Districts of Mississippi.

SNCC workers are paid subsistence wages of $9.64 a week. Your help is needed if the future is to mean that democracy can work in the most difficult hard core areas of the South.

STUDENT
NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING
COMMITTEE
SNCC ("snick")

6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
(404) 688-0331

Enclosed is $.............. to help bring democracy and hope to deprived and disenfranchised Negroes of the South.

I pledge $............. every.............. to aid SNCC's ONE MAN - ONE VOTE campaign.

Name...
Address..
City.............. State..............................

Labor Donated

from Mary King SNCC

from the desk of

Carl and Anne Braden

Oct. 26, 1963

Dear Julian & Mary:

Because you all both were so wonderful about moving quickly in support of SCEF at the time of the raids and arrest, I want to be sure you know the latest developments. I don't know what your Atlanta paper is covering. (You should be getting a news release soon if you [illegible] release yet

The judge in New Orleans dismissed the charges yesterday against all three of them. He said there was not any evidence.

Meantime, however, the Louisiana state legislative committee has turned all our records, contributor lists, etc. over to Senator Eastland and his Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He subpoenaed them, the state people said, but I'm sure they were happy to copperate.

This is probably what they wanted all along and I suspect Eastland was in on the deal from the beginning. He tried to get our lists some years back and Jim Dombrowski told him to go to hell (at a hearing in New Orleans), so now he's done it this other way---so here we go again on another round of harassment and of more people, I suppose.

However, I do think it is somewhat encouraging that the judge in New Orleans

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was able to do what he did.*** Jim says he is just a damn fair judge, but even a good and fair judge often can't be just when the community hysteria is at high pitch. I think the~~y~~ most important thing is that they were not able to mount any real hysteria this trip. Having lived through several rounds of hysteria in my life, I believe this indicates some real changes in the atmosphere and we may be in much better shape to move ahead successfully on building a better society than we have thought.

Best regards,

A

Anne Braden

For example:

*** The state committee representatives told the judge SCEF had a "reputation" for being subversive. The judge said he was not interested in reputations; he wanted facts.

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NEWS FROM
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

October 31, 1963

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- A preliminary injunction restraining Senator James O. Eastland, Louisiana police and all others from using in any way the records of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was requested today by Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the Fund. In the complaint, filed in U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia, a half million dollars in damages was asked by Dr. Dombrowski and by the S. C. E. F. Inc. for false arrests and illegal seizure of records and property.

Other defendants named in the suit are Colonel Thomas D. Burbank, state police superintendent; State Police Major Russell R. Willie; State Representative James H. Pfister, chairman of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American activities; the city of New Orleans; and the Allstate Insurance Co., the city's liability insurer.

Dr. Dombrowski was arrested in New Orleans, La., October 4th on charges of violating the state Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law, as manager of S. C. E. F., an organization dedicated to furthering racial integration; and the Fund's records were seized at the behest of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee. On the following day, these records were subpenaed by U. S. Senator James O. Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Although the conspiracy charges against Dombrowski, and against New Orleans attorneys Benjamin E. Smith and Bruce C. Waltzer who were also arrested October 4th, were dismissed by State Judge Bernard J. Cocke on October 25th, the S. C. E. F. records were not returned.

On Saturday, October 26th, Dombrowski, Smith and Waltzer requested a temporary restraining order and a permanent injunction to prevent the removal of the records from State Police Headquarters. Federal Judge Robert A. Ainsworth, after ascertaining by phone that the materials were still in Baton Rouge, scheduled a hearing for Sunday, October 27th, which he then postponed until Monday morning. At the hearing, which eventually took place Monday noon, Ainsworth announced that the question of a temporary restraining order was moot, since the S. C. E. F. records had been transferred to Woodsville, Miss. earlier that morning at the request of Senator Eastland. Since Monday, at least part of these records have been sent on to Washington, D. C.

OOO

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La. 70112
Issued Through News & Editorial Offices,
4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville, Ky. 40211

Oct. 5, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, La.--State and city police raided offices of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and arrested two of its top officers on Oct. 4. All records of the organization were seized.

Civil-rights leaders across the nation immediately protested this action against SCEF, which is a Southwide group working to end segregation and discrimination. The protests were led by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, SCEF president and leader of the movement in Birmingham, Ala., and by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, Ga.

Those arrested were Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director; Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of the group, and Bruce Waltzer, Smith's law partner. They were later paroled by State Judge J. Bernard Cox pending filing of formal charges.

Homes of all three men were ransacked and boxes full of personal papers and books were seized. Smith and Waltzer's law offices were also stripped of files having anything to do with SCEF business.

Dombrowski, Smith, and Waltzer were charged with "operating a Communist conspiracy" in violation of a state sedition law. A spokesman for the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities said the raids and arrests followed a year-long investigation of SCEF by the committee.

The Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth said: "We recognize this as part of a three-state conspiracy in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, our three most backward states, to frustrate the drive for freedom by civil-rights organizations. We expect more of these attacks on all civil-rights groups and all persons working for full freedom.

"Evidence of the three-state conspiracy includes the testimony of Governor Wallace of Alabama and Governor Barnett of Mississippi before Congress this summer, in which they sought to label all civil-rights organizations as subversive and vilified their leaders.

"More recent evidence is the fact that an Alabama legislative committee on subversion has invited Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and myself to appear before it.

"The tendency has been and still is to label anybody communistic and subversive who seeks in a righteous way to uphold the principles embodied in the Constitution of the United States. It should be made clear that, to a segregationist, integration means nothing else but communism or subversion.

"Certain persons operating under the guise of super-Americanism will stop at nothing and will do anything to bolster the crumbling walls of segregation. But civil-rights forces are not about to be stopped in their march toward freedom. The segregationists are riding the last coach on the last train on the last track to nowhere and are getting there slowly."

In Atlanta, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee wired President Kennedy, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington. SNCC declared that the action against SCEF "can only be termed an act of despotism."

"State sedition laws under which these person were arrested were outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court seven years ago," SNCC noted. "This is another demonstration of the lawlessness and defiance of authority by the segregationists."

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NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La. 70112

Issued Through News & Editorial Offices,
4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville, Ky. 40211

Oct. 6, 1963
(Also see Oct. 5 release)

ATLANTA, Ga.---Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. denounced the police raid on headquarters of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, and asked U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to intervene.

He sent a telegram urging Kennedy "most urgently to take action to stop this additional harassment and intimidation of civil-rights organizations and their supporters."

In a statement to the news media concerning the raid and the arrest of SCEF officers, Dr. King described SCEF as"a courageous civil-rights organization." Dr. King, who is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), said in part:

"...This appears to be another phase in a continuing effort by hard-core racists to place responsibility for integration in the South on Communist influence...Such smear tactics against efforts to bring about true brotherhood of man in the South have shown signs of increasing intensity during recent months.

"This breach of federal law, which was clearly established by the U.S. Supreme Court in April, 1956, calls for immediate action by federal authorities. Such tactics of harassment will not deter the march for freedom in the South and the nation, but will serve to point up most vividly the acute need for federal laws to protect all freedom-loving citizens."

Dr. King's reference to the Supreme Court decision of 1956 concerned the ruling by which the court declared state laws against sedition and subversion to be null and void.

The high court held that such matters were the responsibility of the Federal Government, and that laws of this kind could be misused by the states. Persons charged with sedition in Kentucky and Massachusetts were freed as a result of this decision, which arose out of a case in Pennsylvania.

#

SCEF RAIDED   October 4, 1963   Info: from Carl Braden, Ben Smith

r
JAMES DOMBOWSKI (exec. Dir. SCEF), Attorney Ben Smith (ACLU Staff Counsel in La., former assistant District Attorney for New Orleans) and his partner, Attorney Bruce Waltzer -- arrested October 4.

State & local
13 ~~City~~ Police raided the SCEF office, seized records, arrested Dombrowski. About 3:00 P.M.
Simultaneously, the office of Smith and Waltzer was raided, and at the same time, the homes of the three men were raided.

Charges: "Operating a Communist conspriacy in violation of state laws; maintaining a Communist ~~[illegible]~~ orggnization; and maintaining Communist propaganda on the premises."

Carried out by state police with cooperation of city police - raids at 5 locations carried out simultaneously.

They were paroled on some kind of a "personal parole"-about 7 hours later In Louisiana, under Napoleonic Code, a state judge can parole persons pending a formal charge. Judge J. Bernard ~~[illegible]~~ did so.
COCKE

Charges are based on same section of La. law as the "criminal anarchy" charges of Bob and Chuck - violation of state sedtion laws. Theoretically, state sedition laws were thrown out by the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania v. Nelson, April 1956. Other precedents for nagation of state sedition laws: Braden v. Kentucky, Massachusetts v. Gilbert. Going to test it on grounds of being violation of Supreme Court decision (according to Ben Smith.)

For 3 - 4 months, the White Citizens Council has been picketing off and on with signs reading "Communist Headquarters of the South," at New Orleans SCEF office.

Carl traces this to the TODAY program last Friday, Sept. 27, where Gov. Wallace held up pictures of Carl & Anne, Dombrowski, Miles Horton, and Len Holt saying that they were causers of 4 Birmingham deaths. This is aided by Fred Shuttlesworth being President of SCEF.

State Rep. James Pfister said on radio last night there, that SCEF had been under investigation for 11 months by the state legislative Committee on UnAmerican Activities.

All records confiscated from Dombrowski's office; boxes of papers removed from his home after about 4 hours ransacking; peace literature and mailing list taken from Waltzer, Smith not sure what taken from him.
Carl says it took him three years to get his stuff back from the Louisville confiscation.

Quote: (Carl) "This is just another effort to discredit, destroy and disrupt an organization working for human rights and integration."

,Mary

TELEGRAM TO ATTY GENL ROBT KENNEDY
U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION
PRES. J. F. KENNEDY

THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE PROTESTS THE RAIDING OF A CIVIL RIGHTS OFFIVE IN NEW ORLEANS ON OCTOBER 4. THIS ACT BY THE STATE OF LOUISIANA AGAINST THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, IN WHICH RECORDS WERE CONFISCATED AND THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE ORGANIZATION AND TWO PROMINENT LAWYERS WERE ARRESTED, CAN ONLY BE TERMED AN ACT OF ~~[illegible]~~ DESPOTISM. STATE SEDITION LAWS, UNDER WHICH THESE PERSONS WERE ARRESTED, WERE OUTLAWED BY THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT SEVEN YEARS AGO. ~~THIS ACT DEMONSTRATES THE TOTAL LAWLESSNESS AND DEFIANCE OF AUTHORITY BY SEGREGATIONISTS WHO ARE NOW RESORTING~~ THIS IS ANOTHER DEMONSTRATION OF THE LAWLESSNESS AND DEFIANCE OF AUTHORITY BY SEGRGEGATIONISTS.

s/ JULIAN BOND FOR THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
OCTOBER 5

THE STUDENT VOICE

VOL. 4, NO 8. The Student Voice, Inc. 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga. DECEMBER 16, 1963

Negro Testifies Later Arrested

WINONA, MISSISSIPPI -- A young Negro who told a federal jury last week that policemen "paid" him a pint and a half of corn whiskey to beat two civil rights workers was arrested in nearby Kilmachael for an offense supposedly committed while he was behind bars.

23-year-old Roosevelt Knox was one of two Negroes who were prisoners in the Winona jail when five Negro civil rights workers were beaten by police. Knox and another prisoner testified they had been ordered to assist in two beatings.

Knox's parents told SNCC workers in Greenwood the youth was charged with passing a bad check during the period he was held in the Winona jail.

His trial on the bad check charge, scheduled for December 10, was not held when charges against him were dropped.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

3000 MARCH IN ATLANTA

Marchers Brave Cold In Atlanta Demonstration

ATLANTA, GA., Dec. 15 --More than 3,000 Atlantans, Negro and white, braved below freezing weather today to hear speakers from a variety of groups declare that some action must be taken soon to implement an integration plan presented by this city's Summit Leadership Conference.

Each speaker echoed the same theme: Atlanta, once a showcase city for the South and a model of "smooth" race relations, is lagging behind other Southern cities and even other Georgia cities.

While some encouraged a continuation of negotiations carried on by the Summit group, others called for direct action if Negro demands are not met soon.

James Forman, Executive Secretary of SNCC, told the crowd that overflowed Atlanta's Hurt Park here: "No one leader, no group of leaders can get your rights. You have to get them for yourselves."

Forman said, "We have two powerful weapons, the dollar and the vote."

The SNCC leader reminded the crowd of the up-coming presidential race in 1964. He called for consideration of an Easter Boycott here, and for a possible school boycott aimed at eliminating segregation and triple sessions in Negro schools. He called for a program to ease slum conditions in Negro neighborhoods, telling Atlanta Vice-Mayor Sam Massell, representing the city on the speakers' platform, "people are swimming in Buttermilk Bottom" (a slum section of the city.)

Martin Luther King, Jr., featured speaker at the junior March on Washington demonstration, told the audience "time is run-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

DEMONSTRATIONS BEGIN

FIVE ARRESTED IN DANVILLE

Danville Demonstration-Summer, 1963

DANVILLE, VA., Dec. 15 -- Anti-segregation protests resumed in this Southside Virginia city as five students were arrested at a Howard Johnson's restaurant December 10.

Sit-ins at Howard Johnson's, other restaurants and movie theaters are being conducted by students, most of them from Danville, as part of a drive to open the public facilities of this city.

A 22-year-old white SNCC worker from Chapel Hill, N.C., J.V. Henry, reported that hot ammonia had been thrown on the floor of one restaurant where a sit-in took place -- Staley's Restaurant -- "to get rid of us."

Henry stated that Danville students and SNCC workers were

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

MISS. RIGHTS GROUPS MEET

JACKSON , MISS., Dec. 15 -- Close to 300 representatives of civil rights groups and civic organizations met here today at a state-wide meeting of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO.)

The meeting was called to discuss the organizational structure of COFO, and to plan the direction of civil rights activities in Mississippi for the coming year.

COFO is a federation of representatives from voting leagues and NAACP chapters, and staff members from the Student Nonviolent Ccordinating Committee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Congress of Racial Equality, who are working in Mississippi.

One item of business was the adoption of by-laws , in which the purpose of COFO is outlined as working for "total democracy, racial equality and economic justice " in Mississippi.

"The program of COFO consists of voter registration and citizenship education projects, political action -- both mock and official, the implementation of government programs and general civil rights work," according to the newly amended by-laws.

"Mock" political action refers to the recent Freedom Ballot Campaign in which Aaron Henry, President of COFO, ran for governor and polled 85,000 Freedom Ballots from officially disenfranchised Negroes.

Robert Moses, Director of SNCC's Mississippi vote drive since July 1961, was re-elected Project Director for COFO. CORE staff member Dave Dennis was elected Assistant Project Director.

"SNCC's wholehearted participation in COFO is part of our South-wide ONE MAN -- ONE VOTE campaign aimed at breaking down all barriers to Negro voter registration except residence and age," stated John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC.

THE STUDENT VOICE

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Atlanta , Georgia 30314

ATLANTA

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ning out for Atlanta."

The SCLC head said, "If our words fail to move them (the power structure) then our actions must show them."

Other speakers were Larry Fox, Chairman of the Committee on Appeal For Human Rights; Dr. C.M. Smith, for the Atlanta NAACP; Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, for Operation Breadbasket; and the Rev. William Holmes Borders.

Two members of the National States Rights party, attired in Nazi storm trooper uniforms, picketed the gathering with signs reading: "Negro, your future is not here but in Africa."

The theme of the meeting was that Atlanta, despite its image as a city "too busy to hate," is still as segregated as many deep South towns.

Public schools are integrated tokenly; only lunch counters and a few restaurants downtown admit all comers. All movie theatres are integrated, as are the colleges in the area. But Atlanta Negroes are still shunted into slums and ghettoes in the city.

Today's "Pilgrimage for Democracy" was the first demonstration held here since President Kennedy's assassination.

The day before the large march, 275 Atlanta area clergymen -- Protestant and Jewish, Negro and white -- signed a petition supporting the aims of the Pilgrimage.

Leaders of the Summit Conference reported to the crowd on the progress of negotiations to implement their plan for total integration of Atlanta.

The Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference is composed of representatives from 10 civil rights organizations and representatives from "at least 75" other community groups, according to Summit Co-chairman Attorney A.T. Walden.

The group called a city-wide conference on October 19, 1963, where over 300 people, from a cross-section of Atlanta life, discussed and recommended action in the following areas: public accomodations, employment, education, registration and voting, health and social services, housing, political issues and law enforcement.

Since then, members of the group's steering committee have

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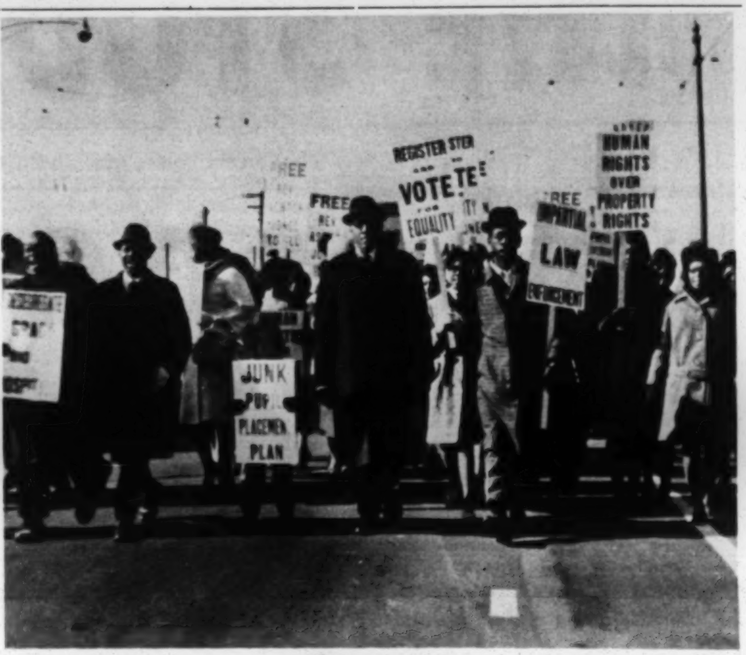
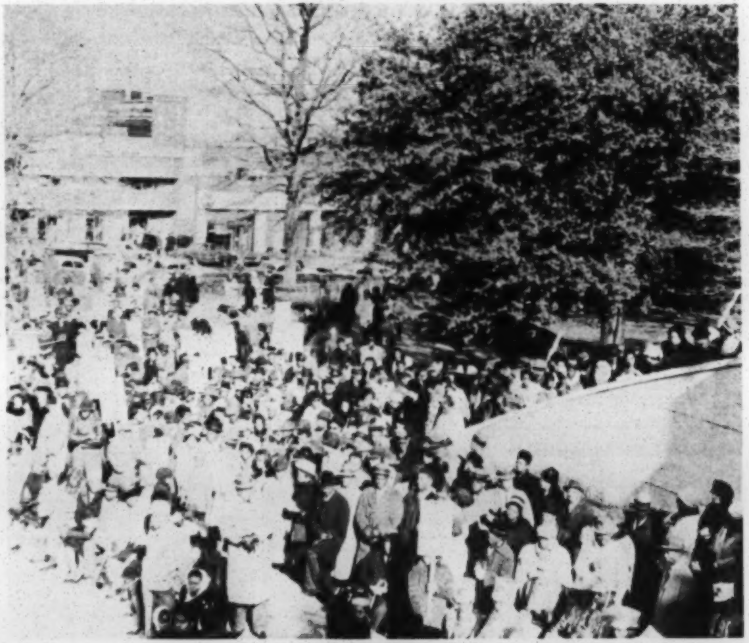

VOTE
EQUALITY
HUMAN RIGHTS OVER PROPERTY RIGHTS
LAW
JUNK
PLAN

They Came......



They Heard.....

James Forman Say "You Must Get Your Rights Yourself"

Henry Suit Appealed

Dr. Aaron Henry

CLARKSDALE, MISS., - Dec. 3, A libel suit filed against Aaron Henry, recent gubernatorial candidate on the Mississippi Freedom Ballot, was appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

The defamation suit, filed by the Chief of Police and the District Attorney, resulted from a press conference following Henry's conviction on a morals charge in 1962.

Henry, state president of the NAACP, was convicted in Justice of Peace Court, in Shelby, Miss. on March 15, 1962 on charges of making perverse advances on a white teen-ager hitchhiker. Henry stated that the charges were a complete fabrication, and presented an alibi supported by sworn witnesses.

When Henry later stated in a press conference that the prosecutor and the police chief, who figured in the trial, had conspired to frame him, Henry was sued by them for defamation.

The Mississippi State Supreme Court upheld the libel suit in a December 2 ruling, and awarded $15,000 to the police thereby reversing an earlier decision.

Has No Authority Says Justice Dept.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - A spokesman for the Department of Justice has told a California senator the government "has no authority" to intercede in the case of a 67-year-old white minister held in jail here since August 28.

The senator, Thomas Kuchel (R-Cal.), forwarded the letter to the SNCC office here.

The letter was written by Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General.

The elderly minister, the Reverend Ashton Bryant Jones, a native Georgian now residing in San Gabriel, California, is being held under $20,000 bail on charges growing out of a protest demonstration at an all-white church here this summer.

Since Jones' conviction is being appealed, his time behind bars is "dead time" and does not count against his sentence.

Protest March

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

met with city, county, state and private groups in an attempt to negotiate increased integration here.

Cooperating groups include SCLC, NAACP, SNCC, Operation Breadbasket, the Committee on Appeal For Human Rights, the Gandhi Youth Society, the All Citizens Registration Committee and the Atlanta Negro Voters League.

Songs of the Southern Freedom Movement

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

Compiled by Guy and Candie Carawan for
The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
OAK PUBLICATIONS

WE SHALL OVERCOME is a new book of "songs of the Southern Freedom Movement." It is available from SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, for $1.95.

BLIND CASHIER NIXES BIAS

TALLAHASSEE, FLA. -- The cafeteria of the Florida State Capitol Building was desegregated recently because its cashier is blind.

Several Florida A&M University students, along with SNCC field secretary Sam Shirah, went to the end of the line to pay, the cashier could not see to refuse their money.

This is the first time that a SNCC staff member has worked in Florida. A militant student action group here, which Shirah helped organize, has requested affiliation with SNCC.

"Most people don't realize that northern Florida is as rigidly segregated as Alabama in many places," Shirah stated. The 20 year old SNCC worker, from Atlanta, is a white native of Alabama.

SCEF Case In Federal Court

NEW ORLEANS, LA. -- A case challenging the constitutionality of Louisiana's communist control laws was taken under advisement by a three-judge federal court on December 9.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund and its executive director, James A. Dombrowski, original plaintiffs in the case, were joined by attorneys Benjamin E. Smith and Bruce C. Waltzer whose request for intervention was granted by the court.

Smith, who is the Fund's treasurer, and his law partner, Waltzer, were arrested along with Dombrowski on October 4th for allegedly violating the state anti-communist statutes -- as managers of a "subversive" organization and for distributing "communist" literature, -- and all SCEF records were seized. Conspiracy charges against the three men were dismissed by a Criminal District Court, but the records were not returned to SCEF.

The plaintiffs are now asking for a temporary injunction against state and city officials preventing them from enforcing the statutes, and prohibiting the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities (LUAC) from turning over the seized SCEF records to the Orleans Parish Grand Jury.

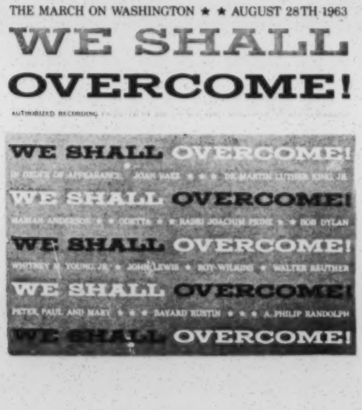
CORE Worker Stricken

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- CORE field secretary Zev Aleony was hospitalized here last weekend with a heart attack.

Aleony was one of the Americus Five held in that Southwest Georgia city for two months on charges of attempting to incite insurrection.

Aleony is 25 years old, and a native of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

"We Shall Overcome," the official recording of the August 28, 1963 March On Washington may be purchased by using the coupon on this page. Money collected from the sale of this record will be used to further civil rights acitvities.


THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON ★ ★ AUGUST 28TH 1963
WE SHALL OVERCOME!
AUTHORIZED RECORDING
WE SHALL OVERCOME!
IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE JOAN BAEZ ★ ★ ★ DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
WE SHALL OVERCOME!
MARIAN ANDERSON ★ ★ ODETTA ★ ★ RABBI JOACHIM PRINZ ★ ★ BOB DYLAN
WE SHALL OVERCOME!
WHITNEY M. YOUNG JR. ★ JOHN LEWIS ★ ROY WILKINS ★ WALTER REUTHER
WE SHALL OVERCOME!
PETER, PAUL AND MARY ★ ★ ★ BAYARD RUSTIN ★ ★ ★ A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
WE SHALL OVERCOME!

COUNCIL FOR UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York.

Please send me ______ copies of the authorized recording(s) of the March on Washington at the special Council price. I understand the proceeds from the sale of this record will benefit the civil rights movement throughout the country. I enclose $3.00 for each record ordered.

NAME ____________________

ADDRESS ____________________

CITY ____________ ZONE ______ STATE ________

Please make check or money order payable to Council for Unity.

S.N.C.C. Branch ____________________

KENYA CONGRATULATED

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee extended "heartiest congratulations" to Kenya Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta on the evening that country achieved independence, December 12.

The SNCC cablegram from Chairman John Lewis and Executive Secretary James Forman called Kenya's struggle for independence "an inspiration for all freedom struggles."

Raleigh Vote Drive Begins

ATLANTA, GEORGIA: A new SNCC voter registration project operating out of Raleigh, N.C., was announced here by John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

SNCC was invited into Raleigh by the Raleigh Citizens Association (RCA), a coordinating body of Negro organizations in that city.

SNCC field secretary Reginald Robinson, last based in Cambridge, Md., during this past summer's racial unrest there, will direct the project.

Officials of Shaw University and St. Augustine's College in Raleigh have offered their support.

Only 32% of the eligible Negroes in Raleigh and Wake County are registered, according to the 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report.

SNCC now has major field projects located in Alabama Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi and Virginia, in addition to North Carolina.

Mississippi

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

SNCC worker Dick Frey in Greenwood said the office there had lodged protests with the FBI about Knox's arrest.

Knox had testified at the trial of five Mississippi law officers who were accused of beating five Negroes in the Winona jail.

The five officers were acquitted by an all-white all-male jury.

MRS. CAROLYN DANIELS, whose Dawson, Georgia home was bombed last week after shots were fired at her house, has indicated she will continue trying to register voters in Southwest Georgia.

Danville

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

now beginning to organize in Pittslyvania County and the outlying districts of Danville.

"SNCC was asked into Danville in early June 1963. Over 20 SNCC workers have since worked in this mill and tobacco town -- which has seen some of the worst police brutality in the South," according to John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC.

"Danville is an example of an upper South city, assumed by most of the nation to be more liberal than the deep South. And yet we have encountered some of the greatest resistance of the demands of the twentieth century in this city," Lewis said.

"IF YOU KNOW WHAT'S GOOD FOR YOU ......"

Stay Out Of Helena!

HELENA, ARKANSAS -- The Chief of Police of this Arkansas Delta town has threatened to arrest SNCC workers whenever they cross the county line.

Chief Roy Ross told SNCC worker James Jones, "whenever you cross that Phillips County line we've got you."

Ross told Jones to, "take that station wagon, that literature and all that 'snick' stuff and get out of here if you know what's good for you."

Jones was warned to, "tell your buddy (SNCC worker William) Hansen that everything I've told you goes for him."

Hansen and two other SNCC workers were jailed in Helena following the first sit-ins held here in early November. Two workers, John Bradford and Bruce Jordan, were jailed last week with an East Helena minister on land adjoining a Catholic church.

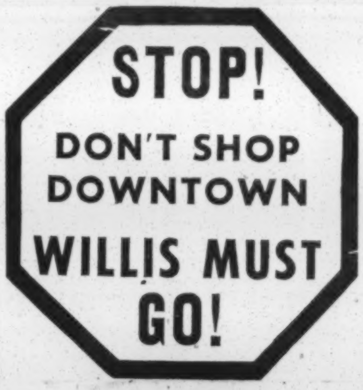
On December 13, SNCC workers Bradford and Jordan were sentenced to 30 days in jail and fined $500 each for "threatening to make a disturbance." They were held under $1500 bail each.

Hansen, who direct's SNCC's Arkansas project, said the two youths had been in Helena for only 6 hours when they were jailed.

Bradford and Jordan were working on a voter registration project in Phillips County.

Negroes are 53.9% of the county's population, according to the 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report on Voting. Only 28% of the eligible Negroes are registered voters, however.

Friends Ask Help For Chicago Boycott


STOP!
DON'T SHOP DOWNTOWN
WILLIS MUST GO!

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS --Chicago Area Friends of SNCC (CAF-SNCC) has initiated a "STOP! Don't Shop Downtown" Campaign calling for the ouster of School Superintendent Ben Willis and for the adoption of a positive policy for integration by the Chicago School Board.

This action, supported by a growing number of community organizations, is the follow up to an Oct. 22nd FREEDOM DAY School Boycott, in which over 200,000 students and parents participated in the largest civil rights action in the country's history.

The purpose of the downtown boycott is to pressure business leaders, who have openly supported Willis.

CAF-SNCC has issued a call for volunteer help to make the boycott a success. It has asked college students to spend their Christmas vacation in Chicago working on the "STOP! Don't Shop Campaign." Chicago Friends of SNCC cannot provide subsistence wages but will find living accomodations for those who come. Those interested may contact CAF-SNCC, 765 E. Oakwood Blvd., suite 212-3, Chicago, Ill. 60653, phone 268-5077.

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THE STUDENT VOICE

Vol. 4 No. 10 The Student Voice, Inc. 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga. December 30, 1963

SNCC Raps Service Bias

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI - The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has asked Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to "act immediately to halt discrimination in the processing of inductees in Jackson, Mississippi."

The SNCC protest, from the group's chairman, John Lewis, said SNCC worker McArthur Cotton was refused service at the Air Base Grill here while he was taking a physical examination.

Cotton also said he and other Negroes were made to ride in the rear of an Army bus to Jackson from Kosciusco, his home town.

Cotton said the Jackson induction center was "totally segregated."

The SNCC worker said he protested the segregation of government facilities to officers there, and was told "the induction center is a city establishment and not controlled by the government."

Cotton said he entered the white dining room for one meal but was refused service. He said he did not eat another meal during his two day stay here.

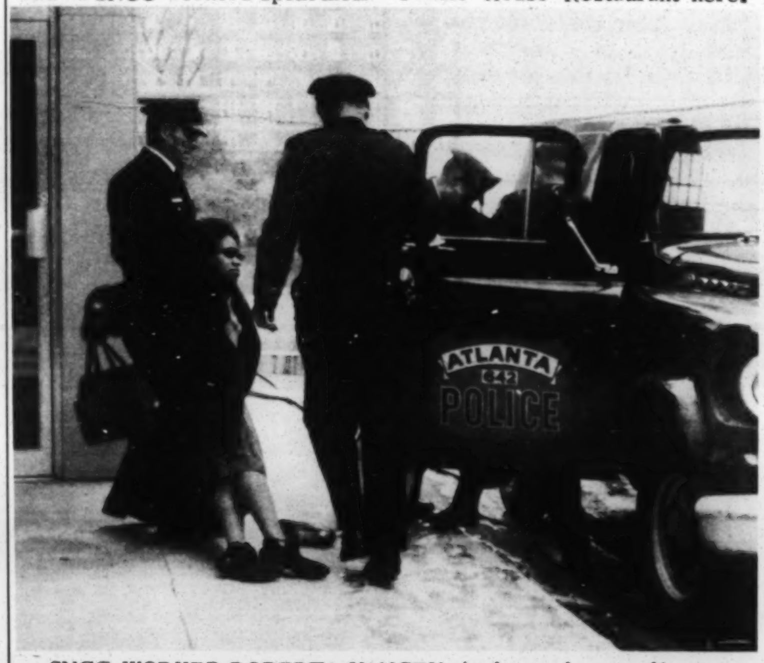
The SNCC worker, who has been jailed three times for his participation in the civil rights drive, heads a vote drive in McComb, Mississippi.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

WORKERS SPEND XMAS IN JAIL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - The Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the wife of commedian Dick Gregory and 22 SNCC workers spent their Christmas in an Atlanta jail.

SNCC Chairman John Lewis Mrs. Lillian Gregory and the other 22 workers were jailed at a Toddle House Restaurant here.



SNCC WORKER ROBERTA YANCEY is dragged to a police car. Miss Yancey, Prathia Hall and Mrs. Dick Gregory, all arrested at the Toddle House on Christmas Eve, are all stockholders in the Toddle House.

Mrs. Gregory and the two young women arrested with her are stockholders in Dobbs House, the Tennessee corporation that owns Toddle House. All were, in effect, arrested on their own property. They are being held under $100 bail. The three were placed in solitary confinement on Saturday night, December 28, when they refused to obey jail rules.

Protests at the segregated eating place began on Saturday evening, December 21. after SNCC workers visited and sang Freedom Songs, with the Honorable Oginda Odinga, Minister of Home Affairs of Kenya.

Two members of the group that met and sang with members of the Kenya delegation tried to get coffee at the Toddle House. When they were refused, and entire group sat-in and 17 were arrested

The next morning, Sunday, December 24, Christmas Eve, Mrs. Gregory and SNCC workers Prathia Hall and Roberta Yancey were arrested. Misses Hall and Yancey, who refused to cooperate with police as did most protestores arrested at the eating place,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

SELMA OFFICE RAIDED

Nine Arrested

SELMA, ALABAMA -The sheriff of Dallas County, the County Solicitor and four policemen raided the office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) here today and arrested nine people.

The same policemen also broke into "Freedom House" - a three-room apartment used to house SNCC workers here, and "completely wrecked" it, according to one SNCC worker.

Willie C. Robertson, 24, who was arrested in the SNCC office this afternoon, said Sheriff Jim Clark tore a telephone from the wall and pushed SNCC worker James Austin, 21, against a window.

Robertson said Sheriff Clark told Austin, We've been after you for a long time."

The officers also confiscated materials and affidavits from the office files, including a large number of leaflets promoting a selective buying campaign in Selma.

Earlier this week, a federal judge had refused to allow Dallas County officials to subpoena the record of the organization.

Arrested were Frank Spivey, 18 Louise Johnson, 22; Joseph Pickett, 16; David Murray, 25; Alvery Williams, 21; and Austin and Robertson. Also jailed were J.D. Pritchett Sr., and J.D. Pritchett Jr., printers who prepared the boycott leaflets.

Miss Johnson and Murray were arrested in downtown Selma as they distributed the leaflets. Spivey, Pickett, Austin, and Robertson were arresred in the SNCC office. Williams was jailed in the "Freedom House" when he walked in on Sheriff Clark and the policement there. They had broken into the house, Williams

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Leaders Sentenced On Perjury Charge

Joni Rabinowitz

MACON, GA. --- Five leaders of the Albany Movement - including a SNCC worker were sentenced in U.S. District Court here on Dec. 23 as a result of picketing of a supermarket in Albany last spring. The formal charge against them was perjury.

Those sentenced were Slater King, acting president of the Albany Movement, who was given a year and a day in prison; the Rev. Samuel B. Wells, a year and a day; Miss Joni Rabinowitz, SNCC worker and white Antioch College student, three months to four years, and Thomas Chatmon and Robert Thomas suspended sentences and five years' probation.

Attorneys immediately filled notice of appeal to the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans. Judge W.A. Bootle set appeal bonds at $5,000 for King; $3,000 for Miss Rabinowitz, and $2,500 apiece for the others.

None had ever been arrested previously except for taking part in integration activities. Albany was the scene of a great upsurge against segregation in 1962, during which it became a symbol of the integration movement throughout the world.

After he was sentenced, Slater King declared; "I knew from the beginning that it would be an impossibility for all of us who had been very active leaders in the freedom struggle to receive a fair and impartial trial before an all-white Southern jury.

"It is interesting that white segregationists can bomb, murder, and plunder at will and with the knowledge that they will not be punished by the courts, but black men must face death daily, and even persecution by the Federal Government, in attempting to obtain their constitutionally guaranteed rights."

The sentencing followed separate trials for the five during November, at which the defendants flatly denied the charges against them. A sixth person accused, Mrs. Eliza Jackson, is to be tried Jan. 27. She is the recording secretary of the Albany Movement.

Dr. W.G. Anderson, former head of the Albany Movement, is to be retried April 6. A jury was unable to agree at his first trial in the fall. He is charged with conspiring to injure a federal juror. The others are charged with lying to a federal grand jury about various matters during its investigation of the picketing of the supermarket.

The grand jury was investigating a charge by Carl Smith, a grocer, that his place had been picketed in retaliation for a verdict he gave as a juror in Federal Court.

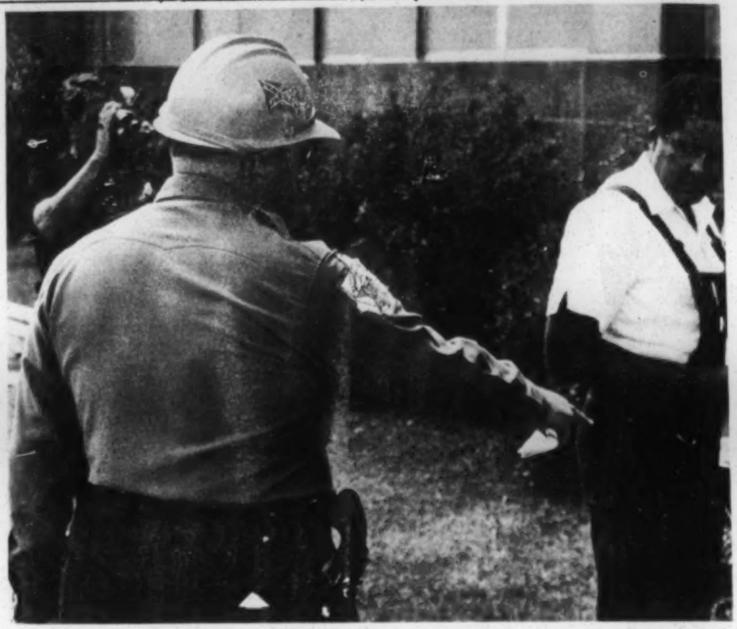
Smith and others on the jury had found in favor of Sheriff L. Warren Johnson of Baker County, accused of beating and shooting a Negro, Charlie Ware, while Ware was a prisoner.

Smith closed down the supermarket after it had been picketed for about an hour. The pickets said they were protesting Smith's failure to upgrade Negroes employed in the store.

Smith was represented by a law firm which included Mavor Asa Kelly of Albany. This firm requested the investigation by the Federal Government. The Justice Department conducted the most vigorous prosecution yet seen in the civil rights movement.

The guilty verdicts will be appealed on the ground that Negroes are discriminated against in the selection of jurors in the U.S. courts in the Middle District of Georgia. Of 93 persons called as possible jurors for the Albany leaders' trial, only three were Negroes. These three were quickly stricken by U.S. Attorneys.

Slater King ran for mayor of Albany in 1963 and Chatmon was a candidate for city commissioner in 1962. Mr. Wells has been very active in voter registration. Thomas, an Albany Movement. Thomas, an Albany barber, has been a strong supporter of the Albany Movement.



DALLAS COUNTY SHERIFF Jim Clark orders SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman away from a line of Negroes trying to register to vote during an extensive vote campaign this summer.

Two SNCC field secretaries were beaten by Clark's policemen shortly after this picture was taken. Forman and the two workers who were beaten were trying to bring food to the Negroes, some of whom had to stand in line all dav without eating.

Voter Suit Halted

SELMA, ALABAMA A Federal Judge has "temporarily" suspended a hearing on a Justice Department suit charging the Wilcox County, Alabama board of registrars with discriminating against Negro voters.

The Wilcox County hearing followed a recessed hearing on a Justice Department plea to halt a grand Jury in Selma from investigating government action in this central Alabama town.

Judge Daniel H. Thomas said hearings on the grand jury investigation would continue after arguments were heard in the voting cast.

Before taking up the Wilcox County suit, Thomas ruled the Dallas County Improvement Association and the Dallas County Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee would not have to produce member ship rolls, literature, financial statements, payrolls and pahphlets, requested by the defense.

The Justice Department called Lonnie Brown, a Negro farmer, who testified he was refused a chance to register in Wilcox County on two occasions.

Brown, who worked with SNCC Field Secretary Bernard Lafayette in getting the first group of Negroes to make a registration attempt in Wilcox County in 30 years, testified his home was fired upon shortly after he first tried to register.

Two white men testified they had been given help by the registrar on their voting applications.

There are no Negroes registered in Wilcox County. In 1960 Negroes were 77% of the total population of the county.

Office Raided

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

reported.

All were charged with "illegal circulation of literature promoting a boycott." All were released on $500.00 bail.

SNCC has conducted an extensive voting drive in Dallas and Wilcox Counties since January 1963. Negroes are 57.7% of Dallas County's population, Only .9% of the voting age Negroes are registered voters, according to the United States Civil Rights Commission. The U.S. Department of Justice has filed suits against Sheriff Clark, Solicitor McLeod and the White Citizens Council here charging them with intimidation of and discrimination against potential Negro voters.

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Atlanta , Georgia 30314

Songs of the Southern Freedom Movement

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

Compiled by Guy and Candie Carawan for
The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
OAK PUBLICATIONS

WE SHALL OVERCOME is a new book of "songs of the Southern Freedom Movement." It is available from SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, for $1.95.

Mrs. Gregory Arrested

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

were dragged and carried to a paddy wagon. Mrs. Gregory, who is expecting a child in April, 1964, walked.

Mrs. Dick Gregory

Before Mrs. Gregory and the two young women were jailed Christmas evening, members of SNCC staged a stand-in demonstration at Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen's office and home. Others staged a demonstration at the City Airport, carrying signs which said: "Welcome To Atlanta, a segregated City."

Signs carried to the Mayor's office and home read: "Black is Not a Vice or Segregation a Virtue; Atlanta's Image is a Fraud."

Working with SNCC to protest segregation is the Committee On Appeal For Human Rights (COA HR), the Atlanta University Center student group. COAHR, headed by Morehouse College student Larry Fox, is responsible for integration of Atlanta's movie theatres, dime store restaurants and for securing more jobs for Negroes here.

Mrs. Gregory's husband, Dick Gregory flew into Atlanta on Thursday, December 27, to witness her arraignment.

He said he would return to Atlanta to engage in demonstrations here.

Before Lewis was jailed Sunday morning, he asked Undersecretary of State for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams by telegram to "remove Atlanta from the itinerary of future African visitors to the United States. Atlanta is the most segregated city in the South for its size."

On Saturday night, Lewis had telegrammed Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. protesting rough treatment given the prisoners. Lewis' telegram said SNCC worker Worth Long was punched five times by a policeman.

After Lewis was jailed Sunday morning, SNCC Executive Secretary James telegrammed President Lyndon Johnson, saying arrests here "make it impertive to pass the federal public accommodations law."

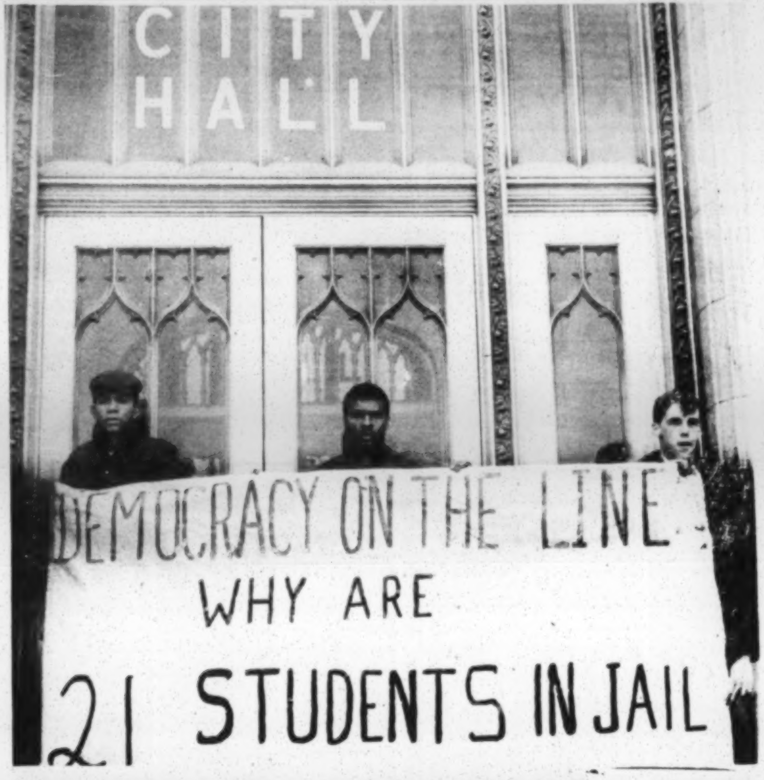
Minister Odinga said racial matters in the United States were "very pitiful." The Kenya official said the United States "practices segregation - which is what we are fighting in Africa."

Forman also expressed "profound apologies" to Odinga "for any embarassment you might have encountered here in Atlanta as a result of the arrests."

Mr. Odinga is vice president of KANU, The Kenya African National Union, the party of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta's government.

On Sunday morning, December 29, eight carloads of SNCC members went to Allen's home again.

They sang songs and issued a statement protesting jail conditions for the three women behind bars and calling for a public accommodations law and for more jobs for Negroes in city government positions here.



Demonstrators protest at Atlanta City Hall.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee needs your help. We are being hit on all fronts at once.

We urgently request your help TODAY.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

1. Sympathy demonstrations at Toddle House and Dobbs House. There are 255 Toddle Houses in 30 states and Washington D.C. Toddle House is owned by Dobbs, which has 89 restaurants in 28 cities. Demonstrations are already under way in Hartford, Philadelphia and New York.

2. Letters to Mayor Ivan Allen, City Hall, Atlanta, Georgia, protesting the jailing and the rough treatment afforded those arrested.

3. Letters to G. Mennen Williams, Undersecretary of State for African Affairs, State Department, Washington D.C. and to President Johnson protesting the arrests and asking that Atlanta be removed from the itinerary of future visiting Africans. The letters should also emphasize the need for a public accomodations bill.

4. ATLANTA IS ON THE MOVE. WE CAN USE ALL PEOPLE WHO ARE WILLING TO DEMONSTRATE AND GO TO JAIL, WITHOUT BAIL.

SELMA, ALABAMA

1. Students should begin considering spending their spring vacations in Selma, helping the local people show the Dallas County police that we will not be turned back no matter what. Help is needed in voter registration, taking affidavits of voting violations, and generally mobilizing the community.

2. Those who join us must be prepared to spend time in jail.

3. Letters protesting the seizure of our records should be sent to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Justice Department.
4. Food and clothing is needed desperately in Selma.
5. Money to buy industrial sewing machines for the setting up of a piece-goods factory for the unemployed women is needed. One machine costs $230.000.

MACON, GEORGIA

Letters protesting the four year sentence of Joni Rabinowitz should go to Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

Students Step Up Boycott

PRAIRIE VIEW, Tex., - In their latest activities against segregation in Hempstead, Tex., 60 students of Prairie View A&M College picketed two restaurants in the town over the last two weekends.

The all-Negro college was integrated this fall by its board of directors, but so far no white students have enrolled.

The demonstration was part of a continuing economic boycott of Hempstead, population 1, 500, by students of Prairie View A&M.

The boycott began last summer in protest of the town's segregation policies concerning entertainment and business facilities.

Students and faculty began to shop in near-by centers or in Houston, about 30 miles away, withdrawing their economic support from Hempstead.

The administration of the college has not taken a stand on the segregation policy of Hempstead, and in an effort to elicit a stand, 3,000 students met in the gymnasium Oct. 31 to applaud 46 student leaders who resigned their campus offices in protest.

The mass resignation was touched off by the purchase at a Hempstead store of a color telesivion set for the student union, by T.R. Solomon, dean of student life.

Solomon said of the television set purchase, "I had no idea it would cause all this trouble."

The idea for the boycott of Hempstead originated last spring in a business class when a student asked how much buying power the college's faculty had over Hempstead merchants. It was estimated at 60%.

Later faculty members spearheaded a drive in June to talk with town merchants about desegregating. Discriminatory signs in Waller County Court House and other places were removed and 10 merchants hired 13 Negroes.

McArthur Cotton

Service Bias

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

The text of the Lewis telegram to McNamara follows:

"We call upon you to act immediately to halt discrimination in the processing of inductees in Jackson, Mississippi. McArthur Cotton, one of our workers, reports he was refused service a a restuarant where white inductees were fed and that the Jackson center is "totally segregated." Will the Army act to halt jimcrow aimed at those who are fighting to bring democracy to this country ? s/John Lewis"

IN CAMBRIDGE.....

New Protests Warned

CAMBRIDGE, MARYLAND - Mass demonstrations will began here after December 22 "unless there is a substantial change in the situation."

Mrs. Gloria Richardson, chairman of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC) called for renewed protests in the wake of complete inaction by the city administration and businessmen.

"The Biracial Committee has made no progress and will not meet again until January 21," Mrs. Richardson said. "The federal Housing Project has been held up until summer, and no one knows why." she said.

The housing project and biracial committee were two of the provisions of a "desegregation" agreement with white officials. The agreement was signed July 23 in the office of Attorney General Kennedy in Washington.

Cambridge was the scene of protracted demonstrations this summer. On June 14, after a near riot, Governor J. Millard Tawes called in the Maryland National Guard. The Guard still remains here.

On October 1, Cambridge voters rejected a city charger amendment, part of the "desegregation" pact, which whould have banned discrimination in public accommodations.

Only 40% of the registered Negro voters here cast ballots in the election. This small number, compared to a 76% white turnout, was a vote of confidence for Mrs. Richardson, who had urged Negroes to boycott the polls.

Mrs. Gloria Richardson

The Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee, (CNAC) is an affiliate of the Atlanta-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Mrs. Richardson is a member of the SNCC Executive Committee.

The December 22 date marks the end of a one month moratorium called by CNAC in commenoration of the death of President Kennedy.

Justice Dept. Abandons Suit

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI - The United States Department of Justice has asked a federal appeals court to dismiss its appeal of a suit against LeFlore County officials.

The Department had been appealing U.S. District Judge Claude Clayton's denial of a temporary injunction against prosecution of 45 Negroes arrested in Itta Bena last June.

The 45, accused of throwing rocks and "causing disturbances'' have been convicted in a Justice of the Peace Court. All are free on appeal, and their cases may come up in the January term of county court here.

All were arrested June 18. The Justice Department maintained they were forced out of a voter registration meeting in a church by tear gas and were walking toward the sheriff's house to seek protection when they were set upon by another group of Negroes hired for that purpose.

At their trial the males were sentenced to six months in prison and fined $500 each. Women received four months and $200 fines.

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ABERNATHY, ET AL. vs. ALABAMA • ADAMS vs. CITY OF NEW ORLEANS • ALABAMA vs. HAMILTON • ALABAMA vs.
ROBERT SWAIN • ALABAMA EX REL. RICHMOND FLOWERS vs. MARVIN ROBINSON, ET AL. • ANDERSON AND
BELTON vs. MARTIN • ANDERSON, ET AL. vs. ALABAMA • ANDERSON, ET AL. vs. CITY OF ALBANY (GA.) • ARKANSAS
EX REL. BENNETT vs. NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND • ARMSTRONG vs. BIRMINGHAM BOARD OF EDUCATION •
AUGUSTUS vs. ESCAMBIA CTY. (FLA.) BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION • AVENT vs. N. C. • BAILEY vs. PATTERSON,
ET AL. • C. M. BAKER vs. BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY & STEAMSHIP CLERKS • BARR vs. CITY OF COLUMBIA (S. C.)
• BATES vs. SHERATON CORP. OF AMERICA • BECTON, ET AL. vs. GREEN CTY. (N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • BELL
vs. FULTON DE KALB HOSPITAL AUTHORITY • BELL vs. MARYLAND • BELO vs. RANDOLPH CTY. (N. C.) BOARD OF
EDUCATION • BIRMINGHAM DEMONSTRATION CASES • BLACKWELL vs. FAIRFAX CTY. (VA.) BOARD OF EDUCATION
• BOHLER vs. CITY OF TAMPA (FLA.) • BOSON vs. RIPPY • BOUIE vs. CITY OF COLUMBIA (S. C.), ET AL. • BOYCE vs.
HUMPHREYS CTY. (TENN.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • BRADLEY, ET AL. vs. CITY OF RICHMOND (VA.) SCHOOL BOARD •
BRAXTON vs. DUVAL CTY. (FLA.) BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION • BROOKS vs. ARLINGTON CTY. (VA.) SCHOOL
BOARD • BROWN vs. CHARLESTON (S. C
BOARD • BROWN vs SOUTH CAROLIN
CLARENDON CTY. (S. C.) SCHOOL DISTRIC
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• COLEMAN vs. ALABAMA • COLORADO
CONLEY vs. TRANSYLVANIA CTY. (N. C.)
CTY. (ALA.) BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS
LOUISIANA • DILLARD vs. CHARLOTTES
SCHOOL BOARD • DU BISSETTE, ET AL. vs.
EDWARDS vs. ABERCROMBIE ENTERPRISE
• FARMER vs. GREENE CTY. (N. C.) BOA
FIELDS vs. CITY OF FAIRFIELD (ALA.) • FIE
CTY. (N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • FO
vs. DOUGHERTY CTY. (GA.) BOARD OF
GHIOTO vs. HAMPTON • GIBSON vs. GL
BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION • GIL
POINT (N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION •
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vs. YANCEY CTY. (N. C.) BOARD OF EDU
BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION • HALL
• HAMM vs. CITY OF ROCK HILL (S. C.)
HARRIS vs. PACE • HAWKINS vs. N. C.
PARISH (LA.) SCHOOL BOARD • HENRY
EDUCATION • HENRY vs. VIRGINIA • H
HUDSON vs. LAKE CTY. (MISS.) SCHOOL
BY COMMITTEE ON OFFENSES AGAINS
SCHOOL BOARD • JAMES vs. CARNEGIE
ET AL. • KENNARD vs. BREAZEALE • K
KNIGHT • LAMPKIN vs. HODGES • LAW
(ALA.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • LONG
WILLIAMS • LUPPER vs. STATE OF ARKA
MATE • MANNINGS vs. HILLSBOROUGH
(TENN.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • MASO
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SARASOTA CTY. (FLA.) BOARD OF PUBL
BOARD OF EDUCATION • MEREDITH vs.
CTY. (FLA.) BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCT
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• NORTHCROSS vs. MEMPHIS (TENN.)
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(S. C.) HOSPITAL • RANDALL ET AL. vs.
OF VA. • REED vs. C.O.R.E., ET AL. • RO
• SAVANNAH (GA.) TRESSPASS CASE •
vs. DAVIS • SELMA (ALA.) DEMONSTRAT
vs. MOSES H. CONE MEMORIAL HOSPITA
vs. DAVIS AND WALTERS • SMITH vs. H
DISTRICT • STEELE, ET AL. vs. LEON CTY
CTY. (GA.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • TH
• THOMPSON vs. COMMONWEALTH OF
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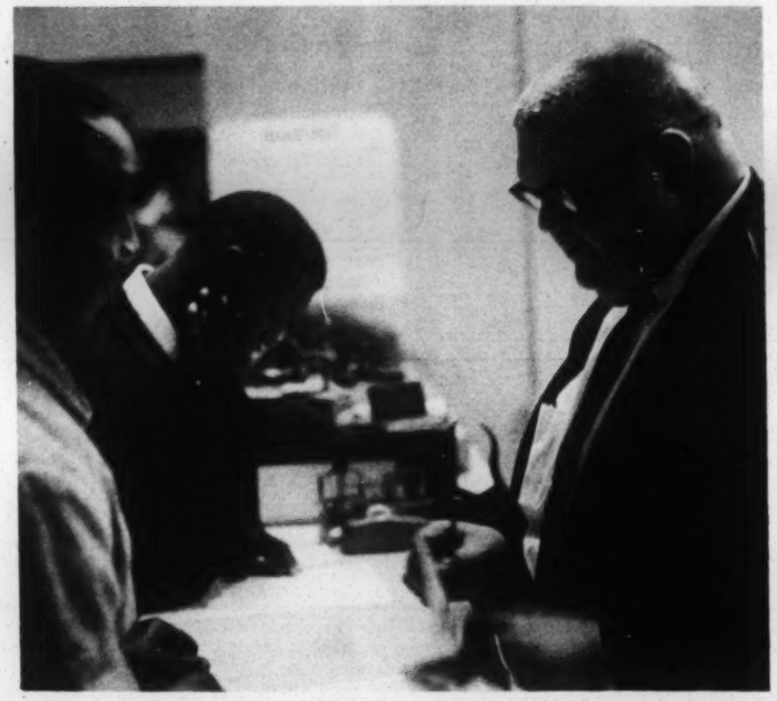
WOODALL AND ROBERT W. COLBERT •
B. WELLS AND ROBERT THOMAS • VIC
BAR vs. NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND •
WALKER, ET AL. vs. CITY OF BIRMINGHAM • WALTON, ET AL. vs. AMERICAN SYNTHETIC RUBBER CORP. • WATSON
vs. MEMPHIS (TENN.) • WEAVER vs. BREVARD CTY. (FLA.) BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION • WHEELER vs. DURHAM
(N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • WHITE AND CROMWELL vs. MARYLAND • WHITTENBERG vs. GREENVILLE CTY. (S. C.)
SCHOOL DISTRICT • WILCOX vs. JACKSONVILLE (FLA.) TERMINAL CO., ET AL. • WOODS vs. KANSAS • WOODS,
LINDA CAL vs. THEO WRIGHT • WRIGHT, ET AL. vs. STATE OF GEORGIA • ZELLNER, ET AL. vs. LINGO, ET AL. •
ZIGLAR vs. REIDSVILLE (N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION •

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE and EDUCATIONAL FUND

1963 Annual Report

HATTIESBURG, MISS., FREEDOM DAY

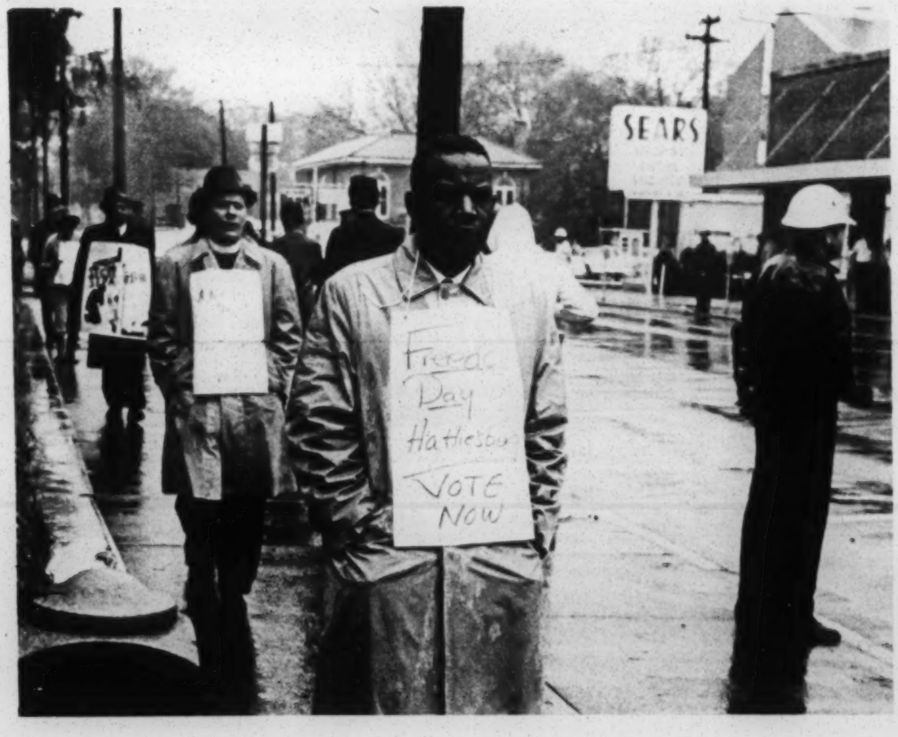
JANUARY 22, 1964



Hattiesburg is the county seat of Forrest county in southern Mississippi. The county has a population of 52,722 of which 28 percent are Negro; 7, 406 of them are of voting age yet only 53 are registered voters. The Justice Department has had an injunction against the county registrar, Theron Lynd (left), since April 1962. The injunction orders him to stop discriminating against Negro applicants. Lynd was also convicted of civil contempt in July 1963 for his failure to register Negroes. However, he has not yet complied with the injunction or purged himself of contempt.

In Forrest county on January 22, "Freedom Day," an intensive vote drive began with the aid of many ministers. The campaign was conducted by workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an alliance of all civil rights groups working in Mississippi.

"Personally I am not important in this . . . rather it's the deep over-riding fear of Negroes . . . American citizens who are residents of Hattiesburg. They are afraid and it's a tragic fact that they have good reason to be. Most of the Negroes there work for white people. If they register to vote, they will lose their jobs. You see, it's a basic bread and butter issue for parents concerned about feeding their children. Many of them have lost their jobs, but we are trying hard to instill courage in the townspeople."
-- Rev. Donald Register, St. Louis, Missouri



'I hope to try to indicate to those in the ministry that the church must have action to go along with the talk.'

-- Dr. Alan Pickering, United Christian Campus Fellowship, University of Nebraska.

"We saw a great change come over the local Negro community. Dick Gregory, the comedian, was there, and he told me it was the first time he had addressed an audience in Mississippi and not seen fear written on their faces."

-- Rev. Russell Williams, Denver, Colorado

YOU ARE A
REGISTERED
VOTER
HAVE WE NOT
LL ONE

"You asked what the point of it is. I think the point is that this is much like Germany at the beginning of Hitler's rise -- fear, police intimidation and summary arrests. I don't want you, or any other kids, to grow up in America in those circumstances."

-- Rev. Emil J. Hattoon, Decatur, Illinois
in a letter to his two sons.

These and over 100 other ministers and rabbis worked closely with field secretaries from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), canvassing house to house, picketing at the county court house and speaking at mass rallies in churches.

"We went to the SNCC state headquarters, where we were again most impressed with the creative determination and comprehensive program of these youthful civil rights leaders . . . We met these dedicated young freedom fighters, Negro and white, male and female, from north and south . . . All of them are heroes produced by the struggle for human justice in the southland, heroes with hard eyes, soft hearts, tight stomachs and unwavering commitment."
-- Rev. Kenneth Waterman, First Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Missouri.

This work for civil rights and human dignity must continue. But so that it can continue, your help is needed.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30314

THE STUDENT VOICE

VOL. 5, NO. 3 The Student Voice, Inc. 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga. JANUARY 27, 1964

CANTON CRACKS DOWN ON RIGHTS ACTIVITY

CANTON, MISS . --- Sixteen civil rights workers have been arrested here in a three day period in what appears to be the first sign of a forthcoming crackdown on integration activity in this central Mississippi city.

Between January 22 and 24, 16 workers for the Council of Federated Organizations - a coalition of civil rights organizations in this state - were arrested while either inside or in the vicinity of the community center-voter registration office of COFO.

Among the arrested was Carole Merritt, a 23-year-old worker for SNCC from Cincinnati, Ohio. Miss Merritt was arrested January 24 on a charge of "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" and allegedly causing a juvenile to distribute "leaflets of a libelous nature." Bond was set at $500.

Eight persons were arrested January 23 under a newly-passed

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

12 Convicted In Greenwood

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI - Forty-five Negroes arrested and convicted here last June after they were smoke bombed from a voter registration meeting face sentencing Monday, January 27.

Twelve were found "guilty as charged" by a jury last week. Attorney Carsie Hall, acting for the group, said the remaining 33 will plead not guilty and will waive their right to a jury trial, since evidence in all cases is the same.

The case has been complicated with Federal litigation.

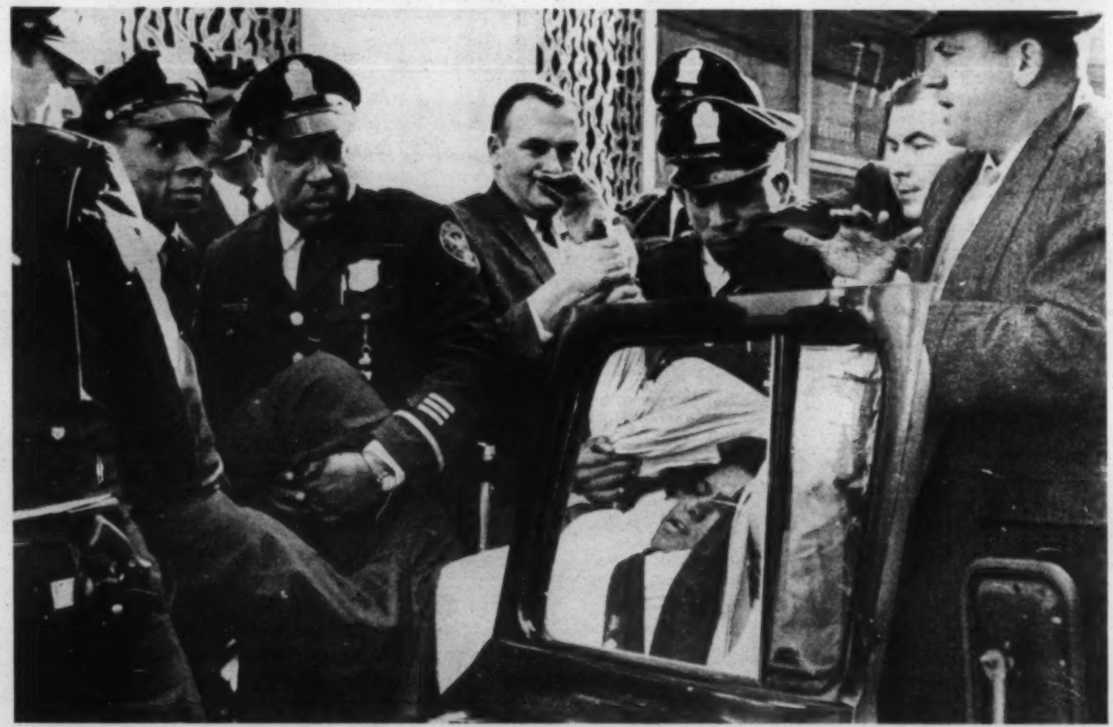
On December 26, the United States Department of Justice asked a Federal judge to dismiss its appeal of a suit against Leflore County officials.

The Department had been appealing Federal Judge Claude Clayton's denial of a temporary

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

In Atlanta

JAILS FILL AS PROTESTS RISE



GETTING CARRIED AWAY is SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman, jailed during a Sunday night demonstration at a segregated eating place. Seventy-nine demonstrators arrested Sunday night were released later on their own recognizance.

Eighty-Six Arrested

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - Eighty-six anti-segregation demonstrators were arrested, held on two sets of different charges and under two bonds, and finally released here under their own recognizance on Sunday night.

The 86 were arrested during full day demonstrations at segregated restaurants here.

Among those jailed were comedian Dick Gregory and SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman.

All were originally charged with "disorderly conduct" and "inciting to riot," and bond was set at $1000 each.

Later, the charge was changed to "disorderly conduct" and bail reduced to $15 cash and $50 property.

Still later, all were released on their own recognizance and allowed to sign their own bonds.

SNCC's James Forman, Attorney Donald L. Hollowell and Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins signed a statement saying all would be released and that SNCC would make "every effort" to comply with Atlanta picketing regulations.

Demonstrators were critical of police handling of the protests. Four girls were hospitalized - two knocked unconscious - after the protests.

Negro demonstrators and robed and hooded (but not masked) members of the Ku Klux Klan met for the second time in downtown Atlanta Saturday night, January 25.

The demonstrators, numbering as many as 500 at some points, had met on the Atlanta University Center campus and marched into the downtown area.

On Friday night, SNCC workers and members of the Committee On Appeal For Human Rights

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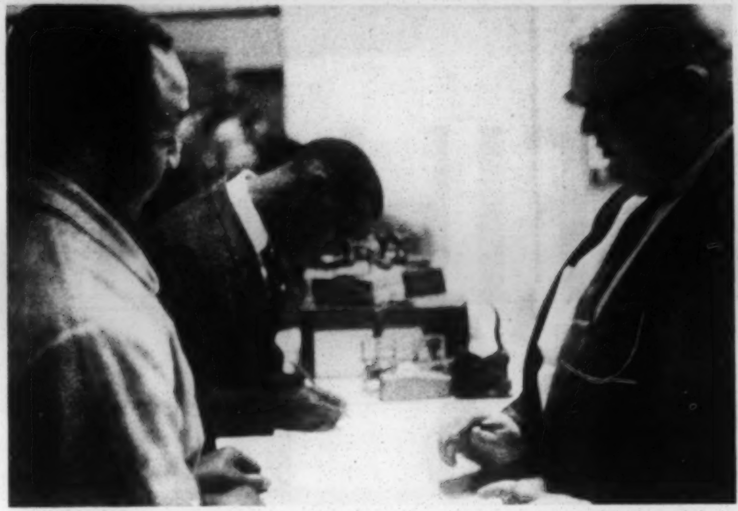
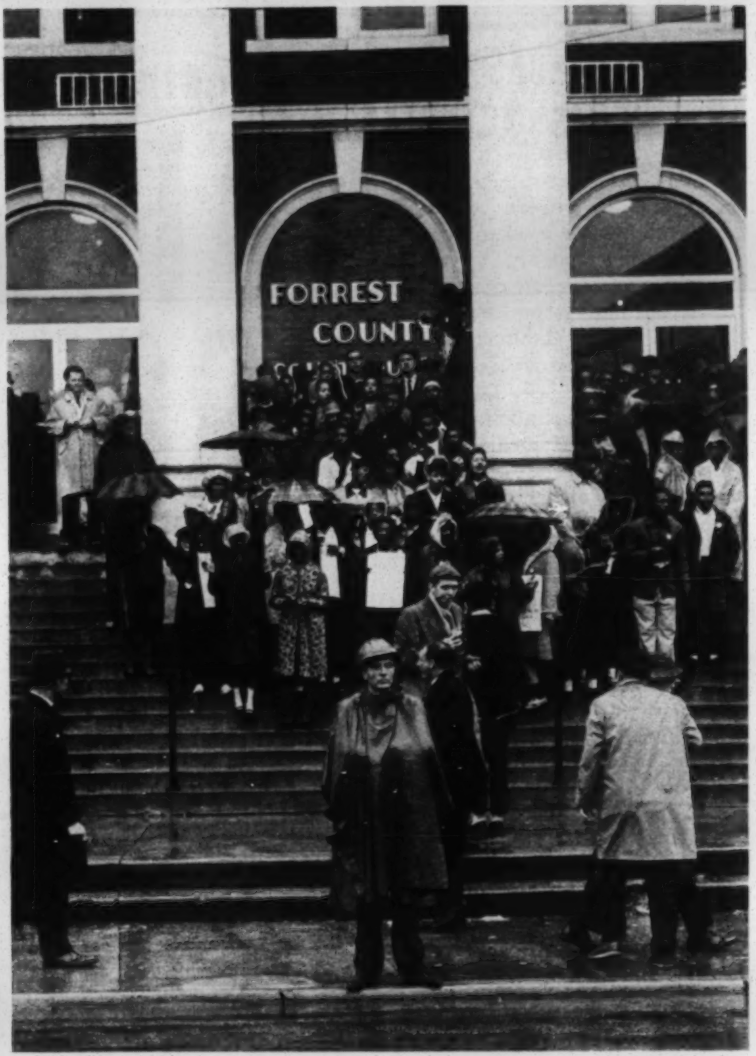
Freedom Day In Hattiesburg



A NEGRO TRIES TO REGISTER during Hattiesburg's Freedom Day. More than 150 Negroes tried to register, saying they were tired of the "inactivity of the Federal Government and of Forrest County registrar Theron Lynd" (at right).

SNCC EXECUTIVE SECRETARY JAMES FORMAN talks to Negroes standing in line outside the Forrest County Courthouse on Freedom Day. Many stood all day in a pouring rain to try to register to vote.



OUTSIDE THE FORREST COUNTY COURTHOUSE Negroes wait for a chance to register. Only 2% of the voting age Negroes are registered in Forrest County.

FREEDOM WALKERS CASE APPEALED

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA - An appeal by 10 white and Negro Freedom Walkers - members of SNCC and CORE - who were arrested May 3, 1963 as they attempted to walk into Alabama from Georgia has been taken under advisement by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Attorneys for the Walkers appealed the dismissal of an injunction brought against Colonel Al Lingo, head of the Alabama State Police, prohibiting him from interfering with the Freedom Walkers' right to travel.

The Walkers were enroute to Jackson, Mississippi from Chattanooga, Tennessee, as a memorial to William Moore, a Maryland postman murdered near Gadsden, Alabama while carrying signs urging an end to segregation.

Lingo announced that the integrated Walkers would be arrested if they entered Alabama, and arrests were made on breach of the peace charges after the group was 50 feet inside the Alabama state line.

Later a state attorney obtained an injunction against them. Jack Greenberg, head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, argued in court here that the Walkers had experienced no trouble in Tennessee and Georgia.

"We are not going to have a Federal union if citizens cannot go from one state to another without being arrested," Greenberg said.

After being jailed, the Walkers spent 31 days in jail.

CANTON ,MISS.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

city ordinance for "distributing leaflets without a permit." The law had been passed by the city council two days prior to the arrests. Bond was set at $800 each - an unusually high bond for that offense.

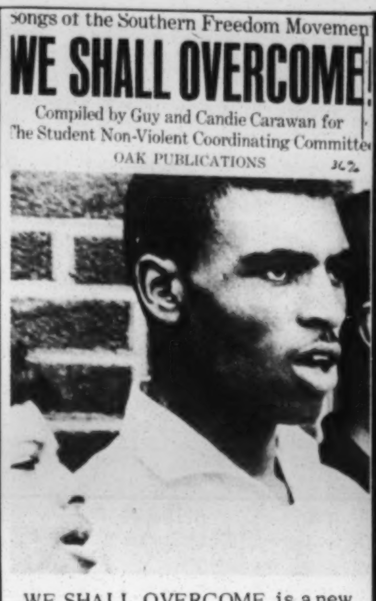
Other charges included "intimidating an officer," "breach of the peace" and burning trash without a permit."

Two rights workers, Clarence Chinn and James Collier, were charged with "violation of the building code," and were arrested while making repairs on the COFO office. Their bond was set at $350 each.

SNCC workers in Jackson report that simultaneous to the passage of the new city law, two constables and another police cruiser were added to law enforcement agencies in Canton. A bill recently passed by the state legislature will aid cities in making exchange of jail space.

The leaflets, which pressed for continuation of an effective boycott already underway here, asked Negroes to withhold patronage from merchants who address Negro customers as "boy" or "nigger."

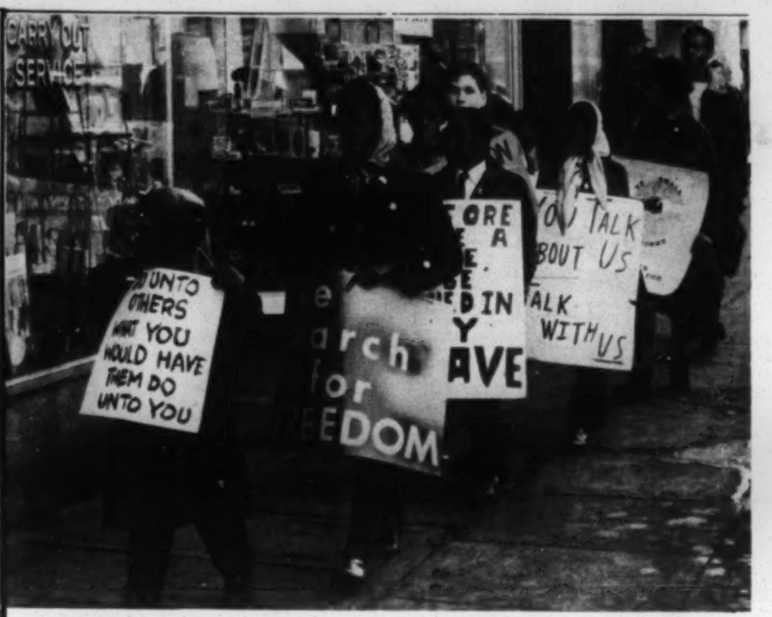
SNCC spokesmen have labeled the anti-circular law as "a clear violation of First Amendment rights guaranteed by the Constitution."


songs of the Southern Freedom Movemen

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

Compiled by Guy and Candie Carawan for
The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committe
OAK PUBLICATIONS

WE SHALL OVERCOME is a new book of "songs of the Southern Freedom Movement." It is available from SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, for $1.95.


CARRY OUT SERVICE
UNTO OTHERS WHAT YOU WOULD HAVE THEM DO UNTO YOU
arch for EDOM
ORE A D IN Y AVE
YOU TALK ABOUT US TALK WITH US

YOUNG FREEDOM FIGHTERS march away from the White House after picketing there. The group had tried to see President Johnson, and when they failed, sent him a letter saying they want "equal rights today, not tomorrow, not next year, but today!"

NEGRO CHILDREN PICKET WHITE HOUSE

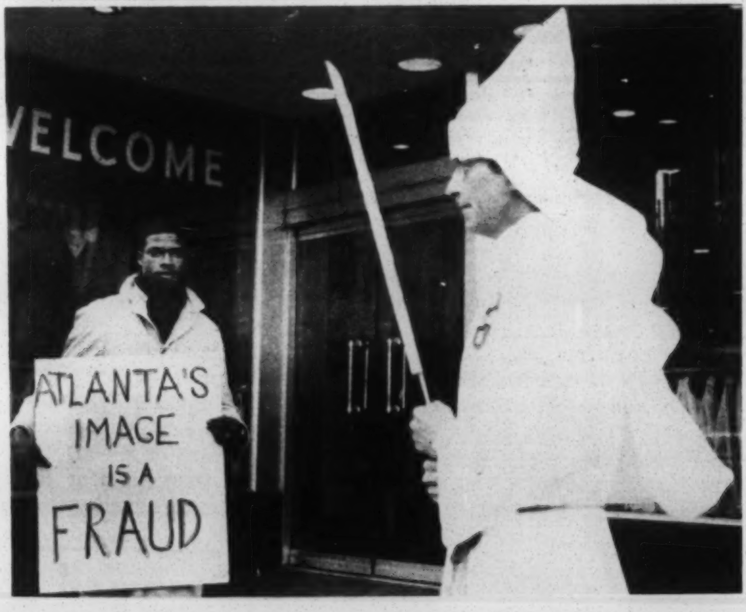
WASHINGTON, D.C. - A group of Negro fifth grade students picketed the White House here January 18 with signs demanding an end to "Rats, Roaches and Rent-robbers."

The group told newsmen they had consulted the Washington SNCC office and asked the SNCC workers to get them an appointment with President Johnson.

The group's leader, 10-year-old Lawrence Dunbar Twyman III, admitted the notice was short, but said, "It seemed to me that although the President is busy with a lot of things, he has a lot of assistants."

Ten-year-old Jackie Scott said, "I'll bet the President is not too busy to see white folks."

Before leaving the White House the fifth graders sang "We Shall Overcome" and "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Round."


WELCOME
ATLANTA'S IMAGE IS A FRAUD

DEMONSTRATOR FACES KLANSMAN in downtown Atlanta. Over 500 protesters confronted the Klu Klux Klan during the 11 hour demonstration Saturday.

Atlanta

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

(COAHR) had demonstrated before the Riviera Motel where members of the United Nations Subcommission of the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities were meeting. The group carried signs reading "Welcome To Atlanta, a Segregated City." Other protesters Friday night staged a four hour sit-in at the Segregated Travel Lodge Motel. There were no arrests.

During Saturday's demonstration, which ended after midnight, the Klan and protesters often picketed a few inches apart.

Two fist fights occurred, one involving Klansmen and police.

The protesters were joined by comedian Dick Gregory who flew into Atlanta from Chicago to join the demonstrations.

A special target of the sit-ins is Leb's Restaurant, where several demonstrators were jailed during last summer's demonstrations.

While marching, the demonstrators chanted "The old KK. she ain't what she used to be" while Klansmen yelled "We want a white Mayor."

THE STUDENT VOICE

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BY STUDENT VOICE, INC.
8 1/2 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta , Georgia 30314

RENT STRIKE ORGANIZED

WASHINGTON, D.C. - Tenants at a Girard Street tenement, assisted by SNCC workers, have organized a rent strike against property realtor David E. Barry because of poor conditions in their building.

All seven household heads in the building signed an agreement saying living conditions in the house are "unhealthy and not safe."

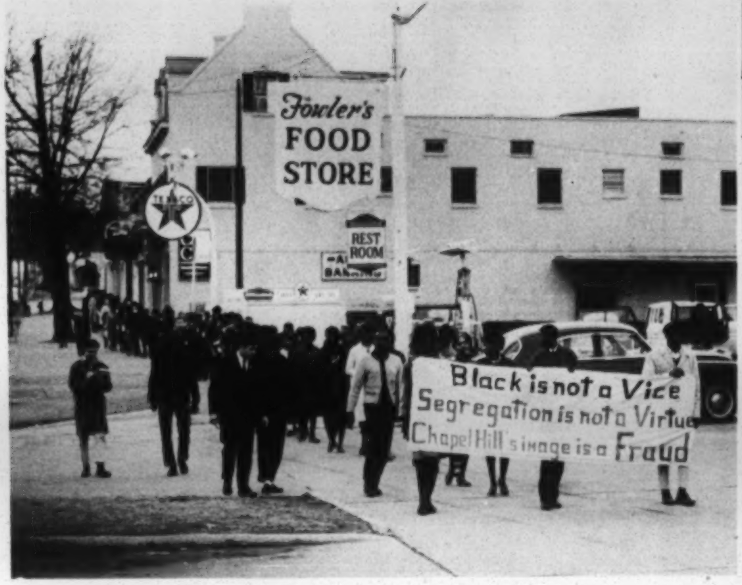
"When we paid our rent," the tenants said, "we expected services which the landlord has chosen to deny us. Before we resume payment of rent to the landlord at the present level, this apartment must be made sanitary and safe," the tenants said.

SNCC worker Bill Mahoney said "This is the first in the strides toward freedom of Washington Negroes. As long as slumlords don't supply services and repairs, and as long as they overcharge tenants, the tenants should assert their right not to pay rent."

The rent strike began when the landlord tried to evict a family of six. Fifteen members of the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG), the local SNCC affiliate, entered the apartment and prevented the eviction.

Mahoney said the landlord denied he was delinquent in making repairs, but was struck by water dripping from a ceiling when he left the building.

He collects $600 a month rent from the building.


Fowler's
FOOD
STORE
REST ROOM
Black is not a Vice
Segregation is not a Virtu
Chapel Hill's image is a Fraud

A LONG LINE OF demonstrators in Chapel Hill, North Carolina protest the city's failure to pass a public accommodations law. Major demonstrations are expected here on February 1, anniversary of the birth of the sit-in drive.

Protests Continue In Chapel Hill

CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA - Anti - segregation protests are continuing here with daily marches protesting the failure of the city's board of aldermen to pass a public accommodations ordinance.

Demonstrations were begun here before Christmas by the Congress of Racial Equality. Other groups joined the movement to form the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee, and local leaders are planning massive demonstrations on February 1, the fourth anniversary of the beginning of the student anti-segregation movement.

A civil rights leader from Danville, Virginia, the Rev. A. I. Dunlap, told a mass meeting crowd that Negroes elected North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford and "they ought to put him out."

Dunlap, head of the Danville Christian Progressive Association (DCPA) "served notice" on Governor Sanford that "he can send out all troops, call out the National Guard, but nobody is going to stop the movement in Chapel Hill."

Sanford promised last week to use his full resources to support the aldermen's refusal to yield to "pressures" from the Freedom Committee.

Demonstrators have been staging a sit-in in the aldermen's office since January 13, saying they are waiting for them to return to "take up unfinished business."

SNCC worker Avon Rollins announced from Danville that he and Mrs. Gloria Richardson, head of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee and a member of the SNCC Executive Committee, were ready to assist protesters here.

CORE executive director James Farmer also indicated his group's support of integration efforts in Chapel Hill.

Over 250 people have been arrested since the current drive began.

STUDENTS PICKET GREENVILLE LIBRARY

GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI - Seventeen Negro students picketed the all-white public library here Saturday, January 26. They were led by Carol Bolton, SNCC worker.

After picketing the library, the group entered Greenville's white park and was asked to leave by a policeman.

During a trial of anti-segregation demonstrators here this summer, Greenville police chief Burnley said the park was integrated.

SNCC Asks Cancellation

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI -SNCC has wired protests of the planned appearance of two government officials at a segregated meeting to be held here January 28.

SNCC Chairman John Lewis telegrammed James E. Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Agency (NASA), and Congressman George P. Miller, (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Science and Astronautics Committee that their presence would be an "embarrassment to the United States Government" and an "endorsement of the systematic segregation found throughout the state,"

Lewis urged Webb and Miller to cancel their appearance at the Jackson Chamber of Commerce "rather than force open protests in that city" upon their arrival.

The Chamber of Commerce meeting is closed to all except members of the state legislature, local officials and Chamber members, according to Mendel Davis, vice-president of the Chamber, Lewis reported.

"There are no Negroes in those positions," Lewis said, "because the state does not permit Negroes to vote in sufficient numbers to elect public officials. The Mississippi state legislature publicly supports a policy of segregation which includes inequality of employment."

The telegram continued "It is therefore inappropriate and inexcusable for officials of your stature to participate thereby indicating government approval, in the program of a body which openly opposes President Johnson's position on equality of employment."

Greenwood

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

injunction against prosecution of the 45.

They were accused of throwing rocks and "causing disturbances" when a smoke bomb was thrown into a church where a vote meeting was in progress.

The Justice Department maintained the group was walking toward the sheriff's house to seek protection when they were set upon a group of Negroes hired for that purpose.

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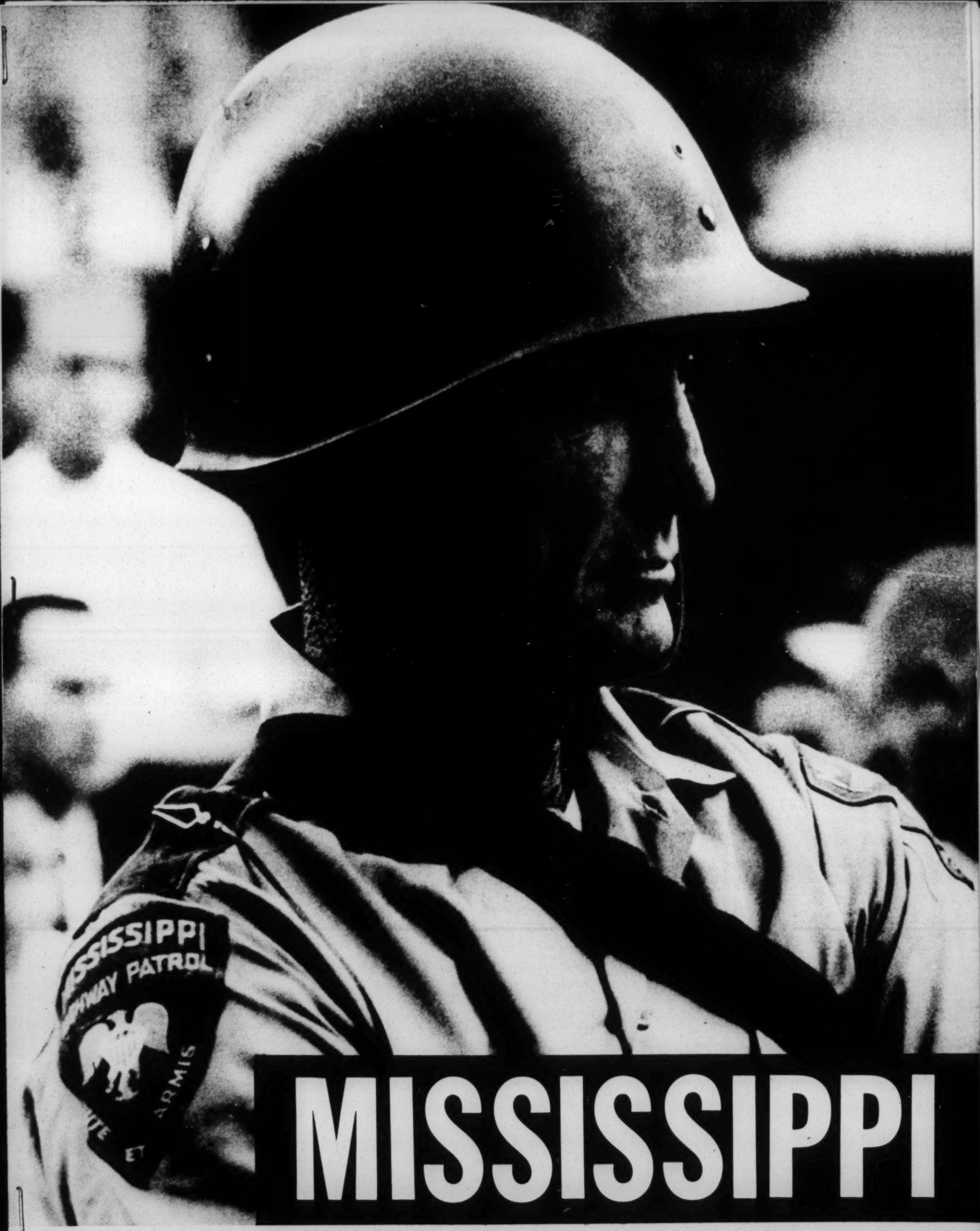
MISSISSIPPI
HIGHWAY PATROL
VIRTUTE ET ARMIS

MISSISSIPPI

WITNESS MURDERED

LIBERTY, MISSISSIPPI - A Negro who saw a state representative kill another Negro active in voter registration here almost three years ago was shotgunned to death Friday night, January 31.

Louis Allen of Route 2, Liberty was found dead in his front yard. He had been shot with a shotgun three times.

In Atlanta, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee asked the Justice Department for "a complete investigation of Allen's murder."

A week ago, Allen's son's car and a Liberty grocery that employed Negroes had been fired on.

Allen had witnessed the slaying of Herbert Lee, an Amite County farmer, at a Liberty cotton gin on September 26, 1961. Lee, who worked with SNCC vote workers in Amite County, was shot by E. H. Hurst, then a member of the state legislature. Hurst was acquitted by a coroner's jury before Lee's lifeless body was removed from the street outside the gin.

Allen, a witness to the killing, testified at the coroner's jury that freed Hurst, but later said he lied because he feared for his own safety. SNCC workers told officials of the United States Department of Justice he would change his testimony and tell the truth if protection was offered, but he was refused.

In February, 1963, Allen told a worker from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee he saw Hurst shoot Lee without provocation. Allen said a Liberty law officer picked him up minutes after the shooting, drove him to the coroner's jury, and told him what so say on the stand. Allen was told to say Lee had threatened Hurst with a metal tire iron and that Hurst had killed him in self defense.

Allen had been warned that local whites were out to "get him."

In August, 1962 he was arrested and beaten by a Liberty

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

THE STUDENT VOICE

VOL. 5 No. 4 The Student Voice, Inc. 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga. FEBRUARY 3, 1964

IN MISSISSIPPI —

SIX HELD INCOMMUNICADO; HATTIESBURG WORKER TRIED

JACKSON, MISS., January 31 -- Six persons have been moved from a jail in Canton, Mississippi to the Jackson city jail and are being held "incommunicado," according to workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The six were arrested in Canton over a three-day period from January 22 to 24 for "violation of the building code," "intimidating an officer," "disturbing the peace" and "contributing to the deliquency of a minor." Ten others arrested during that time are still held in the Madison County jail.

All of the arrested were engaged in anti-segregation activities under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations - a coordinating body of civil rights groups working in Mississippi.

On January 20 police halted operation of all Negro taxicabs

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

HATTIESBURG, MISS. -- A voter registration worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was convicted here January 31 of "contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

Lawrence Guyot, 24, refused bond when he was arrested here January 27. Bond had been set at $1,000.

Guyot was sentenced to six months in jail, $500 fine with five months suspended and 30 days to be served. At state insistence a $500 peace bond was also lodged.

Presiding Judge William Haraldson told the court that Guyot "has willfully . . . taken advantage of children of his own race." This referred to his alleged action of urging children to stay out of school to picket.

Guyot stated in court that he had "never directly tried to influence anyone to stay out of school" and that his primary interest was voter registration.

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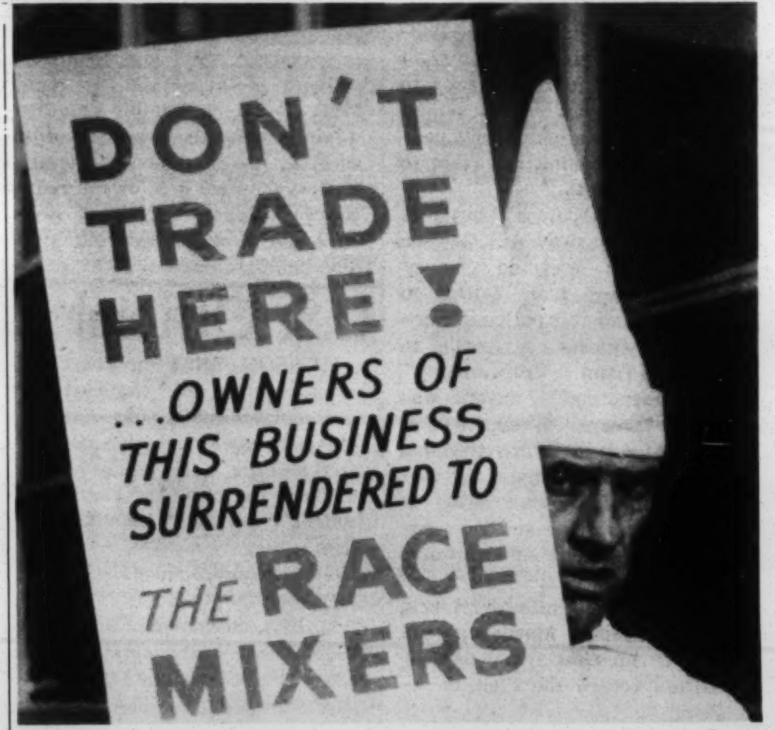
FLASH! FLASH!

MORE VIOLENCE IN MISSISSIPPI!

See Page 2



One of many Klansmen that demonstrators must face

Demonstrations Gain Additional Support

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - The Summit Leadership Conference has voted here to continue protests against segregated eating places and hotels if the city of Atlanta refuses to meet their requests.

The Leadership group, a coalition of rights groups in Atlanta,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Injunction Bans Vote Discrimination

AMERICUS, GEORGIA - Fifteen local white men - including seven public officials - have been permanently enjoined by a Federal court from interfering with voting and voter registration in Terrell County.

The Department of Justice sought the injunction in 1962 after more than a dozen armed white men broke into a voter registration meeting sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at the Mount Olive Baptist Church in Sasser.

The leader of the group, Terrell County Sheriff Z.T. Matthews, told reporters at the church meeting "We want our colored people to go on living like they have for the past 100 years. We're a little tired of this voting business."

The injunction was handed down by Federal Judge J. Robert Elliott on January 24.

The court order permanently enjoins the 15 "from interfering in any act or acts from the purpose of interfering with the right of any person to register or to vote for candidates to public office" and punishing any person for exercising the right to register and vote."

Matthews, deputies Matthews and R.M. Dunaway and Dawson Police Chief Waymon Cherry were enjoined from failing to furnish reasonable police protection for persons registering to vote and from "threatening" or "prosecuting" anyone who votes or tries to register to vote.

All defendants were enjoined from committing any act of violence against persons voting or registering to vote and from encouraging others to intimidate prospective voters.

Terrell County vote registrars, including Deputy Matthews were enjoined in 1960 from denying qualified voters the right to register.

Terrell County has a white population of 4,600 and a Negro population of 8,300. There are 2,935 registered white voters in the county in 1963, but only 100 Negro voters.

Night riders fired into the home of a Terrell County woman who had conducted vote classes and who had housed SNCC workers last year. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has maintained a voter registration drive in Terrell County and Southwest Georgia since 1961.

WASHINGTON D.C. -- Five year-old Ricky Schuler stands in the hallway of the $90.00 per month apartment from which his mother Mrs. Catherine Schuler was threatened with eviction when she complained about the condition of the apartment. Mrs. Schuler, mother of five, and members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, refused to allow the eviction. The other tenants in the three-story building, supported her action and are now participating in a SNCC organized rent strike against realtor David E. Berry. The premises are at 1414 Girard Street, N.W.

U.S. Official Cancels Meeting

JACKSON, MISS --- The chief administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Agency refused to speak before a segregated meeting here January 28 in response to protests from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

James Webb, head of NASA, and Congressman George P. Miller (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Science and Astronautics Committee, were scheduled to appear before a special welcome dinner for the Mississippi State Legislature sponsored by the Jackson Chamber of Commerce.

John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC wired Webb and Miller that it was "inappropriate and inexcusable" for government officials to honor a segregated meeting "thereby indicating government approval."

Lewis urged the space chiefs to cancel rather than to "cause open protest" in Jackson.

Negroes would not be permitted to attend the meeting Lewis said, because a meeting closed to all except members of the legislature, local officials and Chamber members necessarily excluded Negroes. "The state does not permit Negroes to vote in sufficient numbers to elect public officials," he stated.

Spokesmen for NASA confirmed Webb's decision with SNCC officials in Atlanta. "Mr. Webb does not intend to speak at a segregated meeting," stated Oakley B. Lloyd, Director of Public Information for NASA.

Several cancellations of scheduled appearances in Jackson have occurred in recent weeks because of this city's widespread segregation policies. Entertainers from "Hootenanny USA," a TV program, refused to appear at the segregated City Auditorium. Instead they appeared at a substitute concert at nearby Tougaloo College, and turned over $70, that was collected for use in bonding vote workers out of jail.

The Cartwright Family of the "Bonanza" TV series cancelled a similar appearance for the same reason.

POLICE SHOOT FOUR STUDENTS

JACKSON, MISS. -- Two SNCC workers and at least two other youths were hit by gunfire when police shot into a demonstration here February 3.

The shootings occurred when about 1,000 Negro students gathered at 10:00 P.M. to protest the earlier release of a white man whose automobile hit a student on an unlit section of Lynch Street. They were also protesting the police beating of three youths which took place shortly after the accident.

About 500 students from Jackson State College surrounded the scene of the late afternoon accident and observed police release the driver after short questioning. The student, a girl, was taken to Baptist Hospital and treated for a broken hip.

Students watched as police beat three youths while dispersing the crowd. Gil Moses, former student at Oberlin College and a reporter for the Mississippi Free Press, was hit by the butt end of a police rifle. Richard Murphy, a white youth who is also with the Free Press, was hit over the eye by police with a rifle and knocked to the ground. A third youth, James Jones, was roughed up by police. He is a student at Utica College in Mississippi.

Later in the evening SNCC workers passed out leaflets at a college basketball game calling for a protest demonstration.

About 1,000 students gathered after the game and began walking back and forth across the street, singing freedom songs and asking for installation of a traffic light. SNCC workers here report that a light has been requested from city authorities on several occasions.

Police tried to disperse the crowd by firing shots over the heads of the students. When a brick was thrown by someone on the sidelines toward police,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

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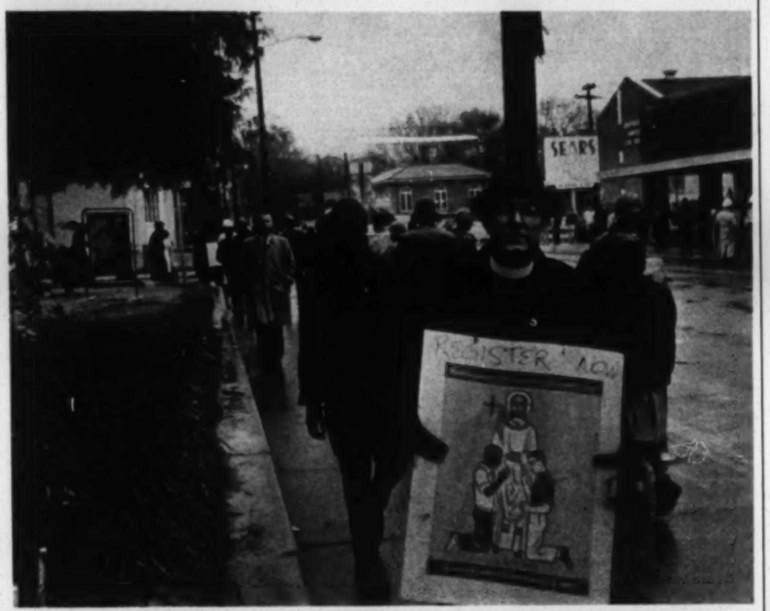
MINISTERS ARRESTED, DEMONSTRATIONS BANNED

HATTIESBURG, MISS. --- A state circuit judge issued a temporary injunction here January 29 to halt picketing, demonstrations and "acts calculated to cause a breach of the peace."

The injunction, asked by the City of Hattiesburg, was signed into effect by Judge Stanton A. Hall shortly after the arrest of nine ministers. The ministers are working with a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee voter registration project here.

City officials claim that orderly demonstrations will be allowed as long as "restricted areas" are not involved. The ministers were arrested when they walked with picket signs encouraging voter registration directly in front of the courthouse - one of the restricted areas. The injunction had not yet been handed down.

These ministers replaced an earlier group of 50 who came in to support the January 22 Freedom Day here. They were charged with breach of the peace. Bond was set at $500 each. Another minister arrested the day before was charged with assault and battery and interfering with a police officer.



Pickets in front of courthouse in Hattiesburg, Miss.

Four religious groups which are sponsoring the presence of clergymen here were named in the injunction. They are: The United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race; Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; Rabbinical Association of America; and Presbyterian Interracial Council.

The jailed ministers are from Colorado, Illinois, Missouri, New Jersey and New York. They were invited to work on voter registration by SNCC and the Council of Federated Organizations. SNCC initiated vote projects in Mississippi in August 1961.

Songs of the Southern Freedom Movement

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

Compiled by Guy and Candie Carawan for The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

OAK PUBLICATIONS

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Open Records Says U.S. Court

GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI - United States District Judge Claude F. Clayton has ordered Sunflower County Circuit Clerk Cecil Campbell to open voter registration records for inspection within 20 days.

Field workers from SNCC have been active in registration efforts in Sunflower County.

The United States Department of Justice, in asking for the inspection said the registration records were necessary for a suit seeking injunction against the state of Mississippi charging interference with Negro registration attempts.

There are 31,020 Negroes in the county, home of Senator James O. Eastland (D.Miss.), but only 1.6% of the voting age Negroes are registered voters.

Hattiesburg

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Two witnesses for the state, including the mother of the minor in question, testified that Guyot had never directly encouraged children to skip school.

Negroes were forcibly kept out of the courtroom here and made to sit in a balcony during the trial.

Canton

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

in Canton, claiming that their permits were faulty.

A Negro leader and gas station owner, who was earlier arrested for "burning trash without a permit," reported that his gas supply was cut off by the Amoco representative. The move was interpreted by rights workers here as "further reprisal against integration efforts."

Among the arrested in the recent crackdown on integration workers in Canton were Carole Merritt, 23-year-old SNCC worker from Cincinnati, Ohio, and Richard Jewitt, 30, a worker for the Congress of Racial Equality from New York City.

SNCC workers believe that Canton officials had the six persons moved to Jackson in connection with a bill recently passed by the state legislature which facilitates exchange on jail space and police numbers. They reported that two constables and another police cruiser were added to Canton law enforcement agencies at the time of the arrests.

Canton rights workers had been distributing leaflets which pressed for continuation of an effective boycott already underway. The circulars asked Negroes to withhold patronage from merchants who address Negro customers as "boy" or "nigger."

SNCC spokesmen have labeled the anti-circular law as "a clear violation of First Amendment rights guaranteed by he U.S. Constitution."

SNCC Needs Your Help

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - "The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee must have emergency funds to continue operating in hard core rural areas of the South" SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman said.

Forman said the SNCC was in dire need of money and other materials.

The student anti-segregation group has workers in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Virginia and North Carolina.

Staff members in the field receive subsistence wages "when we have it" SNCC Chairman John Lewis said.

Contributors to SNCC receive subscriptions to the Student Voice.

SNCC 6 Raymond St. N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30314

I am contributing $...... to the direct action and voter registration programs of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

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ADDRESS .... CITY .... STATE ......

I want to receive more information about SNCC and what I can do to continue SNCC's work.

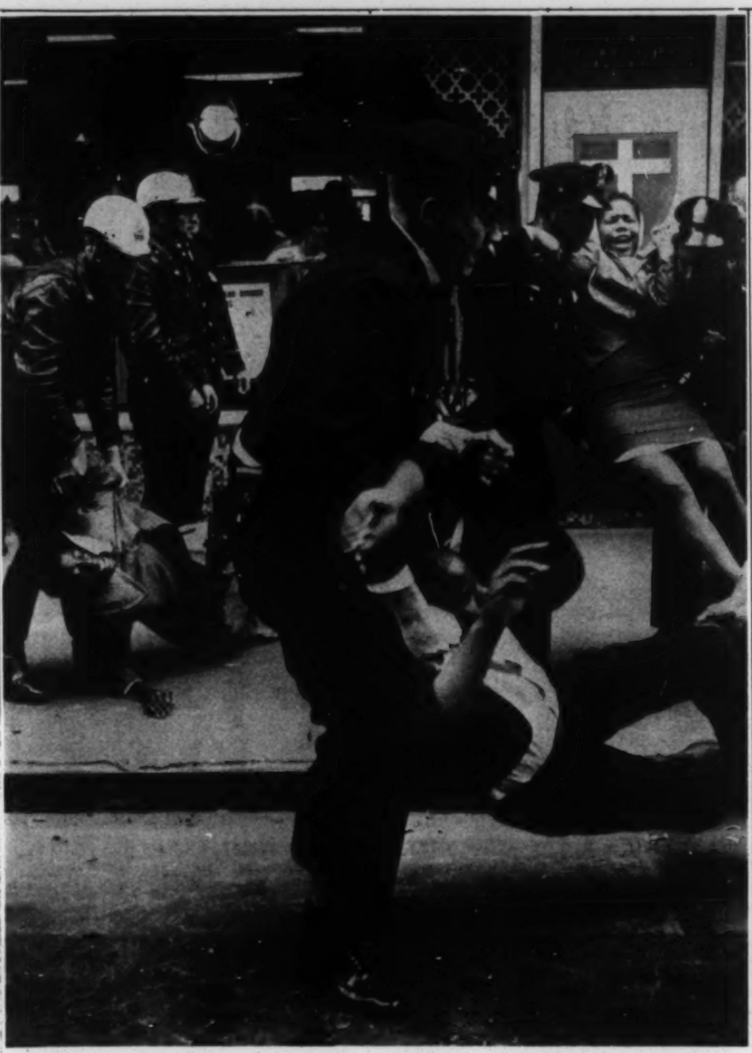
Sit-in Movement Marks Fourth Year

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - Demonstrations commemorating the fourth anniversary of the student sit-in movement were held in several cities across the nation.

In Atlanta, students-members of SNCC and the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights (COAHR) - continued demonstrations at segregated restaurants. The protesters said they were continuing demonstrations to show "there are people here who are not satisfied with segregation."

SNCC Chairman John Lewis and Executive Secretary James Forman joined the protest.

Other demonstrations were held in Chapel Hill, Boston, New York, Tuskegee, Detroit, and Fort Valley, Georgia.



Atlanta policemen arrest students in demonstration.

ATLANTA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

has asked the SNCC and the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights to work on restaurant segregation.

Demonstrations here in recent weeks - marked by police mistreatment and Ku Klux Klan counter - picketing - have been sharply criticized by the two white daily papers here.

The Atlanta Constitution, however , has reversed an earlier stand and now favors a Federal public accommodations law.

Protests were halted for two days when over 150 demonstrators faced all day trials. Many were forced to remain in court until as late as midnight.

Attorney Howard Moore, lawyer for the jailed demonstrators, says he will summon Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and Police Chief Herbert Jenkins to court when trials are continued on February 4.

Allen had asked for a 30-day "cooling off" period during hich demonstrations would halt. The Summit leadership refused to halt the protests and instead, asked Allen to set the demonstrators in jail free. He refused to do so.

The Mayor called a meeting of some 200 community leaders last week to read them a statement deploring continued demonstrations and stressing that voluntary integration was possible here.

SCLC aide Wyatt Tee Walker responded "if we waited for voluntary action, most of us would still be picking cotton."

SHOOTING

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

they began to shoot directly into the crowd. SNCC worker Jess Morris, 25, from Compton, California, was hit in the left arm and taken to University Hospital here.

A shot was lodged in the jacket of a 20-year-old SNCC worker from Greenwood, Mississippi. George Greene reported that his eyeglass case stopped the shot from penetrating his chest.

At least two others are known to have been injured by the gunfire. One of them, Hernan Frazile, an 18-year-old Jackson State College student, was also taken to University Hospital.

Workers in the Jackson SNCC office, two blocks from the scene of the demonstration, reported that the shooting lasted almost 30 minutes. By the end of that time all establishments on Lynch Street had been closed by police and police were patrolling the front of the SNCC office.

MURDER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

deputy sheriff who hit him with a flashlight, breaking his jaw.

Morris Allen of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the dead man's brother, said Louis Allen had planned to leave Mississippi for good less than 24 hours after he was murdered. Morris Allen said their mother had died a week before, and that Louis Allen was to leave Liberty Saturday morning to come to Milwaukee to seek work.

The dead man told a reporter on February 12, 1963 that he'd been forced to testify falsely that Herbert Lee had threatened E. H. Hurst with a "tire iron."

"The morning when it (Lee's death) happened," Allen said then, "I came to the gin. I came on the highway where Hurst and this colored fellow (Lee) were arguing. Hurst looked at me and quieted down, but I could still hear him. I walked up the highway past the truck, behind, where I could see and hear. Lee hopped out on the passenger side. Hurst ran around the front. Hurst lowered the gun at him . . ."

"At the coroner's jury, they asked me about the piece of iron. I said I hadn't seen no iron. 'Is this the piece of iron?' I said 'yes'," Allen said. He said he had been forced to lie at a grand jury investigation also.

"If you'll give me protection, I'll let the hide go with the hair," Allen said. No protection came.

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THE STUDENT VOICE

VOL. 5 NO. 5 The Student Voice, Inc. 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga. FEBRUARY 11, 1964

SNCC WORKER FOUND GUILTY

HATTIESBURG, MISS. - A white SNCC worker was sentenced to 120 days in jail and fined $380 and another vote worker has been sent to the county farm.

SNCC worker Peter Stoner, 26, was sentenced Friday, Feb. 6. He was charged with profanity, disturbing the peace and resisting arrest.

He was arrested Feb. 5 in front of the Forrest County jail by a jailer who said Stoner "raised a ruckus" when he was not allowed to visit SNCC worker Lawrence Guyot in the jail.

Guyot was convicted of "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" and is appealing his conviction.

Moncure Fortnot, 20, of Hat-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

NO CLUES UNCOVERED IN ALLEN MURDER CASE

LIBERTY, MISS. - Sheriff Daniel Jones said this week he has failed to find "a single clue" in last weekend's shotgun slaying of a Negro who had seen another white man kill a Negro active in a vote drive.

"I've interviewed a lot of people but haven't come up with a thing yet" the sheriff said.

The body of Louis Allen, 44 was found early Saturday morning, Feb. 1 by his teenage son. He was dead from three shotgun blasts, two in his head.

The sheriff said several neighbors heard the blasts but "thought nothing of it."

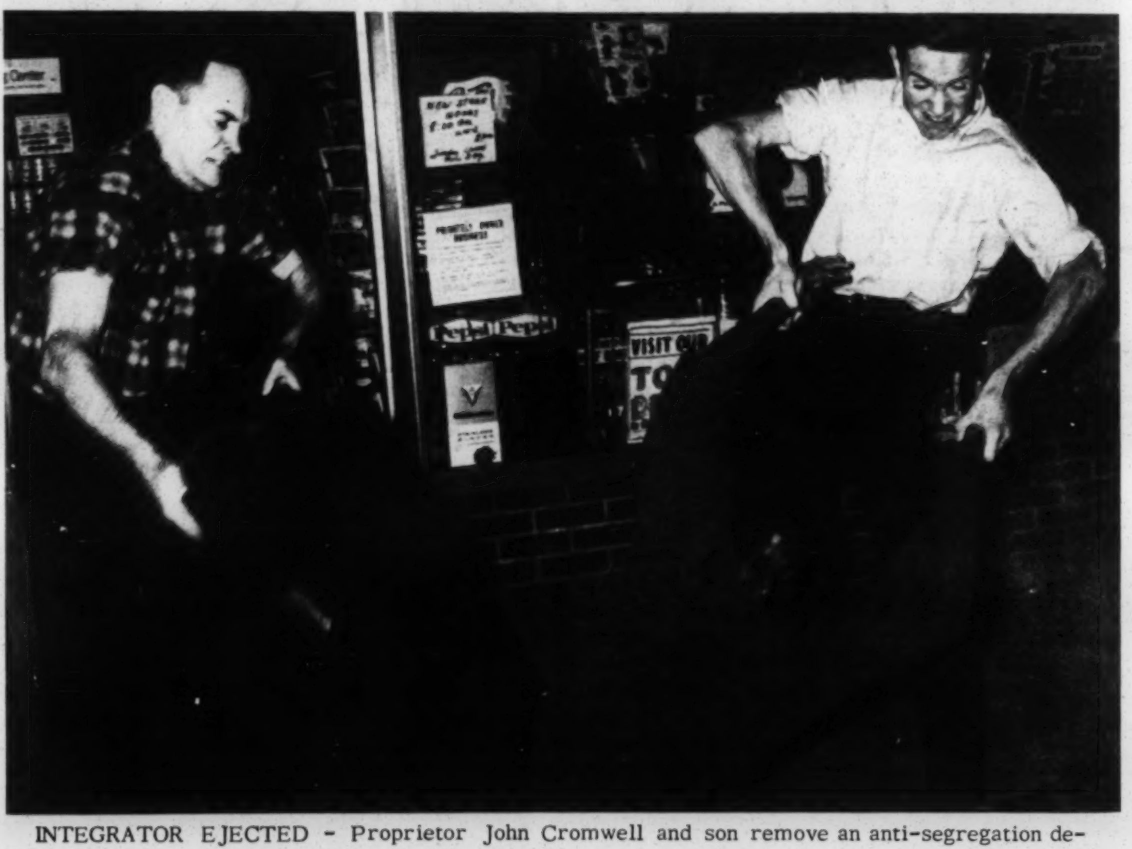
He said Allen was killed as he stepped from his log truck to open a gate 150 yards from his house. The sheriff estimated the shots were fired from 30 feet away.

"I've known Allen for years" the sheriff said. "He was not involved in any civil rights activities."

Allen was a witness in the fatal shooting of Herbert Lee, a 52-year-old farmer gunned down outside a Liberty cotton gin in 1961.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

400 PROTEST IN CHAPEL HILL



INTEGRATOR EJECTED - Proprietor John Cromwell and son remove an anti-segregation demonstrator from his store in Chapel Hill on Jan. 29. Demonstrations here under the guidance of the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee - a coalition of local and national rights groups - have resulted in over 350 arrests.

120 Stage Sit-down

CHAPEL HILL, N.C. - Over 400 anti-segregation demonstrators marched through this small university town Feb. 8 and 120 staged a mid-street "sit-down."

Police ordered the street "sit-downers" to move on.

They did, but separated into five groups which staged further protests at four segregated eating places and the town hall. Five other groups of protesters blocked the three highways leading into Chapel Hill, and two other groups blocked cars at the University of North Carolina gymnasium where a basketball game was breaking up.

Another group later blocked traffic at the main intersection in Chapel Hill.

SNCC worker J.V. Henry said 98 arrests were made during the afternoon's demonstrations. Among those arrested was Avon Rollins, director of SNCC's Virginia project.

Demonstrations on Jan. 31 led to 75 arrests here, when 350 persons marched through the downtown area. More than 20 young people sat down at an intersection and unfolded signs protesting "candycoated racism."

A B-B gun was fired at the demonstrators but no serious injury resulted. A photographer had his camera forcibly taken away by two spectators. A large cherry bomb hurled at the marchers exploded, burning a spectator's leg.

A white professor from the University of North Carolina was struck by an onlooker at Carlton's Rockpile - a restaurant - the scene of ammonia-drenching earlier this month.

Two Rights Workers Arrested As Canton Continues Crackdown

Carole Merritt

CANTON, MISS. - Two more rights workers were arrested here Feb. 7 as Canton officials continue what Atlanta SNCC spokesmen have termed a "purge."

SNCC worker Claude Weaver, 20, and CORE worker Ed Hollander, 23, were arrested for "conspiracy to initmidate a family." Eleven others sentenced here Feb. 3 are still in jail due to high appeal bonds.

About 20 workers associated with the Council of Federated Organizations - an alliance of all civil rights groups working in this state - have been arrested since Jan. 22.

Nine of those tried Feb. 3 were convicted of two charges with $500 fine and six months for each charge. Appeal bond was set at $1,000.

Twenty-three year old SNCC worker Carole Merritt of Cincinnati, Ohio was found guilty of contributing to the delinquency of a minor and publishing libel. The charges referred to her encouragement of a 16-year-old girl to hand out leaflets pressing for an economic boycott and voter registration .

The others were convicted of publishing libel and disturbing the peace, or other charges arising from their participation in the voter registration and anti-segregation project here. One worker was convicted of three charges and is held under $1,500 appeal bond.

Earlier charges of distributing leaflets without a permit were changed at the trial - at which Negroes were allowed to sit only on the "colored" side of the courtroom.

SNCC workers report several incidents of police "intimidation" of persons working with the civil rights drive here, and the "blacklisting" of a Negro prominent in the local integration effort. George Washington reported that the gas pumps of the filling station he owns were removed by the Amoco representative.

On Jan. 30 police halted all Negro taxicabs claiming their permits were faulty.

RALEIGH VOTE DRIVE CONTINUES as SNCC worker John Love and Sarah Sanders help a Raleigh citizen (left) learn vote registration procedures.

Local ministers have held several "Ministers' Marches" through the park where this picture was taken to urge Raleigh Negroes to register to vote.

Three SNCC workers are helping the Raleigh Citizens Association (RCA) which invited SNCC participation in the drive. SNCC worker Reginald Robinson is director of the campaign. (Photo by Lloyd Jeffries)

MURDER CASE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Allen later admitted to SNCC workers he had lied at a coroner's jury investigating the slaying, which set free E. H. Hurst, a white man, then a member of the Mississippi State Legislature.

Allen's brother, Morris Allen of Milwaukee, Wis., said his brother had been harassed by local policement since he witnessed the Lee killing. He had been arrested twice, and once a deputy sheriff broke his jaw with a flashlight.

Morris Allen said his brother had decided to leave Mississippi to seek work in Milwaukee.

The SNCC conducted a vote drive in Southwest Mississippi in 1961.

Herbert Lee, the man whose killing Allen witnessed, was one of several local Negroes active in the drive.

SNCC has asked the United States Department of Justice to investigate the Allen murder.

Friends Send Food, Clothes

BOSTON, MASS. - Over 20,000 pounds of food and clothing have been sent to Ruleville, Miss. by Friends of SNCC here.

Dorothy Zellner, SNCC Boston coordinator, said the success of the drive "dramatically shows the sympathy people in the Greater Boston community have for the disenfranchised and dispossessed Negroes of the Mississippi Delta."

The food and clothing shipped to Mississippi was collected in 31 towns in and around Boston.

Mrs. Zellner said another 10,000 pounds would be shipped to the South in a few weeks.

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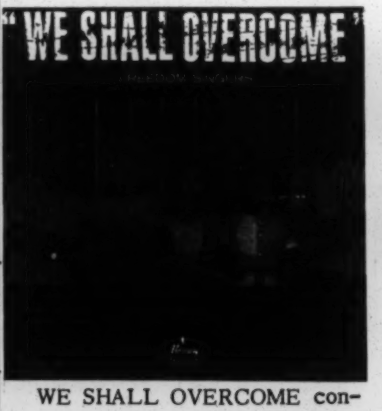

WE SHALL OVERCOME contains songs by SNCC's Freedom Singers. The record, on the Mercury label, is available from SNCC or at most record stores.

Songs of the Southern Freedom Moveme

WE SHALL OVERCOME

Compiled by Guy and Candie Carawan for
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'OPEN' ATLANTA STILL CLOSED

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- Atlanta has long enjoyed a reputation as a liberal center of the South, where peaceful negotiations have solved racial problems.

A glance at actual desegregation here reveals that most integration has come through direct action, boycotts or the courts.

In 1955, a Federal court ordered the city's golf courses to integrate. A suit was filed against the city's segregated school system in 1958.

A Federal court ordered the busses desegregated in 1959, and another court ordered Georgia State College here desegregated that same year.

In 1960, a Federal court ordered an airport restaurant integrated. Sit-in demonstrations began this year also.

In 1961, 177 lunch counters in 77 stores integrated after massive demonstrations, jail-ins and a boycott.

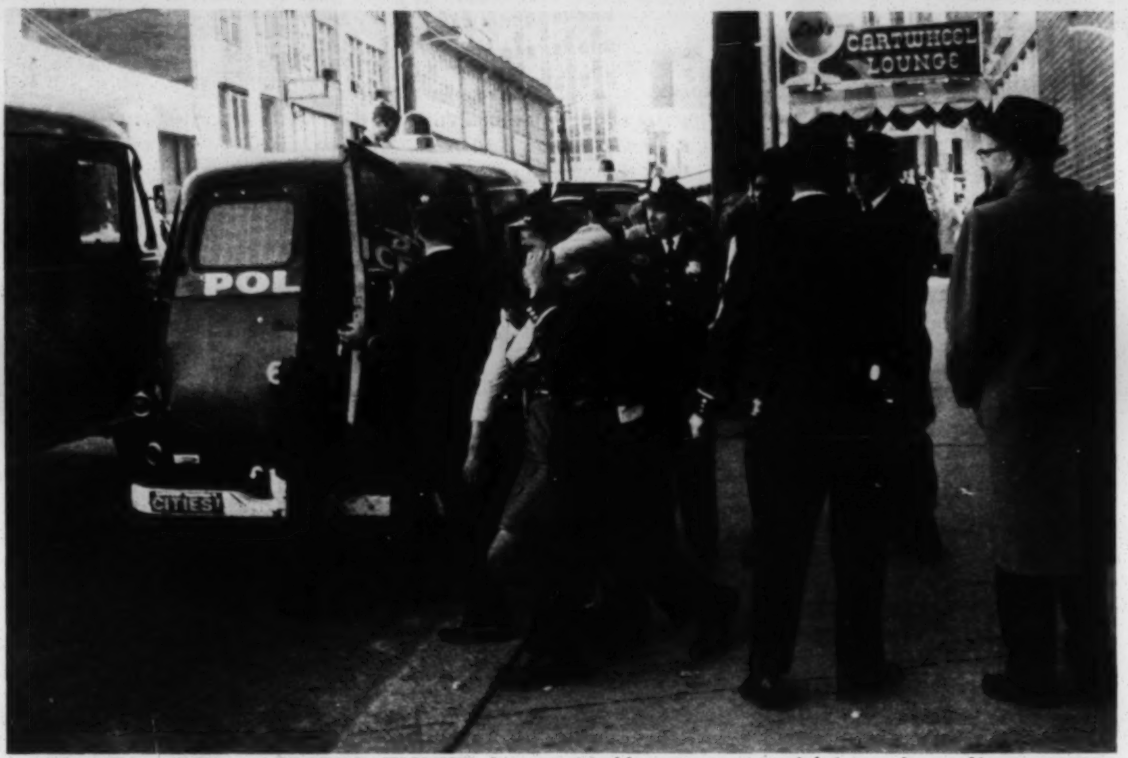
The Interstate Commerce Commission ruled bus terminals must integrate, and one Atlanta terminal eating place integrated a year later after demonstrations.

The city tennis courts closed in 1961 rather than admit Negroes.

In 1962, the city was required to drop all segregation ordinances by a Federal court.

Downtown theaters integrated after students threatened demonstrations.

"Atlanta, despite its national image as a leader in Southern race relations, actually lags behind several other Southern cities in desegregation of hotels, restaurants and schools, and in employment of Negroes in non-menial positions," the Atlanta Constitution admitted in November, 1963.



ATLANTA ARCH -- SEGREGATIONIST Lester Maddox, (extreme right) watches police arrest demonstrators. On Jan. 26, as students were being placed in police wagons, Maddox, an unsuccessful candidate for Lieutenant Governor said, "I sure am glad to see this."

RESISTANCE MOUNTS

ATLANTA, GA. - Anti - segregation protesters here are facing increased resistance from restaurant owners in their battle to make Atlanta an "open city."

Protesters at one eating place under attack from SNCC workers have had to face electric cattle prodders, knives and axe handles wielded by restaurant workers.

One demonstrator, SNCC worker Joyce Barrett, 25, was knocked to the ground by a white man on Feb. 8.

At the Georgian Hotel, a manager ordered the protesters away at gun point, and a bellboy chased demonstrators with a plank.

SNCC worker Debbie Amis was burned twice with a cattle prod at Harry's Steak House, Feb. 7.

The Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, a coalition of groups here, has voted acceptance of an action plan presented to the group last week.

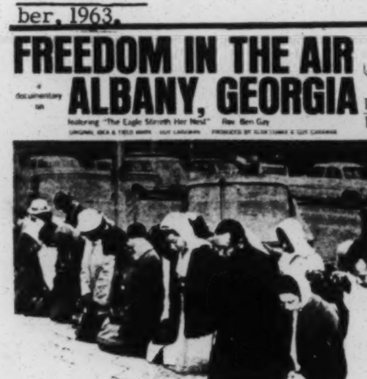
The plan calls for increased adult participation in anti-segregation protests, carried on by high school and college students up until now.

Demonstrations here have been aimed solely at public accommodations, but protest leaders say they will attempt to secure jobs, better schooling and housing conditions for Negroes also.

Twenty-nine protesters, indicted by county grand jury, are facing trial this week.

They will appear before Superior Court Judge Durwood T. Pye, the same judge who held the Rev. Ashton Jones under $20,000 bail until the Georgia Supreme Court ordered the bail lowered. (see Jones story)

Pye has insisted upon approving all bonds himself, a practice required by law but not normally followed. One demonstrator, Rev. Joseph Boone, was arrested at his home at 5:00 A.M. Feb. 8.



FREEDOM IN THE AIR, a documentary record on Albany, Georgia is available from SNCC'S Atlanta Office, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia,

SNCC NEEDS FUNDS FOR CARS

John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, issued a call this week for "SNCC supporters and lovers of civil rights everywhere" to donate funds to SNCC to purchase cars.

"Our staff members cannot continue voter registration work in Mississippi and Alabama without good cars," he said.

All contributors to SNCC receive a subscription to the STUDENT VOICE.

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I am contributing $...... to the direct action and voter registration programs of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

NAME ....

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I want to receive more information about SNCC and what I can do to continue SNCC's work.

SNCC GETS EQUAL TIME

ATLANTA, GA. -- SNCC has demanded - and received - "equal time" from an Atlanta television station.

The station, WAGA-TV, presented an editorial criticizing protest demonstrations here and saying "it is no longer a matter of right or wrong."

SNCC protested under the Federal Communication Commission's "Fairness Doctrine" and received equal time - three prime time editorial spots - to reply.

REV. JONES SOON TO BE RELEASED

ATLANTA, GA. - Rev. Ashton Jones, held in an Atlanta jail under high bail since August 28, 1963, may be free soon. Jones was held under a $20,000 appeal bond set by Superior Court Judge Durwood T. Pye, until the Georgia Supreme Court ruled the bail was too high.

Pye set a new bail of $5,000 - the Supreme Court's maximum. The elderly minister, jailed here when he tried to integrate a white-only church, may be released if Pye accepts a bank certificate presented Feb. 7 by Attorney Howard Moore, Jr. Judge Pye refused to accept a $5,000 cash bail for Rev. Jones.

Comedian Dick Gregory, in Atlanta last week to participate in the anti-segregation drive, said Jones' time in jail was "Atlanta's shame."

The 67-year-old clergyman is a native of Georgia.

D.C. SLUM TENANTS PROTEST DECISION

WASHINGTON, D.C. - A rent strike picket at the Bureau of Housing Licenses and Inspection here on Jan. 30 protested a decision against a slum tenant who refused to pay rent.

The pickets demanded the bureau start rent control, statutory tenancies, more low-cost housing, and that the city "do its job" in enforcing building code violations against slum landlords.

The demonstrators, all slum tenants, threaten not to pay their rent and predict "major district-wide rent strike if the city does not take action."

Mrs. Shuler's case will be appealed from the Landlord-Tenant Court of General Sessions.

300 STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE

TUSKEGEE, ALA. - Over 300 Negro students staged a protest march on Tuskegee Institute's campus Feb. 6 and promised further demonstrations.

Student leaders have asked Tuskegee's City Council for improvements in Negro sections of the city, and for compliance with Federal orders integrating the schools here.

Student leaders said their complaints included grievances about street lighting, paving and garbage collecting in Negro neighborhoods.

PROTESTER GOES LIMP in Chapel Hill on Jan. 30. Integration drives here have been met by increased resistance from businessmen. Ammonia and beatings have been used to deter demonstrator who are pressing for an "open city" here.

Richardson Testifies At Federal Hearing

WASHINGTON, D.C. - Gloria Richardson, head of the Cambridge (Md.) Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC) and a member of the SNCC Executive Committee said the Cambridge Human Relations Committee was "a waste of people's time."

Mrs. Richardson, who presented a three page report on the committee's inactivity, said street demonstrations may be resumed in 10 days time.

Senator Daniel M. Brewster (D-Md.), who convened the two hour hearing that brought state and Federal officials together to discuss Cambridge's racial troubles, said the Human Relations Committee would "step up efforts" to ease racial tensions in Cambridge.

HATTIESBURG

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

tiesburg, was arrested Feb. 7 for "disorderly conduct" as he was standing on the county courthouse steps.

He was jailed shortly before an "edict" was issued by county officials forbidding anyone from standing on the steps.

Ministers from four religious organizations have been in Hattiesburg since a Jan. 22 "Freedom Day," picketing the courthouse and urging Negroes to register to vote.

DANVILLE, VIRGINIA

DANVILLE, VIRGINIA is the subject of a SNCC booklet. Copies are available from the Atlanta SNCC office. The booklet gives a history of police brutality aimed at halting the movement there and is illustrated with photographs.

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THE STUDENT VOICE

Vol 5 No. 6 The Student Voice, Inc. 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga. FEBRUARY 18, 1964

KLAN BEATS MISS. NEGRO

NATCHEZ, MISS. - A local Negro undertaker was stripped and beaten by hooded members of the Ku Klux Klan late Saturday night, Feb. 15.

The undertaker, Archie Curtis, was lured to a deserted section near the city by an unidentified caller who told him a friend's wife was suffering from a heart attack, SNCC worker Julius Samstein said.

Samstein said Curtis was given directions tc a rural road and told that a "man with a lantern" would meet him and take him to the house where the heart attack victim was located.

When Curtis and an unidentified companion arrived at the road they were ordered at pistol point to leave their car.

They were taken, blindfolded to Duck Pond Road near an oil field and asked to show NAACP membership cards. Samstein said the hooded men told Curtis he was "a NAACP nigger." He was also asked to produce NAACP membership lists, Samstein said.

Both Negroes were forced to strip and were beaten with a strap.

They were then returned to their car and released.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

U. S. HARASSES TWO IN ALBANY

Minister to be Removed

ALBANY, GA. - A Southwest Georgia Negro minister, an active participant in the anti-segregation drive here, has been notified he is being removed from his job at the Albany Marine Corps Supply Center.

The minister, the Reverend Samuel B. Wells, a sandblaster at the supply center, received a letter from Supply Center Commanding General Tyler informing him "it is proposed to remove you from your present position with the Federal service." The letter said removal proceedings were begun against Wells because of "conduct unbecoming a Federal employee in that you committed perjury."

In Atlanta, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) protested the proposed dismissal and asked Marine Corps Commandant Lieutenant General Wallace M. Green Jr.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Movement Secretary to be Tried

MACON, GA. - Mrs. Eliza Jackson will go to trial here Feb. 24 in United States District Court for perjury.

Mrs. Jackson, recording secretary of the Albany (Ga.) Movement, is one of nine Albany civil rights leaders indicted for perjury and conspiracy by a Federal grand jury.

Rev. Samuel Wells

Mrs. Eliza Jackson

The indictments grew out of a grand jury investigation of charges by a white Albany grocer that a half-hour picket line before his store was an attempt to intimidate him because he had served on a jury that had failed to convict a Baker County sheriff of shooting a Negro.

The grocer, Carl Smith, protested to the United States Department of Justice. A grand jury was convened and nine prominent leaders of the Albany rights drive were indicted. They are:

Mrs. Jackson; Slater King, acting president of the Albany Movement; Dr. W.G. Anderson, former Albany Movement head; the Rev. Samuel Wells, a board member of the Albany Movement: Thomas Chatmon, a local businessman and Movement board member; Robert Colbert and Luther Woodall, two youths active in the Albany demonstrations; Robert Thomas, an active participant in the Albany demonstrations and Joni Rabinowitz, a white field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

King and Wells, both tried in Nov. 1963 were sentenced Dec. 23, 1963 to a year and a day in prison. Chatmon and Thomas were given suspended sentences and placed on five years probation. Colbert also received a suspended sentence. Dr. Anderson's trial ended in a mistrial. The heaviest sentence was levied against Miss Rabinowitz, now a student at Antioch College, who was placed in the jurisdiction of the United States Attorney General. The length of her sentence will be determined by the United States Parole Board; it must be

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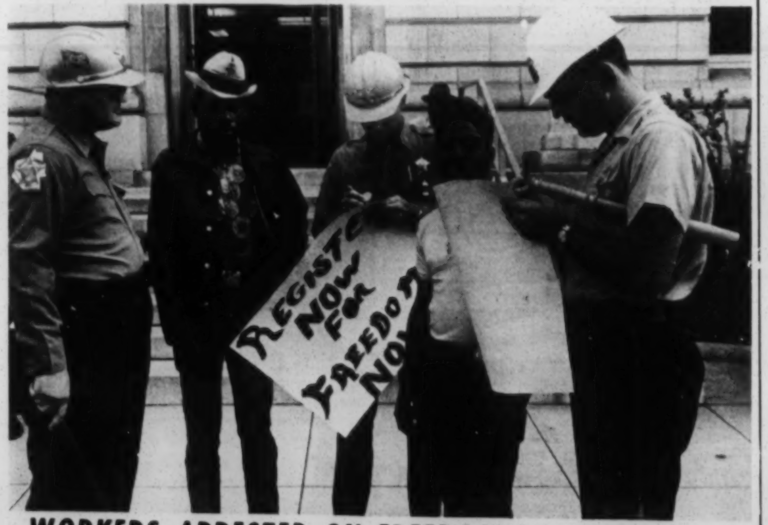
SELMA PROTESTERS CONVICTED



WORKERS ARRESTED ON FREEDOM DAY See Page 3

Food, Clothes Sent To Miss.

RULEVILLE, MISS. - Ten tons of food and clothing were distributed here on Lincoln's Birthday to disposessed families in Leflore and Sunflower Counties.

The shipment, which arrived by truck, was collected by the New England Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 31 towns in and around Boston, Mass.

Food and clothing distribution is part of SNCC's program in Mississippi and "an attempt to deal with reprisals from local officials when voter registration drives are underway" a SNCC worker said.

SNCC Chairman John Lewis said "many Negro Mississippians lose their jobs and homes each year because they try to vote."

TEN TONS OF FOOD AND CLOTHING arrive in Ruleville, Miss., or Negroes facing reprisals because of their activity in the voter egistration drive.

The food and clothing, collected by the New England Friends of SNCC, will be distributed to families in Lefore and Sunflower Counties.

Beating

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Robert Moses, head of Mississippi voter registration for SNCC and director of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), protested the beatings in a telegram to Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

"We demand immediate action by the Federal Government to protect Negro citizens," Moses told Kennedy.

In Atlanta, SNCC Chairman John Lewis asked President Johnson to "act immediately to halt intimidation and beatings of Negro Mississippians."

Samstein said Saturday's beating was the fourth in the past week. A Negro was forced to strip and was soaked in motor oil before being beaten in nearby Amite County, scene of the murder of Louis Allen on Feb. 1 Samstein said.

Mrs. Jackson To Be Tried

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

more than three months and could be four years.

All of the sentences are being appealed. Lawyers for the Albany nine have charged that the jury which convicted them was not representative. Although Negroes comprise 34% of the population of the Middle Federal District of Georgia, where the court is located, only 5% of those chosen for jury duty were Negroes.

The white grocer's charges sparked the most active and vigorous investigation by the Federal Government ever witnessed by rights workers in Southwest Georgia. At least 35 FBI agents investigated his claims.

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Reverend Wells

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara to "do everything in your power to insure that Reverend Wells is not being fired because of his participation in the civil rights movement."

Wells, and eight other members of the Albany Movement have been indicted on perjury and conspiracy charges by the Federal Government. Wells was convicted, and on Dec. 23, 1963, sentenced to a year and a day in prison. His conviction has been appealed.

His indictment, and the charges against the eight others, - resulted from charges by a white Albany grocer, Carl Smith, that members of the Albany Movement conspired to injure him after he served on a Federal jury that refused to convict a Southwest Georgia sheriff accused of shooting a Negro. Wells was accused of perjuring himself before the grand jury that investigated Smith's charges.

Wells has received a hearing before an administrative board but has not learned the hearing's results. If they rule against him, he will lose his job but may appeal to the Secretary of the Navy.

Wells, 49, was born in Lee County, Georgia. He is second vice - president of the Albany Movement, and serves as pastor of Blue Springs Baptist Church in Worth County and William Springs Baptist Church near Albany. He has been arrested at least 10 times because of his participation in the Albany rights drive. He is married and has four children , ages 12 to 15. A veteran, he was discharged from the Army with a good conduct medal in 1947.

RECORD, SONGBOOK AVAILABLE FROM SNCC

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"
FREEDOM SINGERS

WE SHALL OVERCOME contains songs by SNCC's Freedom Singers. The record, on the Mercury label, is available from SNCC or at most record stores.

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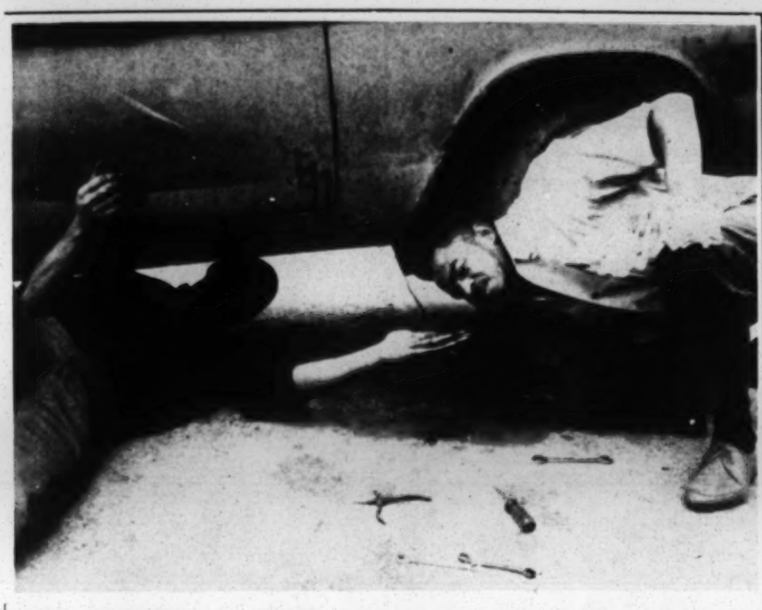
each.
Total amount.........

Name ....

Address ....

City .... State .... Zip Code .....



SNCC WORKERS EXAMINE syrup poured into a vote worker's car while Hattiesburg, Miss. police had possession of it. The United States Department of Justice had been asked to investigate the car's sabotage.

SABOTAGE IN HATTIESBURG

HATTIESBURG, MISS. - Local police have either put syrup in a civil rights worker's gas tank or have let someone else do it, according to SNCC workers here.

Luther Houce, 17, of Hattiesburg was arrested Feb. 11, for speeding. He paid a $9.50 fine and was released. Police impounded his car during the period he was in jail.

IN SELMA

Workers Convicted

SELMA, ALA. - Two young civil rights workers - arrested here on the Dallas County Courthouse steps as they carried signs urging Negroes to register to vote - were convicted Feb. 13 of "unlawful assembly."

The two were part of a group of 24 jailed during an Oct. 7, 1963 "Freedom Day," drive in Selma. The two, David Murray and Fred Moss, were released under $500 appeal bond each. Murray was convicted here two weeks ago on charges on "distributing illegal boycott literature."

FREEDOM IN THE AIR
a documentary on
ALBANY, GEORGIA

FREEDOM IN THE AIR, a documentary record on Albany, Georgia is available from SNCC'S Atlanta Office, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia,

Negroes Enter Primary

SELMA, ALA. - Two leaders of the Selma voter registration drive have qualified to run for city council position in the March 17 Democratic primary.

They are James E. Gildersleeve, a teacher at Lutheran Academy, and the Reverend Frederick D. Reese, pastor of Macedonia Baptist Church.

They are the first Negroes to seek public office in Selma since Reconstruction.

Workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) began a voter registration drive here in 1962. Only .9% of the voting age Negroes in Dallas County are registered voters.

SIXTY-FIVE STAGE SCHOOL WALKOUT

CHAPEL HILL, N.C. - Sixty-five students staged a one-day walkout from a Chapel Hill high school on Feb. 14.

The students, forbidden to pass out leaflets or talk about "Freedom" on school grounds, attended a "Freedom School" during the day.

Musial Asked To Cancel Banquet Appearance

ATLANTA, GA. - The Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has asked baseball star Stan Musial to cancel a Feb. 24 appearance in Jackson, Miss.

Musial was named head of the President's Committee on Physical Fitness on Feb. 14 by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

"Your participation in this gathering which excludes Negro citizens of the state of Mi[illegible]ppi would be an affr[illegible] to them," SNCC Chairm[illegible] John Lewis told Musial [illegible]etter.

Lewis said the Feb. [illegible]agement, sponsor[illegible] by th[illegible] Touchdown Club[illegible] white group, wou[illegible]pen to Negroes.

Mus[illegible], of St. Louis, Mo. is scheduled to speak at the group's Hall of Fame Banquet at which Mississippi sports stars - all whites - will be honored.

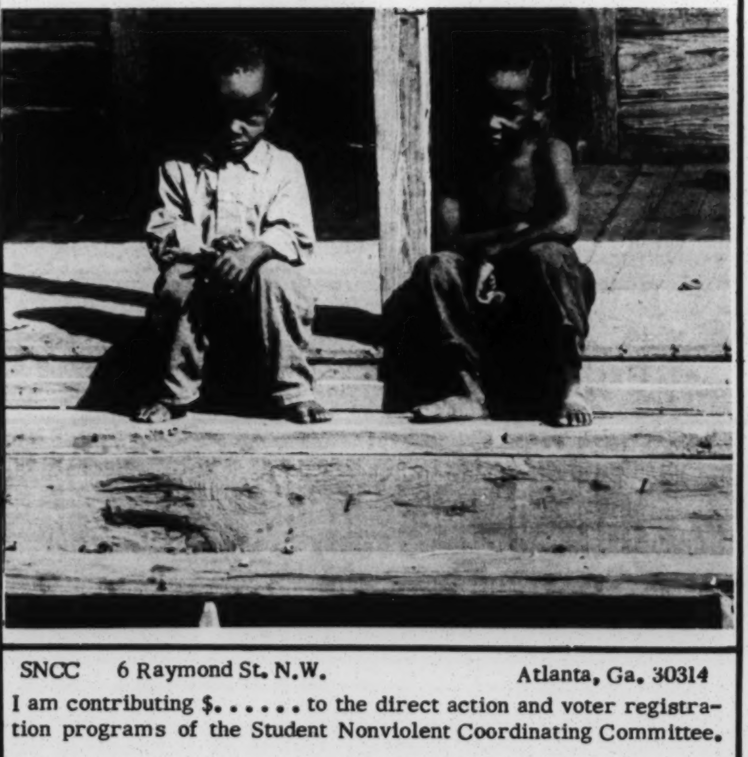
Lewis informed the St. Louis Cardinals vice-president that several public figures - including Al Hirt, the stars of television's 'Bonanza' and 'Beverly Hillbillies', James R. Webb, chi[illegible] administrator of the National [illegible]nautics and Space Admin[illegible] and members of th[illegible] show - h[illegible] Jackson appearan[illegible]s b[illegible] of the city's seg[illegible]gatio[illegible]cies."

[illegible]s told Musial, "You have [illegible] obligation to refuse to appear at a meeting which does dishonor to the ideals of sportsmanship and fair play."

The SNCC Chairman said he had asked members of St. Louis NAACP and CORE groups to join SNCC in persuading the baseball star not to appear in Jackson.

Stan Musial Cancels

Give Them A Future Help Support SNCC



SNCC 6 Raymond St. N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30314

I am contributing $. . . . . . to the direct action and voter registration programs of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

NAME . . . .

ADDRESS . . . . CITY . . . . STATE . . . . . .

I want to receive more information about SNCC and what I can do to continue SNCC's work.

Atlanta Group Calls Boycott

ATLANTA, GA. - Two large groups of professional men and women demonstrated Saturday afternoon, Feb. 15, to reinforce a call for a "Sacrificial Easter" issued by the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference.

The day before, a delegation of Negro ministers visited the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce to ask members of the city's "power structure" to make Atlanta an open city.

The professional groups, doctors, dentists and teachers in the Atlanta University Center, marched through downtown Atlanta and around Grady Hospital.

Pickets at Grady carried signs reading "Members of Atlanta University's faculty protest segregation."

The Summit group, a coalition of local and national civil rights groups, has urged Negroes to boycott downtown stores.

Canton Rights Workers Fined

CANTON, MISS. - Two civil rights workers jailed here last week have been sentenced to six months in jail, fined $500 and are being held under $500 appeal bond.

The two, Claude Weaver of SNCC and Ed Hollander of CORE, were charged with "intimidating a family."

Their arrest brought to 11 the total number of civil rights workers held in Canton's jail. Among them is Carole Merritt, a SNCC worker from Cincinnati.

Cash Bail Rejected For Reverend Jones

ATLANTA, GA. - A Fulton County Superior Court Judge has rejected $5,000 in cash offered as bail to free an elderly white man held behind bars in Atlanta since Aug. 28, 1963.

Superior Court Judge Durwood T. Pye said state law requires an appeal bond be made with unencumbered real estate.

Pye, who tried and sentenced the minister, the Reverend Ashton Bryant Jones of San Gabriel Cal., had originally set the 67-year-old clergyman's bail at $20,000.

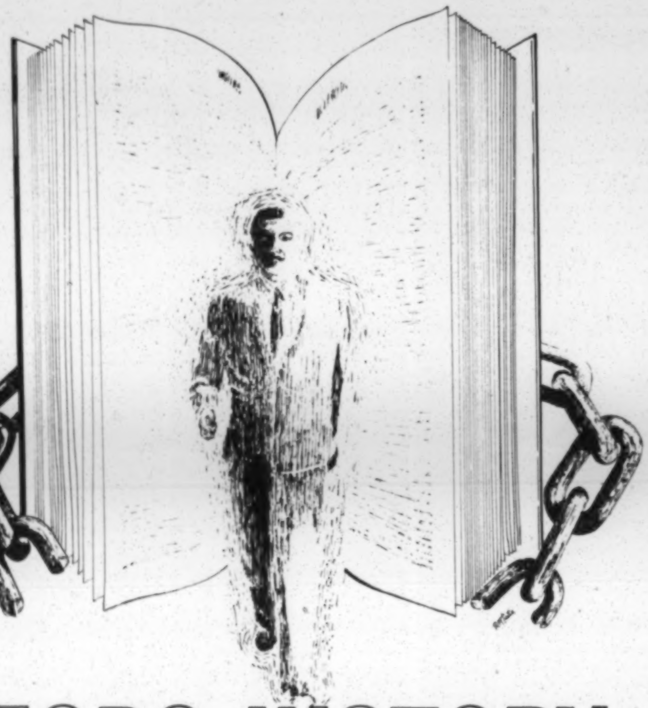
The Georgia Supreme Court ordered it reduced last month. Pye set a new bail at $5,000, the maximum allowed by the court.

Jones was arrested here last summer when he and two Negro teenagers tried to enter all-white First Baptist Church of Atlanta. He was sentenced to 12 months in prison, six months on the public works, and fined $5000.

His time in jail since Aug. 28 - nearly six months - is "dead time" an attorney said, since he is appealing his sentence and it will not be counted in his favor.

The church where Reverend Jones was arrested has since voted to accept Negroes.

1964



NEGRO HISTORY: a basis for the new freedom

Negro History Week

Restaurant Integrates, Withdraws Injunction

PINE BLUFF, ARK. - A Pine Bluff branch of the nationwide McDonald's eatery chain has integrated less than a week before a scheduled hearing to determine whether an injunction sought by the owner against racial demonstrations should be made permanent.

William Hansen, head of the Arkansas Project of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), said the injunction was now dismissed.

William Knight, the owner of McDonald's here, had obtained the court order after two weeks of antisegregation protests.

It names SNCC, the NAACP and the Black Muslims and barred them from sponsoring integration drives aimed at the business.

GREENVILLE SCHOOL BOYCOTTERS EXPELLED

GREENVILLE, MISS. - Twenty students at all-Negro Greenville High School who tried to clebrate Lincoln's Birthday have been expelled. After being told they could not reenter Greenville High, five of the students tried to enroll in Greenville's high school.

They were met by the Greenville Superintendent of Schools who told them he would "have to speak with their parents."

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

THE STUDENT VOICE

VOL. 4 NO. 7 The Student Voice, Inc. 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga. FEBRUARY 25, 1964

Ga. Judge Gives Coed 18 Months

ATLANTA, GA. - An 18-year-old white girl, a student at Connecticut College for Women, was sentenced here Feb. 20 to six months in the common jail and 12 months on the public works.

She was fined $1,000. Her appeal bond was set at $15,000.

The girl, Mardon Walker, formerly an exchange student at Spelman College here, was arrested during a Jan. 13 sit-in attempt at a segregated restaurant.

She was charged with violation of Georgia's trespass law, passed in 1960 after student anti-segregation demonstrations began.

The judge, Fulton County Superior Court Judge Durwood T. Pye, requires that appeal bonds be posted with unencumbered-property located in Fulton County.

Georgia's Supreme Court reversed an earlier bail of $20,000 Judge Pye set for an elderly white man, the Reverend Ashton Jones, 67, jailed during a church

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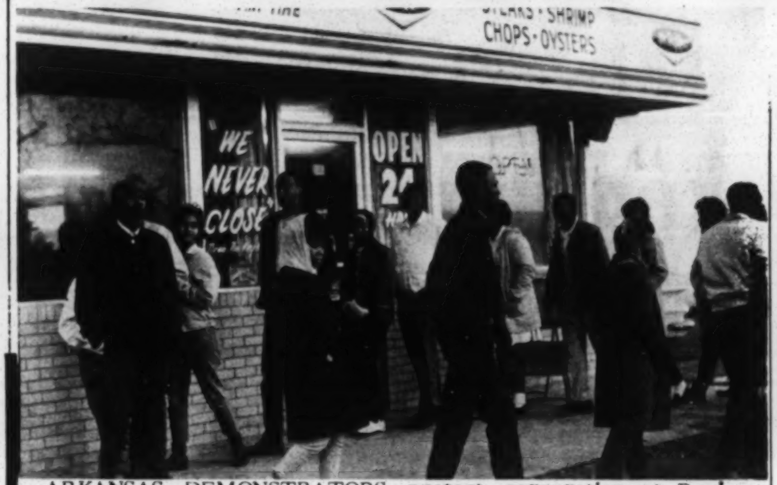
IN PINE BLUFF

LEADERS CALL 72 HOUR TRUCE



ARKANSAS DEMONSTRATORS protest segregation at Ray's Barbecue, where comedian Dick Gregory and SNCC worker William Hansen were jailed Feb. 18.

Dick Gregory Released From Jail

PINE BLUFF, ARK. - Anti-segregation demonstrations have have halted here for 72 hours while mediators attempt to negotiate a settlement between Ray's Barbecue and members of the Pine Bluff Movement.

Dick Gregory, jailed with SNCC Arkansas Project Director William Hansen on Feb. 17, left the Phillips County jail to make contact with Federal officials and to complain about jail conditions.

"Its like somebody's secret torture chamber," Gregory said.

Demonstrations began here on Feb. 17, when Hansen and Gregory were jailed.

On Feb. 18, 15 people were jailed, and crowds of whites - some identified by newsmen as "professional segregationists" - began to gather at the segregated eating place.

SNCC worker James Jones was punched by a state trooper..

On Feb. 19, 39 others were jailed.

Reverend Benjamin Grinnage, chairman of the Pine Bluff Movement, was fired at during a demonstration on the evening of Feb. 20.

A group of protesters were met by two white men, one - who identified himself as the owner - carrying a 12 gauge shotgun and one carrying a .38 caliber pistol.

The owner told the group "I am the owner. This is private property. Why do you want to integrate me? If you come up on the sidewalk, I'll shoot you. I'm a mental patient, I've killed 1,000 Japs. God didn't mean for it to be like this."

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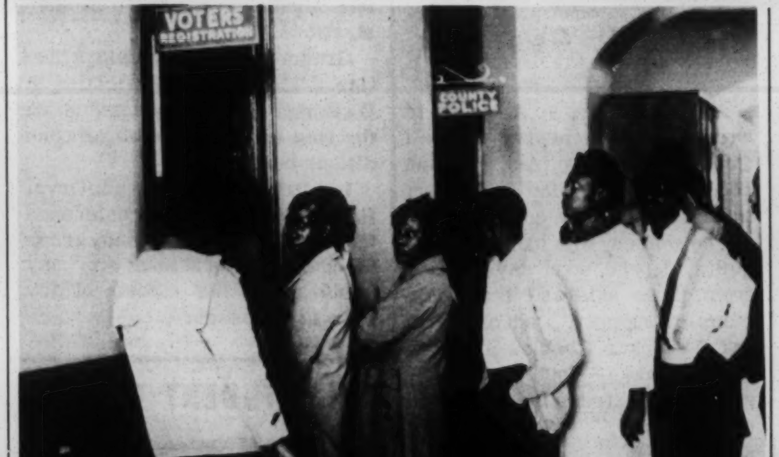
100 REGISTER IN SOUTHWEST GEORGIA FREEDOM DAY



Albany citizens attempt to register at courthouse

SOUTHWEST GEORGIA - A four-county "Freedom Day" Feb. 22 has resulted in "at least 100" attempts to register to vote here.

Vote attempts were made in Terrell, Sumter and Dougherty Counties. In Lee County, where registration books were closed, 150 Negroes gathered at New Piney Grove Baptist Church for a vote rally.

Like Hattiesburg, Mississippi's Jan. 22 Freedom Day, Southwest Georgia's was a victory.

"We have never picketed and leafleted downtown without having arrests before today" SNCC's Southwest Georgia project head Charles Sherrod said in Albany.

Here's a breakdown on activity

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

COURT HEARS THEIR PLEA -Tougaloo College coeds Ida Hannah, Bette Poole and Julie Zaugg began kneel-in attempts at segregated Jackson churches. They have appealed to the Federal courts in attempt to halt police arresting church integration attempts.

Court To Rule On Police Backed Bias

JACKSONVILLE, FLA. - The United States Fifth Court of Appeals has taken "under consideration" a request made last week to stop Jackson, Miss. police from interfering with attempts to integrate all-white churches.

Attorneys for three students at Tougaloo College arrested in Oct. 1963 during kneel - in demonstrations argued that police powers cannot be used to enforce segregation.

The three, Bette Poole of Chicago, Ida Hannah of Carthage, Mississippi, both Negroes, and Julie Zaugg, white, of Lake Forrest, Ill., were sentenced to a year in prison and fined $1,000.

The defense attorneys argued that a church is a public place and the state cannot use its powers to enforce segregation there.

A white native of Atlanta, who tried to integrate a church there last summer, is still being held in jail under a $5,000 bail. The Reverend Ashton Jones, a 67-year old minister, has been in an Atlanta jail since Aug. 28, 1963.

Sit-ins Begin In Maryland

PRINCESS ANNE, MD. - Anti-segregation protests sponsored by the Student Appeal for Equality (SAFE) at Maryland State College here are growing despite a lack of police protection.

During Feb. 21 sit in SAFE leader John Wilson was "roughed up" by white youths at a segregated restaurant here.

Gloria Richardson, head of the nearby Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC) indicated "all Eastern Shore restaurants are supposed to be integrated."

Mrs. Richardson, a member of SNCC's Executive Committee, said she would join the Princess Anne protests.

Registration Up Since Food, Clothes Arrive

RULEVILLE, MISS. -Since 10 tons of food and clothing - shipped here by the Greater Boston Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee - were distributed last Tuesday, Feb. 11, over 300 people have tried to register to vote.

SNCC worker Charles McLaurin said another 150 Negroes were eager to go but were hindered by a lack of transportation.

McLaurin, and SNCC worker Charlie Cobb, said conditions here are "most desperate."

Cobb said in one area of Sunflower County, home of Senator James O. Eastland, "many people are without clothes and some are starving."

Canton Workers Out On Bond

CANTON, MISS. - Two civil rights workers who were jailed Feb. 7 on a charge of "conspiracy to intimidate a family" were released Friday, Feb. 21 with others held here.

Appeal bond for the two-Claude Weaver, 20, a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) worker, and Ed Hollander, 23, of the Congress of Racial Equality - was set at $500 each, property or surety.

At the Feb. 10 trial they were accused of telling a Canton woman that if she accepted employment in a store under boycott, they would "harm" her six-year old child.

Weaver a former Harvard University student from Atlanta, testified that he and Hollander had not left their residence at the time they were accused of threatening the woman.

Since Jan. 22, more than 20-odd civil rights and voter registration workers have been arrested in Canton on charges ranging from "burning trash without a permit" to "publishing libel."

Atlanta SNCC spokesman have termed the Canton arrests a "purge, since virtually all SNCC and CORE workers who have gone into the city have been arrested, one by one."

Most of the charges have centered around an economic boycott called by rights workers against merchants who insist on addressing Negro customers as "boy" or "nigger."

Cooperative Set Up In S.W. Georgia

ALBANY, GA. - A group of women from nearby Terrell County have organized a sewing cooperative and plan to support themselves selling quilts.

The women, who hand make the quilts, depend upon any revenue from their sale as "their only mens of support," according to SNCC worker Charles Sherrod.

"This area - Southwest Georgia - is extremely depressed economically," a SNCC worker said.

Orders for the quilts, which start at $17.00, may be directed to Charles Sherrod at the Albany SNCC office, 504 South Madison Street, Albany, Georgia.

DICK GREGORY

WILLIAM HANSEN

Pine Bluff

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

He aimed his gun at the demonstrators, and Reverend Grinnage asked them to stand still. The owner asked "Is that the leader." and when Reverend Ginnage said "yes," he fired one shot at him.

Members of the Pine Bluff Movement complained about the lack of police protection during late night and afternoon demonstrations.

Gregory reportedly called Justice Department officials in Washington, and requested an on the spot investigation of jail conditions here.

In Little Rock, Governor Orval Fabus told a news conference "We don't intend to let any group of demonstrators take over any business or the streets of any town in Arkansas."

THE STUDENT VOICE

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Atlanta , Georgia 30314

BASEBALL STAR CANCELS MEETING

JACKSON, MISS. - Former baseball star Stan Musial has canceled an appearance at a segregated meeting scheduled for Fbe. 24.

Musial, now director of the President's Committee on Physical Fitness, told the members of the Jackson Touchdown Club his new duties with the President's Committee forced him to cancel the date.

John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had asked the St. Louis Cardinals vice-president to cancel in a letter.

Musial's message to the touchdown Club made no mention of Lewis' request.

SNCC workers in Jackson were told no Negroes could attend the Touchdown Club's Hall of Fame dinner, at which Musial was to be the featured speaker.

In recent weeks, several other prominent persons have canceled Jackson appearances because of the city's segregation policies.

Pianist Gary Graffman, scheduled to make a Feb. 29 appearance in Jackson, has also announced he will cancel.

Graffman canceled after protests from the Cultural and Artistic Committee at Tougaloo Southern Christian College, headed by Tougaloo student Austin Moore.

Other groups that have canceled include trumpeter Al Hirt, the Hootenanny show, NASA's James Webb, and stars of tv's "Bonanza" and "Beverly Hillbillies" shows.

MISSISSIPPI STAFF TO BEGIN TOUR

ATLANTA, GA. - Seven members of the Mississippi SNCC staff will begin fund raising and speaking tours "across the country" to raise funds for a summer project in Mississippi, according to SNCC Northern Coordinator Dinky Romilly.

Miss Romilly, who coordinates fund raising activities for SNCC, said the four will handle three geographic regions; the East and West Coasts and the Midwest.

"Interested people who would like to sponsor a speaker to raise needed funds for the summer project are urged to contact me at the Atlanta office immediately," Miss Romilly said.

WE NEED YOUR HELP NOW!

ATLANTA, GA. - "SNCC needs funds now more than ever before" SNCC Chairman John Lewis said.

Lewis said SNCC was asked "friends and supporters to pledge a monthly contribution to SNCC." He suggested $1.00 per month for students and $5.00 per month for adults.

"The $1.00 month contribution is about 3 1/2 cents a day for freedom," Lewis said.

SNCC workers direct voter registration and action projects in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and Virginia.

The anti-segregation group depends entirely on voluntary contributions for operating expenses, Lewis said.

"Pledges for freedom will help us through the year," he added.

I pledge $________ to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

NAME . . . .
ADDRESS . . . .
CITY . . . . STATE . . . .

Contributors to SNCC receive a subscription to the Student Voice. Send to: SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314

White Coed

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

integration attempt last summer. The state Supreme Court ordered Pye to set Reverend Jones' appeal bond at not higher than $5,000. Reverend Jones is still behind bars, however, because Judge Pye, who reset his bail at the $5,000 maximum, refused to accept $5,000 in cash to free the minister.

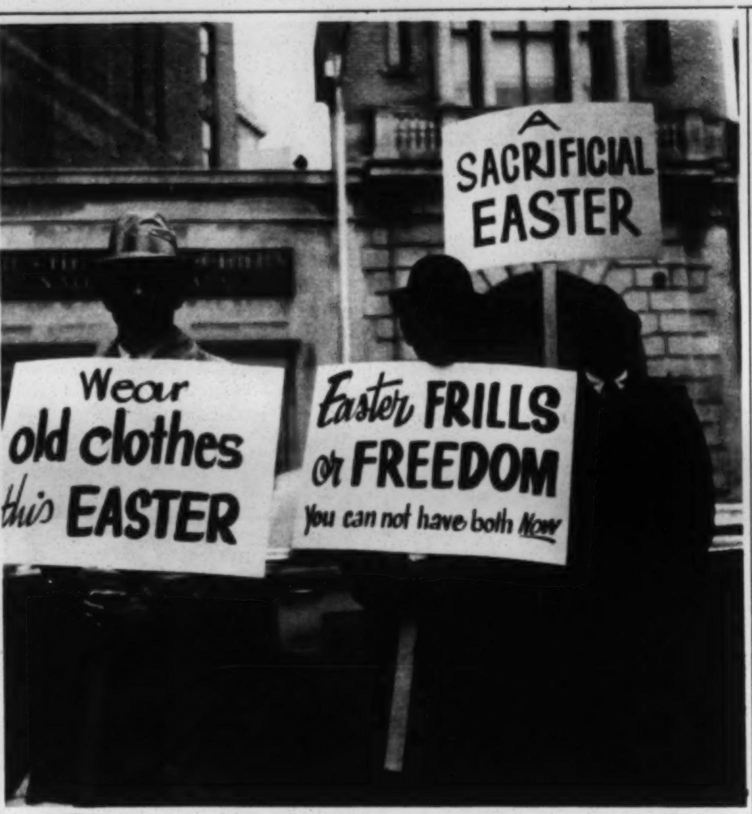
Miss Walker, who was indicted by a grand jury after her January arrest, complained she was beaten by white female prisoners in the county jail during her last arrest. She had asked Carl Smithwick, the Fulton County jail warden, to place her in solitary confinement for her own protection.

Judge Pye was obviously angered by a petition filed in U.S. District Court here Feb. 17 to remove 17 sit-in cases to Federal jurisdiction. The judge sentenced a character witness for Miss Walker to 20 days in jail for contempt of court after the witness, Melvin V. Drimmer, a Spelman College history professor, was accused by the judge of making remarks insulting to the court.

Miss Walker is the third white person given the maximum sentence in a racial case by Judge Pye.

Reverend Jones and Tom Taylor Tolg, a 24-year-old white college student from Ohio, are the two. Tolg is free on appeal bond.

Trials for 28 others, mostly Negroes, have been rescheduled for March 2.


A SACRIFICIAL EASTER
Wear old clothes this EASTER
Easter FRILLS or FREEDOM You can not have both Now

ATLANTA NAACP PRESIDENT Dr. C. Miles Smith (right, background) watches pickets Curtis Clark, a businessman, and Dr. Mark Jackson urge Atlantans to celebrate a "Sacrificial Easter."

The Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, a coalition of civil rights groups in Atlanta, has asked the community to refrain from all but "necessary" purchases.

High Court Hears Boycott Case

WASHINGTON, D.C. - The United States Supreme Court heard arguments on Thursday, Feb. 20 in defense of a worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) charged with encouraging a student boycott at Southern University in Baton Rouge, La.

SNCC worker Dion T. Diamond was arrested Feb. 1, 1962 after two days of speaking on the Southern University campus. He was charged with trespassing, vagrancy and disorderly conduct." Charges of "criminal anarchy," carrying a maximum ten-year sentence, were later placed against him, and he was held for 59 days under a $7,000 bond in the Baton Rouge Parish jail.

Two SNCC workers who tried to visit him there were also charged with "criminal anarchy."

S. W. GEORGIA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

in each county:

Terrell County: Over 40 Negroes went to register in Dawson, where pickets urged Negroes to register. There were no arrests.

Sumter County: Over 60 have attempted to register in the past three weeks, and on Freedom Day, voter registration pickets and leafleteers were downtown most of the day. There were no arrests.

Doughterty County: Leafleting and picketing were carried on downtown and an afternoon rally was held. Two pickets walked in front of the county courthouse, two across the street, and four at city hall. There were no arrests.

Lee County: Registration books were closed, but during the past three weeks, many have tried to register. An evening mass meeting was held here, well attended by 150 Negroes. "It was a real victory," a participant said.

In a surprise move, 25 jailed members of the "Quebec - Washington - Guantanamo Peace Walk" were released from the Albany jail Saturday afternoon Feb. 22. They had been in and out of the jail for several weeks, after they refused to adhere to a parade route set out by Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett.

Their release was viewed as another victory here.

The Albany story - and the history of the voter registration drive in Southwest Georgia - has been one of denial of the right to picket, the right to distribute leaflets, and the right to organize.

SNCC workers have had to contend with arrests and intimidations from local policemen in their three- year fight to register Negro voters.

Just as on Hattiesburg's Freedom Day, SNCC workers here Feb. 22 were "allowed" to exercise their rights by local law officers.

BUMPER STICKERS NOW AVAILABLE

SNCC
ONE MAN X ONE VOTE

BUMPER STICKERS READING "One Man - One Vote" are available for $1.00 from SNCC 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

THE STUDENT VOICE

VOL. 5 NO. 8 The Student Voice, Inc. 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga. MARCH 3, 1964

MAYHEM IN MISS.

NATCHEZ, MISS. - Sheriff James Anders of Natchez said this week his office has "uncovered nothing" in his investigation into the beating of an elderly Negro by five hooded members of the Ku Klux Klan, as other beatings, two shootings and the arrests of two SNCC workers were reported in the area.

Archie Curtis, 60, an undertaker, said he and his attendant Willie Jackson, were whipped on the night of Feb. 15.

In Atlanta, SNCC asked Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to investigate "reports of a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and terror tactics aimed at Negroes in Mississippi."

Clifford Walker, 34, was found shotgunned to death in his car eight miles from Woodville in Wilkerson County March 1.

Walker was employed at the International Paper Company. Bob Moses, program director for the Council of Federated Organizations, said two other Negroes, Albert Whitney and James Winston were whipped by whites during early February.

"Negroes with decent jobs are being terrorized," Moses said. "There have been 180 cross burnings, five killings, several shootings and at least three whippings since the Ku Klux Klan reorganized shortly after President Kennedy was killed," Moses said.

Moses said three Negroes with bullet holes in their bodies were "stuffed into a car in Wilkerson County with the motor running." The sheriff of the county attributed their deaths to carbon monoxide poisoning, Moses said.

The two vote workers arrested Feb. 29 were released the next day when they posted $100 property bonds each. George Green was originally charged with auto theft and speeding, but the theft charges were dropped. McArthur Cotton was held on vagrancy charges.

Green said a 14-year-old girl, Leona Stills, was shot at Feb. 28 by three teen-aged whites while she was walking along a Natchez street. She was not

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Reluctant Judge Releases Coed

ATLANTA, GA. - An 18-year-old coed from Connecticut College for Women, convicted in a racial case and given the maximum sentence by a county judge, was freed Feb. 22 under a $15,000 property bond.

The girl, Mardon R. Walker of East Greenwich, Rhode Island, was sentenced to 12 months in the common jail and six months at hard labor. She was also fined $1,000.

She was the third white person convicted for participating in demonstration by the Judge Durwood T. Pye, who has a history of pro-segregation activity.

Mardon Walker

He was appointed to the bench in 1955 by segregationist ex-Governor Marvin Griffin. Before his appointment, he was an assistant county attorney and secretary of the Georgia Education Commission, a group created to maintain segregation in Georgia's schools.

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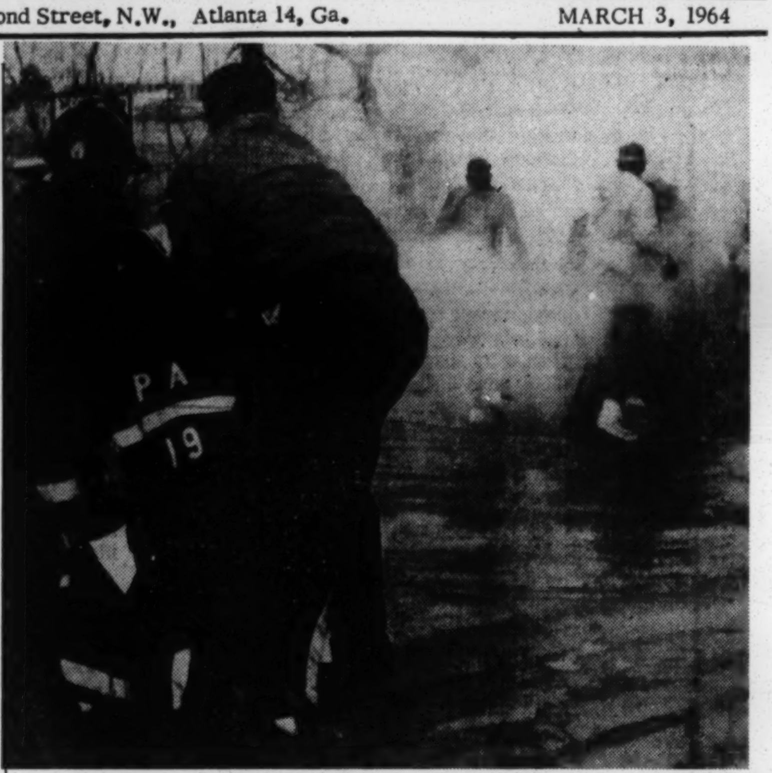

Princess Anne firemen turn hoses on Maryland State College students to halt demonstrations.

In Maryland

DOGS, FIRE HOSES QUELL PROTESTS

PRINCESS ANNE, MD. - Anti-segregation protests, halted by a weekend moratorium called by student leaders after police used dogs, fire hoses and billy sticks to disperse demonstrations, may resume this week.

Fifty - seven Maryland State College students were in the college infirmary as a result of injuries sustained from police treatment, according to SNCC worker Reginald Robinson.

"At least 14" students suffered from police dog bites, Dr. Neville Barron, college physician stated. Others were injured from blows by billy sticks, Robinson said.

Demonstrations were called by the Student Appeal for Equality (SAFE), affiliated with SNCC for more than a year. Twenty-year-old SAFE head, John Wilson was arrested Feb. 26 along with more than 20 other students, for demonstrating against segregated restaurants.

SNCC Chairman John Lewis and Cambridge SNCC leader Mrs. Gloria Richardson, asked into Princess Anne by SAFE, reported no violence from the white community here toward demonstrators. "It's from the state police," Lewis said.

Chicago comedian Dick Gregory addressed a mass rally here Feb. 27 urging students to seek a "completely opened city."

Maryland State students, numbering 600, make up a sizeable portion of this town's 1,300 population.

One student, Marion Brown, 20, who was injured by a police billy club here in a Feb. 22 demonstration, required surgery as a result of a blood clot which developed after being struck on

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Gregory, Hansen Sentenced, Fined

PINE BLUFF, ARK. - Negro comedian Dick Gregory and SNCC worker William Hansen were sentenced Feb. 25 to six months in jail and fined $500 for a Feb. 17 sit-in demonstration at a segregated truck stop. In addition, Gregory was fined $50 and costs when he appeared in court one-half hour late. Both posted $2500 appeal bonds.

Their arrests began a series of anti-segregation protests here that have resulted in the court-ordered closing of the eating place, Ray's Barbecue and in the arrest of more than 50 demonstrators.

Gregory described the jail as "somebody's torture chamber" after his release last weekend.

On Feb. 18, 15 people were jailed and crowds of whites - some identified by newsmen as "professional segregationists" - began to gather outside the eating place. SNCC worker James Jones was "roughed up" by a state trooper.

On Feb. 19 39 others were arrested. Reverend Benjamin Grinnage, chairman of the Pine Bluff Movement, was shot at during a protest by the owner of Ray's Barbecue.

Hansen said after his trial that the Pine Bluff Movement would press the city to adopt a public accommodations law. He said the group would continue anti-segregation protests.

The Pine Bluff Movement began demonstrations on Feb. 1 1962.

The owner of the eating place under fire has obtained an injunction against SNCC, Hansen, Gregory the Pine Bluff Movement and several local workers.

ALBANY LEADER RECEIVES 3 YEARS

MACON, GA. - Federal Judge W.A. Bootle sentenced Mrs. Elza Jackson, recording secretary of the Albany Movement, to three years on probation on Feb. 28.

Mrs. Jackson, with five other civil rights leaders from Albany, was indicted and tried on perjury charges.

They were accused of falsely telling a grand jury they could not remembering being present or were not present at a meeting where a boycott of a white merchant was discussed.

Her conviction has been appealed.

CANTON NEGRO CITIZENS face Mississippi law officers as they attempt to enter the courthouse to try to register on Freedom Day.

Miss. Freedom Days Spur Registration

HATTIESBURG, MISS. - Over 500 Negroes have tried to register to vote in Forrest County in the month following a Jan. 22 "Freedom Day."

On Feb. 22, the one-month anniversary of the first Freedom Day here, over 200 Negroes stood in line to take Mississippi's registration test, a prerequisite to voting here.

"The campaign thus far has been a success," according to John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC Lewis, who was here for the Jan. 22 Freedom Day, said civil rights groups "won the right to organize and run a voting campaign in Hattiesburg through the Freedom Day techniques."

The Freedom Day drive has been highlighted by the presence of more than 100 ministers and rabbis from the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, and the Rabbinical Association of America. Their participation in the vote drive is sponsored by the National Council of Churches, in cooperation with the cooperation with the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a state - wide coalition of local and national civil rights groups.

The vote drive has not been without its setbacks, however, a number of vote workers, including nine ministers, were arrested. The first to be jailed was SNCC worker Robert Moses, COFO program director for the state.

Also jailed was Lawrence Guyot, arrested for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" and Peter Stoner, jailed when he tried to visit Guyot in the jail. Guyot, a SNCC worker, heads the COFO Fifth Congressional District vote drive.

CANTON, MISS. - A 10 p.m. civil curfew has been set by the city council here after more than 400 Negroes tried to register to vote in two days.

On Feb. 28, only four Negroes were allowed inside the Madison County Courthouse.

Workers for the Council of Federated Organizations, CORE and SNCC said over 400 Negroes stood in line outside both days waiting for a chance to register.

Registrar L.F. Campbell remained inside, while policemen from Canton, Jackson, Yazoo City and Neshoba County guarded the Negroes outside.

Local citizens, deputized especially for Freedom Day, Feb. 28, were transported to Canton via school bus, Volkswagen, and pick-up trucks.

CAMBRIDGE NEGROES RESUME PROTESTS

CAMBRIDGE, MD. - Demonstrations have resumed in this Eastern Shore community as 18 persons were arrested here Feb. 25 for picketing.

All demonstrators on picket lines in front of the Welfare Board and State Unemployment Security Commission offices were taken into "protective custody" by the Maryland National Guard. Troops were sent into Cambridge by Maryland Governor J. Millard Tawes in July 1963 after whites began attacking demonstrators and violence broke out.

According to Mrs. Gloria Richardson, head of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC) and member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Executive Committee, the "economic situation" in Cambridge is to be the chief target of demonstrations.

"In the second ward which is the Negro ghetto, two-thirds of all families have incomes of less than $3,000, and over 60% of the city's unemployed are concentrated in that area," Mrs. Richardson said. "More than 60% of the houses in that ward have no hot water."

"Twenty-nine percent of the Negro work force is chronically unemployed in Cambridge and more than one-third who do hold jobs work less than 30 weeks of each year. With few exceptions, Negroes in only the lowest paying jobs," Mrs. Richardson stated.

CNAC's demonstrations aim for an overall economic development plan in which Negroes are represented in policy making decisions on any planning commission, according to Mrs. Richardson. CNAC also demands that if no qualified Negroes are available for an "industrial complex" now being developed, "then Negroes must be trained for forthcoming jobs."

SNCC field secretary Reginald Robinson - active in Cambridge last summer - and Mrs. Richardson have stated that demonstrations "will continue as long as the white power structure of this city shows no willingness to correct the intolerable conditions of Cambridge Negroes."

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MISS. SUMMER PROJECT SET

JACKSON, MISS. - Plans for a summer Peace Corps type operation for Mississippi" have been announced by SNCC officials.

"Scores of students, teachers, technicians, nurses, artists, and legal advisors will be recruited to come to Mississippi to staff a wide rage of programs according to Bob Moses , director of SNCC's Mississippi project.

SNCC worker Moses, who serves as program director for the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) - an alliance of civil rights groups working in this state - stated that this summer's project would "augment the voter registration campaign now underway throughout Mississippi."

The Mississippi Summer Project - under the auspices of COFO will include freedom schools. community centers, research projects, and law student projects in addition to voter registration. A "pilot project" in white communities is also planned.

According to SNCC Chairman John Lewis, the struggle for freedom in Mississippi can only be won through concentrated action within the state and awareness throughout the nation of the need for Federal intervention to insure the voting rights of Negroes."

Plans call for voter registration workers in "every rural county and important urban areas in the state," Moses said.

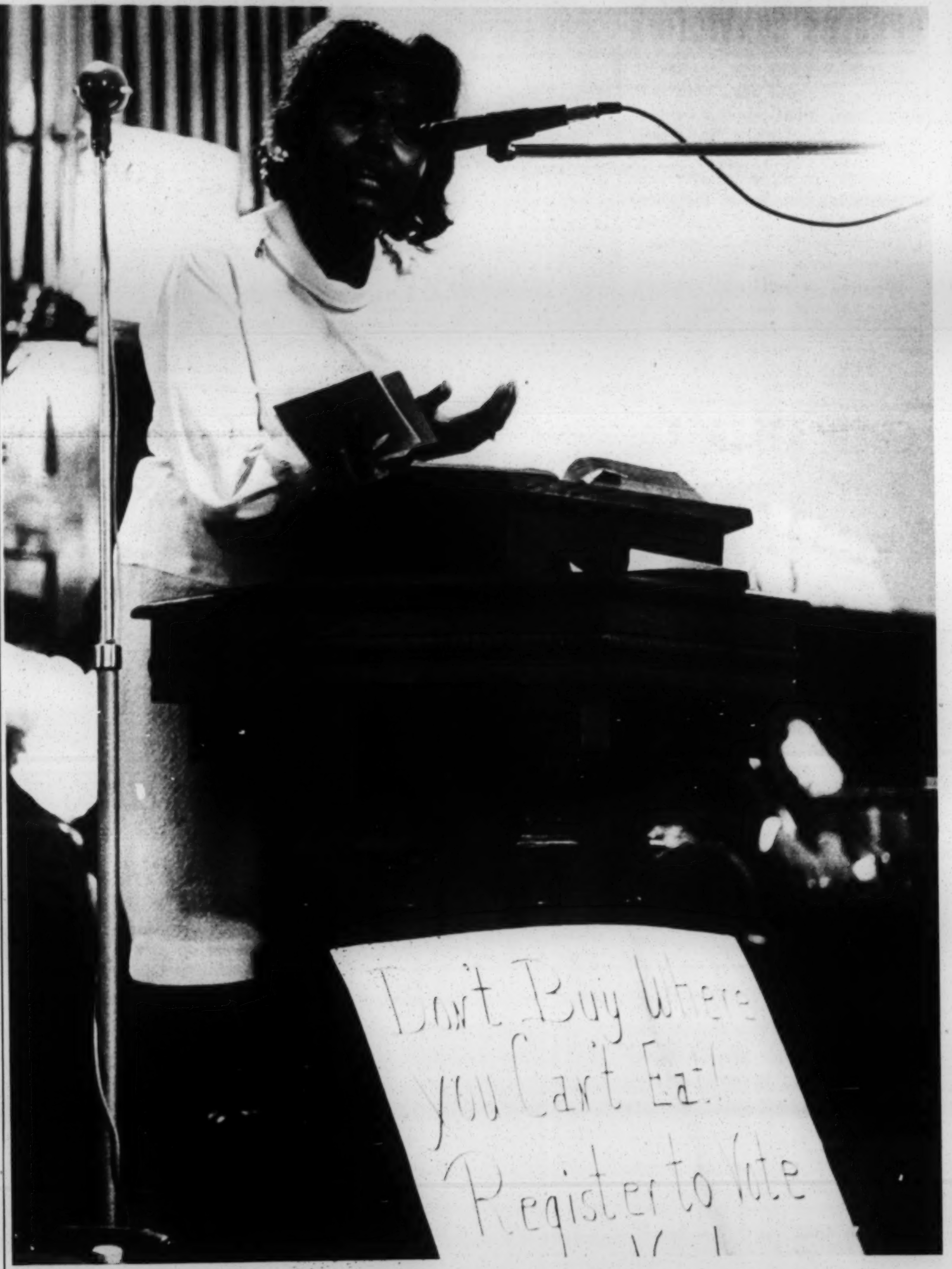
Daytime and resident "Freedom Schools" will provide remedial work for high school students and "advance adult literacy for the purpose of voting," according to plans.

Community centers will "focus on political education and organization." Libraries, similar to the library in SNCC's Greenwood, Miss. office will developed throughout the state form national book drives.

"Skilled workers are needed to carry out a research project inquiring into Mississippi's suppressive political and economic system," Lewis stated. "SNCC hopes to launch a massive legal offensive against the official legal tyranny of the state," Lewis said.

Lewis and Moses claim the summer program will "attempt to involve students from all over the country." Students over 18 years who feel they are qualified may apply to: Mississippi Summer Project, 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Miss.

SUPPORT SNCC TODAY!



ATLANTA, GA. - "SNCC needs help now more than ever before" SNCC Chairman John Lewis said.

The SNCC Chairman asked "Freedom lovers everywhere" to make regular pledges to SNCC's direct action and voter registration programs.

Lewis said the Atlanta-based anti-segregation organization needs funds "if we are to carry out existing programs and expand into new areas."

I pledge $________ to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

NAME . . . .
ADDRESS . . . .
CITY . . . . STATE . . . .
Contributors to SNCC receive a subscription to the Student Voice. Send to: SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314

U.S. SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS CONVICTION

BATON ROUGE, LA., - A SNCC worker, arrested here over two years ago, must serve a 60-day jail term, the United States Supreme Court has ruled.

The Court refused to overturn a Louisiana conviction for Dion T. Diamond, arrested Feb. 1, 1962 on trespassing, vagrancy and disorderly conduct charges.

Charges of criminal anarchy placed against him then were later dropped, and he was released - after 59 days in jail - on a $7,000 appeal bond.

COED RELEASED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Shortly after his appointment he imposed a $25,000 fine on the Atlanta branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, because of the group's refusal to comply with a request for its financial records from the Georgia Revenue Department. In July 1963 he instructed a Fulton County grand jury that the state's anti-trespass law - used to arrest anti-segregation demonstrators at eating places in the state- was being "flouted, defied and violated."

He ordered, and obtained, indictments against 101 persons arrested in racial demonstrations here dating back to 1961

During the summer, he tried two of these cases both involving white persons. Both were given maximum sentences, and one defendant, the Reverend Ashton Jones, is still in jail.

GREENWOOD, MISS. - Librarian Barbara Johnson inspects new books in a section of the library set up in the SNCC office in Greenwood, Miss.

"Establishing libraries and community centers is an important part of our program," SNCC worker Dick Frey said. Frey said there are approximately 50,000 volumes in Greenwood now. Most will be shipped to other libraries throughout the state." The Greenwood library, according to Frey, offers "thousands of reference books, school texts, books and periodicals about politics and civil rights, an excellent selection of modern fiction, and a wide variety of children's books. Greenwood is serving as a receiving point for books which SNCC intends to spread over Mississippi in the form of small libraries in all the Congressional Districts of the state," he said.

Freedom Libraries are already operating in Columbus, Canton and Meridian.

The other, Thomas Taylor Tolg, a white Ohio youth who worked for SNCC, was released under a $5,000 appeal bond. Judge Pye has refused to accept $5,000 in cash to free Reverend Jones, who has been behind bars since Aug. 28, 1963.

During Miss Walker's trial, Judge Pye ordered one witness, a former professor of hers who testified in her behalf, to go to jail for 20 days for contempt of court.

BUMPER STICKERS NOW AVAILABLE

SNCC
ONE MAN X ONE VOTE

BUMPER STICKERS READING "One Man - One Vote" are available for $1.00 from SNCC 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

Natchez

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

injured.

He said Lee Moon, a cab driver was beaten in Natchez Feb. 18, and a Negro was beaten in Amite County by white men. He said at one spot in nearby Franklin County, whites have drawn a line in the road and forbidden Negroes to cross it.

"Amite, Wilkerson and Adams Counties are involved in a reign of terror," Moses said. A Negro man who had witnessed the 1961 slaying of another Negro was killed in Amite County Feb. 1.

Moses said that over 180 crosses had been burned in southeast Louisiana and southwest Mississippi before Christmas. He said vote workers in Louisiana said the cars of the people who set crosses on fire there had Mississippi license plates.

"The civil rights bill doesn't begin to touch the problem of organized racist terror," Moses said.

Moses said the NAACP, SCLC, CORE and SNCC were "issuing a call for 1,000 students, ministers and educators to participate in a "Mississippi Freedom Summer" program. (see summer project story)

"Does the country have the courage to confront Mississippi?" Moses asked.

PRINCESS ANNE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the head, Robinson reported.

According to Robinson, reports that a student threw acid at a policeman are "incorrect." One student who arrived at the demonstration with a bucket of lye "persuaded to leave it in the street" by Robinson. "Later a policeman walked into it," he said.

"Innocent Negro bystanders were drawn into the demonstrations when police turned the fire hoses on Negroes standing on the sidewalk," Robinson stated.

Negro Woman To Run In Congressional Primary

SELMA, ALA. - A Negro woman has qualified for the United States House of Representatives seat held by Congressman Kenneth Roberts.

Mrs. A. P. Boyington, Selma civic leader, qualified for the race Friday, Feb. 29.

She will face Roberts, who has been in Congress since 1950, in the May 19 primary.

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

DEDICATED TO STATES' RIGHTS...
no longer will our right to trample upon the rights of others be trampled upon...

THE RABBLE UNDERGROUND

VOLUME I NUMBER 1 MARCH 1964

WHITE MAN OF THE MONTH

Awarded monthly to those white men in Mississippi who have proven themselves to be stalwart men of vision and intelligence. Among past recipients of the Award are Baron La Beckmit, Charles Ills of the Jackson CARRION-WEDGER and Freddy Boss of the welfare department. We will continue to recognize men like these who are outstanding personalities in their respective fields.

This month we are pleased to award the honor of White Man of the Month to a distinguished member of the state legislature, Representative Weak of Porupa, Mississippi. Representative Weak was selected by the judges in recognition of his efforts to place illegitimacy on an illegal basis.

The bill introduced by Mr. Weak in the House would make the birth of more than one illegitimate child a felony. This felony would be punished, under his bill, by either three years imprisonment in the state penitentiary or sterilization of the offending parent - presumably the mother, since the child would not be illegitimate if the father could be found.

As introduced, the bill has been lauded by fellow legislators and prominent lawyers as being "tolerant and fair." Spurred on by the enthusiasm created by the bill, Representative Weak now has plans afoot to amend it slightly in order to go a few steps further in this area, in order to promote the general welfare of the citizens of the state.

Representative Weak stated to the awards committee that he and Representative Earl Mammon from South Mississippi were now drafting several proposed amendments. He explained that the bill now only punishes the results of unlawful cohabitation. He said that he felt a slight increase in the authority of the expanded police powers bill asked by the governor would enable the state to set up a special department that could get to the very root of the problem.

On further questioning, Representative Weak declared that a department for the investigation of suspected illegal procreation could be created. His plans call for the head of the department to be appointed by the governor for a two-year term of office. The department, officially known as the Police Examiners for Errant Procreation (PEEP), would be empowered to make investigations into suspected violators and to apprehend and bring to trial these enemies of society. The crime of illegal procreation would be punishable as a felony. The burden of proof would fall on the defendant to show non-intent to procreate. It has been suggested that the punishment of first offenders would be a one-week all expense paid trip to Sunflower County, Mississippi and the second offense would bring a two-week trip into Humphreys County. A third offense would constitute a ruling of habitual procreation. The offender would be held at the University Medical Center in Jackson to be used for lung, heart, and brain transplants for experimental purposes, in lieu of a shortage of prisoners from the state penitentiary.

Ideas for a special school in the new police academy for the PEEP department were also revealed. It was quite self-evident that advanced criminology methods would be needed to catch this latest loathsome criminal. Advanced courses in Kama Sutra and Kinsey Reports would be offered to those outstanding officers who show special promise in this field. A knowledge of sensitive electronic devices would also be required.

These thoughtfully laid-out plans were essentially the brainchild of Representative Weak, with invaluable assistance from Representative Mammon. We are sure that Mississippians will feel a new burst of pride for their American Way of Life [illegible]

(continued page 2)

WHITE MAN OF THE MONTH (continued) andguardian of our precious liberties. Again, we salute you...Representative Weak! Your type of vision is what has made and kept Mississippi great!

O SOVEREIGNTY

O Sovereign State!
Dear Homeland!
Stand ye firm in these crisis days.
Let not Truth confuse thee;
God is on our side...

O Sons of Mississippi...
Remember your mothers!
Remember your fathers and
grandfathers.
Remember your greatgrandfathers
and great aunts.
Remember and salute...

How, in this wilderness, they sowed
And we reap what they sowed.
It is all for us, the Sovereign
State
Of flowing rivers and happy
Delta land.

Across thy fertile plains,
tall mansions rise;
Built with foresight and gentility
Every tiny crumbling shack
has a flowering rose bush.
We are an happy people.

O Sovereign State, pure and white.
O Sovereign State, where might...
makes right.
O Mississippi...our words are trite
But Thou art precious in his sight.

Overheard in Dr. Silver's classroom and dutifully reported to the white citizens council:

"If Vandenburg wants to see what a real undernourished junior college looks like, he should see Rust."

THE PASSING SEEN

Politics today is a pale imitation of its former excellence. Our Pa's remember back in '17 when Vardaman was running for office - that he once had himself towed into Jackson clad in solid white, by twelve solid white oxen, surrounded by numerous vestal virgins.

Seems to us that if the campus administration would get smart, they would take their requests for appropriations...not Hat in Hand to the legislature...but with drama, thusly:

WHY NOT stage a pageant...re-enacting uh annually the glory and honor of Ole Miss students as they took their stand against federal rape of the campus?

The law students and future state politicians could play SOUTHERN TRADITION, nobly defended by the flower of southern manhood

AH...but where would we get marshals???

REPRINTED FROM CARRION-WEDGER, March 17
quite without permission...

Dear Editor:

My heart is filled with pride and hope after reading the excerpts from the "Rebel Underground" papers from Millsaps and Ole Miss in Mr. Hill's column. It is good to know we have youth who are dedicated enough to speak out their beliefs and to expose those persons who are seemingly trying to destroy even our belief in God. It is sad to think that we have to depend on our young people to initiate and fight this fight for our adults who are either afraid of what someone might think of them or too busy with selfish trivial things to be concerned.

I am very proud of the students who are risking so much to expose these facts and sincerely hope and pray that all adults will join them in ridding these two schools of these professors. I only wish I knew of something more I could do to actively join in the fight."

"I am a member of the rabble...in good standing." -Hitler

from the pen of Johnny RAB...

Now that the liberty amendment is sure to pass, giving private enterprize a crack a federal boondoggles, we can see already the line forming for purchase of the TVA, the Post Office, etcetera.

BUT Johnny Rab's been saving his coins to purchase a little curio that has glittered in his mind's eye for some time now: THE F B I

BECAUSE the FBI would compete with the JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, which he assumes would be grabbed up by PBJ for a song, and naturally wishing to avoid any conflict with hose boys, he would use his newly purchased toy to investigate certain Goin's On at Ole Miss.

THE CAMPUS HANKY PANK is not news any more. A certain intrepid journalist in the capitol, ever vigilante, has exposed the role of the administration in the Howard K. Smith "infamy."

NATURALLY all us Right Thinkers assumed they would fire those responsible for the "black mark" on our fair institution. We anticipated the yelling and kicking and trying to hide behind ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FROM POLITICS.

WHO CARES if the accrediting board takes away our accredited status and makes our degrees worthless? Or if the Medical School, which even some Yankees admit is one of the best, is destroyed because of state politics? We never want to leave Mis'sippi anyhow.

NAW. We don't need accredited colleges. There aren't but one or two accredited Negro colleges. The State will take care of that in time and then nobody will have accredited colleges. That will be fine. We demand separate but equally non-accredited.

This brings ole Rab right back to the point. Since PBJ'S Man on Campus couldn't get to the bottom of the dastardly deed, this looks like a job for Super-Fed.

AND IF we are judicious, boys, private enterprise...that's us...can gain control of the FBI. We can then clean up this campus and go ahead with our normal carefree pursuits of drinkin', fraternizin' and jes' general liberty-lovin'.

yores.....JOHNNY RAB

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND GENERAL NEWS ITEMS FOR YOU FROM THE UNDERGROUND

Dick Gregory - noted comedian, will be on campus! Outdoor performance, April 1, on the steps on the Lyceum Building. Gregory was recently named comedian most likely to succeed Ross Barnett.

Lena Horne - will sing for the Kappa Alpha's at their Rosegarden Breakfast on Saturday.

George Wallace - received standing ovation from Ole Miss for his recent decision to charter the U. of Ala. NAACP chapter.

Cassius Clay - was honored by S. C.'s Strom Thurmond as Thurmond nominated Clay for the 1964 OXFORD PEACE PRIZE*** (***initiated in Fall of 1962 as a supplement to Nobel)

THE ORDER OF THE RIFLE AND BAYONET will meet in Room 1, Lyceum, April 1, for the annual candlelight initiation ceremony. On May 1, midnight, the yearly duel between the frosh and sophomore units of the KNIGHTS OF MINT JULEP will be held - downtown Oxford.

COMING ATTRACTIONS of IFC

Beginning next Sunday and continuing on through April, the Inter-Fraternity Council will present its Seminar for Southern Students. IFC announces the following seminars:

"Was Cleopatra Really a Negro?" - study of the socio-anthropological character - istics of Egyptians during the reign of Elizabeth Taylor.
Lecturer: Miss Simple Certain

"Flora and Fauna of the Mississippi Delta" - special emphasis will be placed on the sex life of the southern boll - weevile and the close correlation between the blooming of magnolias and the mating habits of jackasses.
Lecturer: Baron de Leflore

"The Rise and Shine of the Fourth Reich" a study of Mississippi politics since 1850
Lecturer: Jimmy Davis, esq.
**An open debate will follow the lecture. Resolved: That Mississippi should NOT rejoin the Union. All are invited to agree. All who disagree are invited to leave.

Panel Discussion: Senator James O. Eastland versus Congressman Adam Clayton Powell on the topic: "Are Communists Promoting Flouridation of the Yazoo River?
*IFC has allowed this special program to be sponsored jointly by the Youth for John Birch and the Sweethearts of Sigma Chi.

"Bird Mixing: As in Redbirds and Bluebirds" - a lecture by the foremost orinthologist, Edwin Walker. This very special program is sponsored by IFC together with ROTC whose cadet colonel asks all bird lovers to be present with this highly favorable comment on Gen. Walker: "He is for the birds."

Since the seminars are functions of the University, in accordance with policy... everybody will be admitted...as long as they are guests. So, everyone bring one!

LATE ANNOUNCEMENTS!!!!!

Sonny Liston - just named 1964 Owl Man by Chi Omega.

Young Women's Auxiliary of the House and Garden League has been indefinitely postponed.

LET THE CHIPS FALL

Alas! Where will it end? First, the faculty. Then, the administration. Now, the students - defacing our campus reputation.

How many of you innocents know that the Journeymen, so warmly praised by no less a vessel of truth than the Mississippian and cancelling out their appearance at Ole Miss March 19, were also the first in a series of entertainers who cancelled engagements in Jackson because of segregated seating policy?

Recollect that it was around last Thanksgiving when the Journeymen, along with Glenn Yarborough, et. al., instead of performance as scheduled in Jackson, went about 8 miles north to the Mix. And, we hear, a good time was had by all.

Nice work, ASB. We always knew that beneath that bluff exterior beats a heart as pure as Silver.

PLEASE...O PLEASE...BRER RABBIT

As R. U. goes to press, we contemplate our future in Mississippi belles-lettres.

Will we receive recognition as budding young Mississippi Authors, and take the consequences of our proper place in the Mississippi Room?

We frankly feel a little wistful about the prospects of Arrival. Trapped, what? By a giant man-eating plant, yes...we are to be like a tiny insect...inside the hot house? Like all hardy perennials who hope to survive unstunted, we prefer the fresh air...of the outside.

TO TELL THE TRUTH, we are nervous because fame may come too soon and spoil what might have been a promising literary future.

THE RABBLE UNDERGROUND

Charlie Hill down in Jackson has said better than anybody, why the Underground has to stay underground. It's because.. we are an unpopular minority.

The minority always has to respect the rights of the majority.

SO, EVEN IN MISSISSIPPI, where there is free speech and all that, you can't just go around saying and thinking things the majority don't like. Out of respect for THE MAJORITY, we'll stay Right where we are. (Besides, what do you take us for???Idiots??????)

35c

The liberal democrat

MARCH 1964

CDC ISSUES PROGRAM: 2 views

ABLE DART

A Program for Mississippi

FREE SAMPLE COPY

YOUNG DEMOS NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

14th Biennial National Convention Young Democratic Clubs of America
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April 8, 1964

Mrs. Margaret Long
Southern Regency Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Long:

Because of the great success of the first touring season of the Southeastern Shakespeare Festival, we have been encouraged by many educators throughout the State to extend the scope of the project.

Last year, over 15,000 high school and college students in the Atlanta area saw our productions of TAMING OF THE SHREW and MACBETH. We would like to make this experience available to students throughout the entire State as well as improve the level of the annual Summer Shakespeare Festival.

In order to accomplish this, we have written to Governor Sanders requesting some assistance from the State to launch the program.

The 23rd of April marks the quadricentenial celebration of Shakespeare's birth. The establishment of such a program would not only be a fitting commemoration to the world's greatest playwright, it would also display to the nation as a whole the positive steps that our State is taking to raise the educational opportunities of our youth.

We would greatly appreciate any effort on your part in making this dream a reality. One way in which you can help immediately is by writing to the Governor indicating your support of the program. The Governor must be made aware of the great number of citizens who are seriously interested in improving the standards of education in Georgia. Your immediate response in this matter would be of invaluable help.

Thank you for your time and interest.

Sincerely,

Frank Wittow

Frank Wittow

FW/pl

ACADEMY THEATRE — SOUTHEASTERN SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL — CHILDREN'S THEATRE
SCHOOL OF THEATRE OFFERING INSTRUCTIONS IN ALL PHASES OF DRAMA FOR CHILDREN AND ADULTS

NEWS FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FROM: Operation Freedom
932 Dayton Street
Cincinnati 14, Ohio

"CIVIL RIGHTS VICTIMS IN HATTIESBURG NEED HELP," SAYS OPERATION FREEDOM WORKER

Cincinnati, Ohio - April 13, 1964 - An Operation Freedom worker in the Hattiesburg, Mississippi area reports that many people who have taken a stand for freedom are now being subjected to "loss of jobs, economic boycotts, and other harassments."

The Operation Freedom worker, Jack McKart, said: "A minister lost his job as a schoolbus driver for the county, lost small plumbing jobs, lost his credit with Hattiesburg merchants, lost some church members, and was the victim of shots (fired into his house) - all because he had registered to vote.

"A woman who worked as a maid was fired when she told her employers she planned to attend the street rally of Rev. John Cameron, a Negro Baptist minister running for Congress from the 5th District of Mississippi...A man was fired from his job at a country club after it was learned that he was among the picketeers in front of the courthouse on January 22, 'Freedom Day'...A mother of three children was fired from her cleaning job at a local radio station for her part in voter registration."

Operation Freedom, a national group with headquarters in Cincinnati, was organized more than three years ago to give emergency assistance to people in the south who suffer because of their activity in civil rights. The treasurer of the group, Rev. Maurice McCrackin, said: "Operation Freedom will now attempt to give the same kind of emergency help to the stricken in Hattiesburg as it has given elsewhere. Operation Freedom is attempting to give the type of short range emergency assistance that will enable these people to stay in their area in order that they might try to effect the basic changes necessary for a better life."

Three years ago, Operation Freedom gave major assistance in the Haywood and Fayette county area in western Tennessee when hundreds of people were evicted from their homes because of registering to vote or attempting to register. A newly-published brochure of Operation Freedom begins: "Whereas registering to vote began on a large scale in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee, it certainly did not stop there. Because these people stood their ground bravely, people in other areas of the south began to register and to face reprisals."

Rev. Mr. McCrackin, whose address is 932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati, also said: "Operation Freedom is the only organization devoted solely to carrying on such a program of assistance. It channels money wholly and directly to the people needing assistance. Urgent needs are greater than the dollars Operation Freedom has available."

-30-

BACKGROUND REPORTS

BACKGROUND REPORTS is published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews project,
Religious Freedom and Public Affairs

RELIGION, EDUCATION AND THE LAW

In October of 1963 the Project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs cooperated in sponsoring, one week apart from each other, two institutes of historic significance: the first brought together for a four-day period 125 school board members and school superintendents from the four states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan. The second, convened for a three-day period, was composed of 50 eminent professors of law and the legal counsels of major civic and religious organizations concerned with church-state matters.

Both institutes dealt with the same issues: the role of religion in public education, and the use of public funds in support of church-related education.

At one institute educational problems received major attention; at the other legal issues. But at both institutes there was an overlapping of concern. This issue of *Background Reports* provides a summary of the most important papers delivered and discussed at these two institutes. They provide a broad view of these problems with their many complexities and in their many dimensions.

A limited number of the individual texts of these papers are available through the Project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, 43 West 57th Street, New York, New York.

*

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATORS

Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana,

October 6-9, 1963

This Institute entitled "Religion and the Schools" was sponsored officially by The Department of Education, Purdue University; it was initiated by faculty at the College of Education, The Ohio State University; it was planned in cooperation with the Graduate School of Education, University of Chicago and the School of Education, The University of Michigan. Jack A. Culbertson, executive director of The University Council for Educational Administration served as Coordinator for the Institute.

Selected school board members, public and parochial school superintendents were invited from each of the four states, at their own expense, to share with each other their views and experiences in handling problems for public education resulting from America's religious pluralism.

FINANCING EDUCATION FOR ALL SCHOOL CHILDREN

The first day was devoted to a discussion of the problems of financing education for all school children. The opening paper was delivered by Dr. H. Thomas James, Associate Professor of Education, Stamford University. Dr. James pointed out that given the wealth of this country, the problem of "financing education is not in the field of school finance at all, but lies in a broader context of social decisions." Pointing to contradictory factors at work as America seeks to solve the problem of paying for education, Dr. James dramatized the need for a broad national consensus in resolution of these two questions: "What expectations for education are defined by the fundamental values of our society?" and "What institutional arrangements will satisfy those expectations?"

The Stamford educator proposed that the federal government undertake a forum to define fundamental values for developing a national policy for education.

He suggested that such a forum would need enough status to receive financial support and backing by the Congress. Also, he indicated, it should be sufficiently

'Sing for Freedom'

FESTIVAL OF NEGRO FOLK MUSIC AND FREEDOM SONGS

May 7-10, 1964 Gammon Theological Center Old Campus Atlanta, Georgia

CO-SPONSORED S.C.L.C. + S.N.C.C.

Would you like to know more freedom songs and have better singing at your mass meetings and community gatherings? If so, please carefully choose one or two people in your group who are good at singing and song leading and will be able to learn something at this workshop and festival which they can use to help your organization and local movement.

SCHEDULE

Thursday night ------------- Introductions and song swap
Friday morning ------------- Workshop sessions
Friday night --------------- Song fest (open to the public)
Saturday morning-afternoon - Workshop sessions
Saturday night ------------- Song fest (open to the public)
Sunday morning ------------- Workshop session (closing session)
Sunday afternoon ----------- Song fest (open to the public)

Workshop Sessions

These sessions will benefit both beginners and those more experienced in using singing in the movement. (Open only to registered participants.)

Repertoire--Freedom songs from different protest areas for mass meetings, demonstrations, etc.

Song Leading--Learn from such great leaders as: Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Ruleville, Miss.; Bernice Johnson Reagon, Albany, Ga.; Betty Fikes, Selma, Alabama; Cordell Reagon, Nashville, Tenn.

Choir Leaders & Singers--Arrangements and techniques of such groups as the Birmingham Movement Choir and the SNCC Freedom Singers.

Songwriting--New songs for the freedom movement: Bertha Gober, Matthew Jones and others plus guest songwriters from the north.

Traditional Negro Folk Music--Learn some of the best old songs that are meaningful today, the stories and background behind them, from: Bessie Jones and the Georgia Sea Island Singers and others.

Weekend Concerts-Hear some of the great singers young and old from across the South, from such historic cities as Birmingham, Greenwood, Albany, Selma, Montgomery and Americus. Also hear guest artists from the north.

MUSIC FESTIVAL - May 7-10, 1964

Application blank

I. NAME ______________________________ DATE __________

PRESENT ADDRESS ______________________________

AGE ____ COLLEGE or HIGH SCHOOL ______________________________

YEARS COMPLETED ________ MAJOR ______________________________

ORGANIZATION YOU REPRESENT ______________________________

II. IF YOU HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT OR CIVIL RIGHTS WORK BRIEFLY DESCRIBE YOUR ACTIVITIES:

HAVE YOU WORKED WITH MUSIC? DESCRIBE:

WHY DO YOU WISH TO ATTEND THIS FESTIVAL?

WHAT DO YOU EXPECT TO GET OUT OF IT TO MAKE YOU A BETTER MUSICAL WORKER IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

III HOW DO YOU PLAN TO TRAVEL TO ATLANTA?

IF BY CAR, CAN YOU BRING OTHER PEOPLE?

IV. DO YOU NEED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE?

FOOD AND HOUSING ($18)

TRAVEL EXPENSES (estimate the cost)

mail to:
Music Festival
SNCC Office
6 Raymond St, NW
Atlanta 14, Georgia

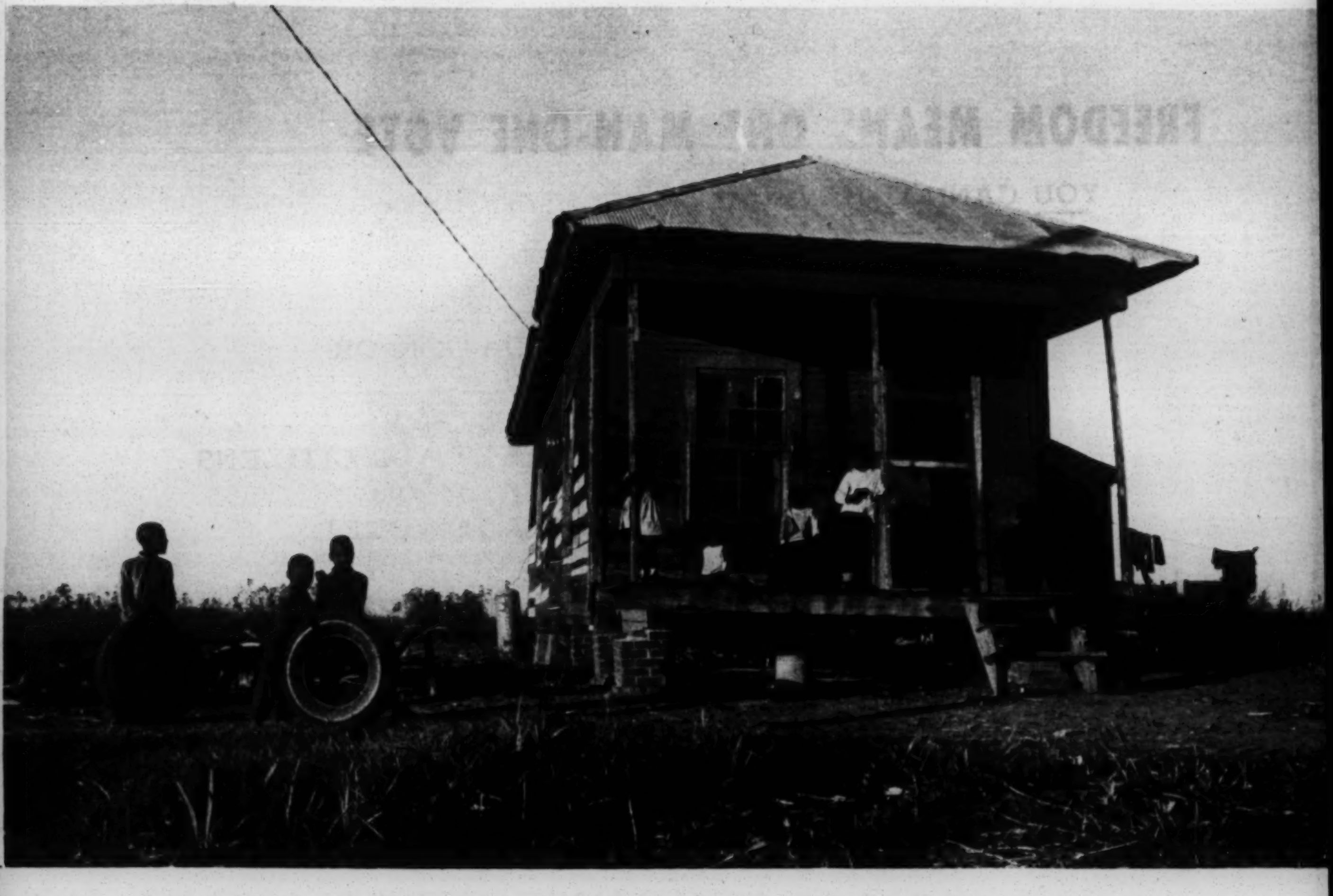
If your organization cannot afford the costs of the workshop ($18 per person for meals and lodging) and travel expenses, there are some scholarships available. In either case fill out the enclosed application and send it to:

Music Festival, SNCC Office, 6 Raymond St NW, Atlanta 14, Ga.

Planning Committee: Bernice Reagon, Ruby D. Robinson, Rev. Andy Young, Dorothy Cotton, Guy Carawan - Director.

Scholarships and services of Guy Carawan provided by Highlander Center.

GIVE THEM A FUTURE IN EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA



ONE MAN - ONE VOTE

FOR FREEDOM

EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA WHAT IS ITS FUTURE?

Only when government officials are elected by all the people and for all the people, will there be freedom in North Carolina

FREEDOM MEANS ONE MAN-ONE VOTE

YOU CANNOT HAVE

-- FAIR JOB PRACTICES
-- GOOD EDUCATION
-- FREEDOM FROM INTIMIDATION OR BRUTALITY BY POLICE
— A FAIR AND JUST TRIAL
-- GOOD LAWS THAT PROTECT ALL CITIZENS

UNLESS YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE!

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES SAYS:

1. Anyone born in the United States is a citizen of this nation and the state where he lives.

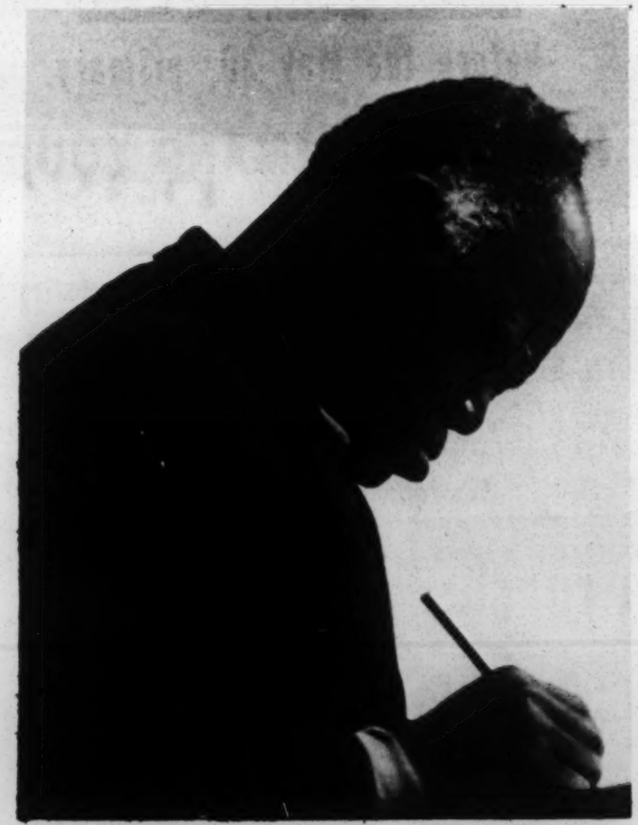
2. All citizens of the United States have a right to vote that no state can deny because of race or color.

YOU ARE A CITIZEN YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO VOTE

REGISTER TO VOTE ON

FREEDOM DAY

SAT., MAY 2, 1964



WE MUST HAVE THE VOTE.
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST PROTECT OUR RIGHTS.

Anyone who tries to stop a Negro from voting is commiting a crime against the United States.

CITIZENS OF
EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA

Books are only open on three Saturdays -

May 2, May 9, May 16,

-before the May 30, primary.

COME! PROTEST! DEMAND YOUR RIGHTS!

> *"The day will come when freedom and equality will exist for all the people, not just for some of the people. ONE MAN-ONE VOTE is the African cry. It is ours too."*
>
> *- John Lewis, Chairman*
> *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*

FOR A FUTURE IN EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA

REGISTER AND VOTE

NORTH CAROLINA WILL BE FREE IN THE FUTURE ONLY IF YOU ARE FREE.

YOU CANNOT BE FREE UNLESS YOU VOTE.

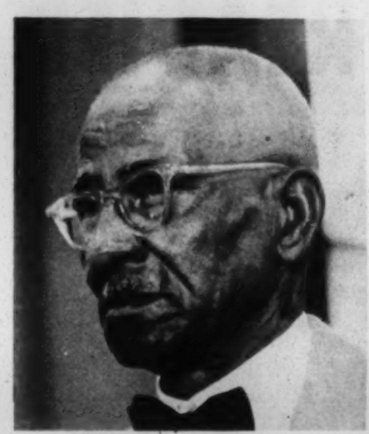
Contact:

Halifax County Voters Movement
P O Box 626
Enfield, N.C.

Phone HI-5-4671

CANDIDATES TO RUN ON JUNE 2---

Mrs. Victoria Gray


James M. Houston

Mrs Fannie Lou Hamer

Rev. John Cameron

THE STUDENT VOICE

VOL. 5 NO. 13 STUDENT VOICE, INC. 6 Raymond Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314 JUNE 2, 1964

NEGROES RUN IN MISS.

FOUR RUN ON FREEDOM SLATE

JACKSON, MISS. - Mississippi's voters - over 95% of them white - may not elect any of the four Negro candidates running in the June 2 primary but each is determined to go to Washington to represent the state in Jan. 1965.

The four - Mrs. Victoria Gray, and the Rev. John Earle Cameron, both of Hattiesburg; Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, and James M. Houston of Vicksburg - asked the state's voters to make a choice they've never been asked to make before to choose between the white, segregationist regular Democrats and four civil-rights conscious Negroes running under the banner of the Freedom Democratic Party.

None of the Negro candidates expects to win Tuesday's election, but all hope to be seated in the House and Senate in Jan. 1965.

Although Negroes are more than 40% of the state's population, only some 20,000 Negroes are registered voters. Registered whites make up 95% of the electorate.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Beating Marks Freedom Day

CANTON, MISS. - A Negro youth was beaten unconscious by eight city police here during a May 29 "Freedom Day," and close to 50 persons were arrested when they attempted participation in the concentrated voter registration drive.

SNCC workers at the Jackson office of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), said Negroes who assembled at the Mount Zion Baptist Church and proceeded to the county courthouse were either turned back by police or arrested.

Despite mounting pressure from local law enforcement during the Freedom Day, about 60 persons stood on line waiting to try to register to vote.

"Eight police with clubs beat 24-year-old McKinley Hamblein unconscious in front of many witnesses," assistant COFO pro-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

Mrs. Victoria Gray, Senate candidate, speaks at an outdoor rally in Canton.

COURT NIXES PEACE BOND REQUIREMENTS

SELMA, ALA. - The Alabama Court of Appeals has denied local law enforcement of one of its most effective legal weapons used here last fall to restrain SNCC vote workers.

The appellate court reversed on May 26 a Dallas County Circuit Court decision which required six Negro rights workers, including SNCC Chairman John Lewis, to put up security for $1,000 peace bonds before they could be released from jail or contest their conviction.

Peace bonds have also been used in Savannah, Ga. and Farmville, Va. to deter civil rights advocates from engaging in further activity. Posting such a bond is tantamount to promising to stop all present activity, since it is immediately revokeable if another charge is added. Traditionally used in domestic and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

SUMMER PROJECT READIED

JACKSON, MISS. - On July 1, several hundred white and Negro college students, doctors, nurses, lawyers and teachers will settle at different points throughout the state to begin work on the "Mississippi Freedom Summer."

Under the sponsorship of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), the summer workers will teach in "Freedom Schools," man Community Centers, and work on registering the state's 380,000 unregistered, but eligible, Negroes.

"Summer workers are being recruited at 'Freedom Centers' at Northern and Southern college campuses, and from protest groups in the South," SNCC worker Betty Garman said. "We are asking them to bring $150 with them, as well as a list of people we can contact for bail money if they are arrested."

Freedom Centers have been established to serve:

The Universities of California, Michigan, Southern California, Oregon, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Illinois; Southern Illinois, Harvard, Yale, Howard, Stanford and Atlanta Universities; and Oberlin, Morehouse, Spelman, Emory, Radcliffe, Queens, Clark, Morris Brown, and Pomona Colleges.

Students accepted for the project so far are largely from the New England, New York - Philadelphia area, the West Coast and the South.

More than half are white, and for most it will be their first trip South. Students are selected on the basis of the skills they have to offer, than for "a missionary spirit or the feeling that the summer will be just another adventure," a SNCC worker said.

They will attend a two-week orientation session at a mid - Western college campus, and will learn from lawyers and teachers and experts what their summer will be like.

SNCC worker Bob Moses, COFO's project director, will direct the summer project. "We still need supplies of paper, school books, pencils, typewriters, tape recorders and mimeograph machines as well as cars and money to make the summer a success," Moses said.

Books should be sent to the main headquarters of SNCC at 6 Raymond Street in Atlanta, Georgia, he indicated, while other materials should be sent to the COFO office at 1017 Lynch Street in Jackson, Miss.

"The success of the project depends on whether Americans are willing to move together against the forces that deny freedom in Mississippi and across the South," SNCC Chairman John Lewis said.

SNCC WORKERS Lawrence Guyot (center) and Robert Moses (left) discuss plan for the Mississippi Summer Project with a local youth. Guyot directs the 5th Congressional District project, while Moses heads the overall state program.

SNCC WORKER JAILED WITH WHITE ATTACKER

LEESBURG, GA.- A worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), released here after 31 days in jail for passing out voter registration leaflets at a Negro public school says he served his time in a cell across from the white man who broke a white SNCC worker's jaw in an Albany, Ga. jail in 1962.

Willie Ricks, 20, was arrested here April 20 after he distributed leaflets urging parents of school children to register to vote. The warrant was served as he escorted an elderly Negro woman to the Lee County courthouse.

"I found out a white man in the same jail with me was the one who beat Bill Hansen and broke his jaw in 1962," Ricks said.

"He told me the reason he beat Hansen was that the sheriff promised to drop six or seven counts of burglary against him if he 'roughed Hansen up good'," Ricks stated.

Hansen now director of SNCC's Arkansas project, was jailed for participating in the massive demonstrations of nearby Albany in the summer of 1962.

SNCC workers first went into southwest Georgia in the fall of 1961. They conducted vote drives in several surrounding rural counties, including Lee County, and now plan to expand the drive into all 22 counties of the 2nd Congressional District.

ADDITIONAL FEDERAL JUDGES CALLED FOR IN MISSISSIPPI

ATLANTA, GA. - A civil rights leader in Mississippi has asked for the appointment of five extra Federal judges in his state to protect voter registration workers during the summer. Five U.S. marshals would be assigned to work under each of the extra judges.

The request was made in a petition by Lawrence Guyot to Elbert P. Tuttle, Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, who resides here. Guyot acted through Attorneys Joseph Jordan, Norfolk, Va., and Len W. Holt and Simon L. Cain, both of Washington, D.C.

Guyot who lives in Hattiesburg, Miss., told Judge Tuttle that more than 1,000 and possibly 2,000 students and other persons will come into Mississippi to conduct voter education and registration during June, July, August, and September.

Guyot, a 23-year-old SNCC worker, directed the 5th Congressional District project of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) in Miss.

"It has been the experience of the petitioner, and his counsel, that all voter registration and political education programs in Mississippi are met with - official and unofficial beatings, shootings, arrests on spurious charges, and other forms of harassment," Guyot's petition said.

"Experience has taught the petitioner that the only protection afforded, and it is minimal, under such circumstances as shall exist this summer, comes from being able to go into Federal courts for relief from 'official' violence and intimidation."

Guyot declared that only three lawyers in the whole state of Mississippi are "willing to handle a racially controversial case and to assert the necessary constitutional defenses. In each instance when an integration worker is arrested the matter is racially controversial."

Guyot asserts that the three lawyers cannot be everywhere in the state to try to protect the voter registration workers He says that even the 50 lawyers being sent into the state by various groups will not be enough to cope with "massive and official repression certain to be inflicted" on the registration workers.

"Many of the local communities have acquired more weapons and are preparing or have prepared concentration centers for imprisoning voter registration and political education workers coming to these cities during the summer," Guyot added.

Because of vacations, Guyot says, there will be only one Federal judge sitting in Mississippi most of the time during the summer, and this is not enough to protect the people who will be working in that state.

Last weekend in Atlanta, the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) called upon President Johnson to protect the workers in Mississippi with Federal marshals, "augumented by Federal troops, if necessary."

MISS. WORKERS FACE POLICE HARASSMENT

JACKSON, MISS. - "Civil rights workers in Mississippi face arrest almost daily on charges ranging from 'running a stop sign' and 'public drunkenness 'carrying books calculated to incite people to overthrow the government'," according to John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

During an intensive mock political campaign across the state last fall, workers from SNCC estimated that police made over 60 arrests for traffic violations alone during a 21 day period.

"Over 100 incidents of official harassment" were recorded during Nov. 1963, when an integrated slate ran in a mock election for the state's two top offices.

Civil rights workers here have charged police are stepping up arrests as the summer approaches. As examples, they cite:

The overnight jailing in Holly Spring of four workers from the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) for "investigation";

The arrest of seven COFO workers in Belzoni on May 14. Police said they were arrested "to prevent riots" because the group was integrated;

The arrest in Oxford of six COFO workers May 5. They were charged with "suspicion of carrying materials which advocate the overthrow of the government" when police found college textbooks in a trailer behind their car;

The arrest in Jackson on May 24 of a white COFO worker, Dick Jewett, 20, of New York City. Jewett, was charged with "vagrancy" and "public drunkenness."

The arrest of two University of Pennsylvania Law School students, Alan Lerner and Charles Woll, and SNCC worker Hunter Morey in Jackson May 25. The three, all white, were charged with "being fugitives";

The arrest May 25 of COFO worker Emily Shrader, 20, of Cambridge, Mass., on "vagrancy" and "public drunkenness" charges;

The arrest that evening, three times, of Pennsylvania law student Woll on three different traffic counts;

SNCC workers expect such arrests to increase when 1,000 summer workers arrive in Mississippi July 1 to begin work on a COFO - sponsored "Summer Project."

NURSE WINS SUIT, GA. YOUTH ARRESTED

WARRENTON, GA. - A Negro nurse who was forced from an interstate bus here in 1959 and was beaten by white attackers has won $5,000 in damages from the bus company while a Negro youth faces a jail term for entering the "white" side of the Greyhound Bus Terminal in Rome, 175 miles away.

The nurse, 42-year-old Mrs. Florence Blaize Ephriam, was given $5,000 damages from Safeway Trails, Inc. on May 25 after a March trial held in New York City. She had refused to move to make room for three white Passengers and was attacked. She suffered a cerebral concussion and cuts and bruses.

The Rome youth, Clifford Ralph Roberts, Jr., was jailed on May 4 at the Rome Greyhound Bus Terminal.

A trial set for May 11 was postponed, the youth said.

The Atlanta - based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has asked the U.S. Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Commission to investigate Roberts' arrest.

MISS. BEATING

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

gram director Dave Dennis said in a telegram to Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

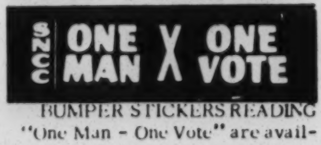
"The failure of the U.S. government to protect those attempting to vote has once again led to bloodshed in Mississippi," Dennis wired Washington.

Hamilton was beaten on the lawn of the church in full view of observers.

The Canton drive gained momentum when SNCC and CORE workers conducted the first Freedom Day here Feb. 28.

Canton, located in Mississippi's 4th Congressional District, is the territorial focus of CORE's participation in the COFO statewide program. SNCC workers man the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 5th districts through COFO.

BUMPER STICKERS NOW AVAILABLE



BUMPER STICKERS READING "One Man - One Vote" are available for $1.00 from SNCC 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

A Domestic Freedom Corps will be working in Mississippi this summer. Its only weapons will be youth and courage. We need your help now.

SUPPORT THE MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT!

Enclosed is my contribution of $ ________________.

I pledge $ _____ per month to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

NAME ______________________________

ADDRESS ______________________________

CITY ______________________________

STATE ______________________________

Contributors to SNCC receive a subscription to the STUDENT VOICE. Send to: SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30314.

NEWS ROUNDUP

OXFORD, MISS. - The University of Mississippi School of Education has been awarded a $37,600 grant by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare for the preparation of teachers for mentally retarded children.

***

WALTHAM, MASS. - Fifteen thousand dollars worth of staple foods is on the way to Mississippi to be distributed by SNCC's emergency food relief program to Negro families in the Delta.

Money for the food came from a "Fast for Freedom" conducted when students in 40 northern colleges missed meals in their dining rooms. The plan was originated here by SNCC backers at Brandeis University.

***

HALIFAX COUNTY, N.C. - A four by 12 foot cross was burned here May 29 at the First Baptist Church during a voter registration mass meeting. Rev. Clyde Johnson, pastor, is a candidate for county commissioner in the May 30 primary election.

According to SNCC worker J.V. Henry, there are more Negroes running for public office in this county than in any other county in the South since Reconstruction.

Henry, 20, has been aiding a vote drive which recently gained strength from a sweeping injunction against discriminatory practices by the registrar.

***

AMERICUS, GA. - The solicitor general of Americus, Ga. who admitted last fall he lodged capital charges against three SNCC workers to deny them bail, will prosecute SNCC worker Don Harris here June 1 on riot charges made last summer.

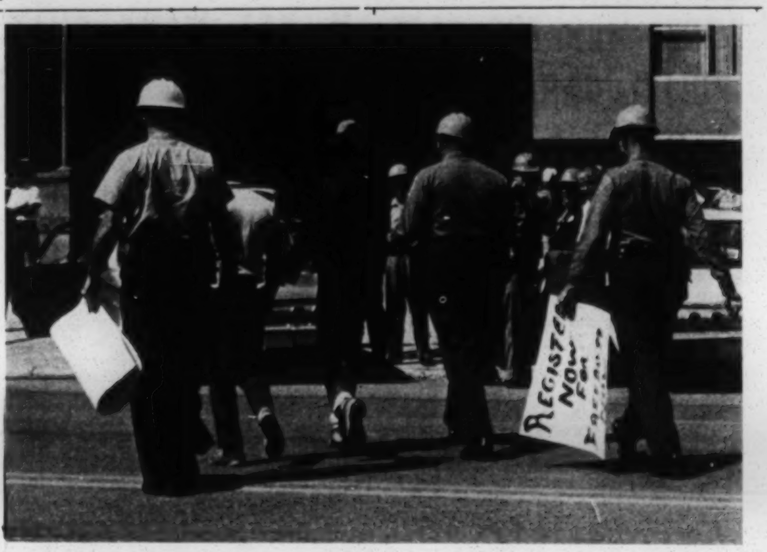
Solicitor Stephen Pace, Jr. seeks Democratic nomination for U.S. Congress from Georgia's 3rd district. Harris' Negro attorney, C.B. King of Albany, Ga., is running for congressional nomination in the 2nd district.

Harris, 23, was freed of insurrection charges which carried a possible death penalty when a special three-judge Federal panel was convened last November. He and two other SNCC workers spent 68 days in jail here as a result of Pace's charges.

***

WELDON, N.C. - A cross was burned in the yard of a Negro church here three days before a county election that 11 Negroes are running in.

The cross was burned at the First Baptist Church May 29.



VOTER REGISTRATION WORKERS are taken to jail in Selma, Ala. last October. They were arrested while picketing to encourage Negro voting on the steps of the federal building across from the Dallas County courthouse. A recent Ala. appellate court decision outlawed the lodging of peace bonds against SNCC vote workers.

FREEDOM SLATE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

If and when the four Negroes lose, they plan to challenge the right of the all-white regular Democratic Party of Mississippi to claim to represent all of the people of the state.

Since Negroes are excluded, not only from voting but from participating in any phase of the party machinery, the four hope the National Democratic Convention in Atlantic City will refuse to seat the regular Democrats and will extend recognition to the Freedom Democrats instead.

The four have been waging active campaigns throughout the state. Mrs. Hamer, Rev. Cameron and Mr. Houston have confined their speechmaking and politicking to their respective districts, but Mrs. Gray, who is running for the Senate seat of John Stennis, has been covering the whole state.

They will also run in a Freedom Election that will coincide with the official election. In a similar mock campaign last fall, an integrated slate running for the state's two top offices polled 80,000 votes.

The campaigns grew out of voter registration drives conducted throughout the state by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) now joined by the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the state branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People under the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO).

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Atlanta, Georgia 30314

PEACE BONDS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

other disputes, peace bonds were used by Southern lawmen last civil rights worlers last summer.

The Alabama Court of Appeals ruled on March 6 that the vote workers were entitled to release from custody. Last week the court denied the state's request for a rehearing.

Prior to the March ruling the six had been released from jail, but their plea asked that they be freed from posting peace bonds in addition to fines and bonds already imposed by lower courts as a result of last October's concentrated vote activity.

Two of the vote workers were convicted in juvenile court here of contributing to the delinquency of a minor. The Rev. Benny Tucker , a SNCC worker, and Henry Will Shannon were sentenced to 12 months in jail and a fine of $100. That charge has often been used by Southern law officers where youth were involved in community civil rights work.

The other four, including SNCC's Lewis, Worth Long, and Wilson Brown, were convicted of their charges charges in county court and sentenced to six months and a fine of $300.

SNCC conducted an intensive vote drive here last October which met resistance from city and county officials. The campaign of Mrs. Amelia Boynton for U.S. Congress grew out of that effort.

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THE STUDENT VOICE

Vol. 5, No. 16 STUDENT VOICE, INC. 6 Raymond Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314 July 15, 1964

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW COMPLIANCE VARIES

Over Sixty Arrested in Registration Drive

SELMA REGISTRATION, TESTING TO CONTINUE

SELMA, ALA. - Organized testing of public facilities here and a stepped up voter registration drive will continue, a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee spokesman announced this week.

On July 10, an injunction prohibiting assembly of more than three people, meetings where violations of law are suggested, or encouraging impeding justice, was issued against SNCC, CORE, COFO, NAACP, the Southern Regional Council, Alabama Council on Human Rights, the Dallas County Voter's League and Improvement Association, SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman, SNCC Chairman John Lewis, SNCC Selma Project Director John Love, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, SNCC workers Benny Tucker, Alvery Williams, Karen House, Willie C. and Charles Robertson and James Austin, attorneys Bruce Boynton and Charles Chestnut, 27 local residents and the Ku Klux Klan and the National States Rights Party.

Only SNCC has had an active program in Central Alabama. The National States Rights Party has been holding meetings in the Selma area.

Over 60 people, including John Lewis, SNCC Chairman, have been arrested here since July 3, when the rights bill was signed into law. City and county policemen and members of a special Sheriff's posse, under the direction of Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark, beat and jailed Negroes making integration tries on Saturday, July 4. Clark's men also arrested four members of a SNCC - aided Literacy Project here.

Thomas Brown, 24, a SNCC worker, said organized teams of Negroes would test whether Selma's eating places and movie

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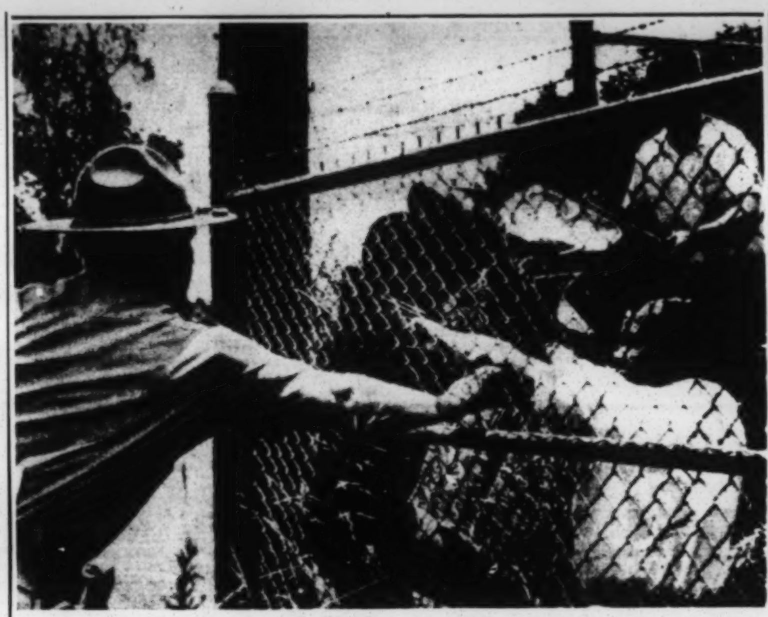

A GEORGIA STATE TROOPER (left) tries to reach SNCC worker Chuck Neblett being beaten with metal chairs at a July 4th rally in Atlanta. Neblett, Wilson Brown, and Matthew Jones were beaten when they entered outdoor stands to hear Alabama Governor George E. Wallace and ex-Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett speak.

PROJECT GOES ON DESPITE BOMBING

McCOMB, MISS . - Despite three blasts that rocked a Negro home here July 8 and a history of violence, a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) voting and educational project will continue.

Ten voter registration workers in the home at 702 Wall Street here were not seriously injured. One, Curtis Hayes, 22, a SNCC worker, was cut by flying glass. Another, SNCC Mississippi Summer Project Volunteer Dennis Sweeny, 21, of Portland, Oregon, suffered a mild concussion.

Others in the home were SNCC workers George and Freedye Greene, 20, and 19, both from Greenwood, Mississippi; SNCC worker Julius Samstein, 25, of New York City; SNCC worker Jesse Harris, 22, of Jackson, Mississippi; SNCC worker Sher-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Court Order, SNCC Drive - Registration Jumps from 1 to 237

BATESVILLE, MISS. - A federal court has erased double standards for Negro and white voters here.

Two SNCC workers helped 237 Negroes register at the Panola County Courthouse here in one week.

The current registration drive began after the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned a decision by the District Court of North Mississippi "opening" registration books to Negroes. In effect, the court said the same standards that had been applied to whites must be applied to Negroes.

The court ruled registration applicants must be 21 years or over, may apply for registration without paying a poll tax, may try to register without the registrar or his deputy being present, and that as many applicants

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

SANCTIONED TERROR HINDERS COMPLIANCE

ATLANTA, GA. - Successful attempts to integrate formerly all-white public places in four deep South states were reported this week by SNCC.

But the SNCC said "a clear pattern of extra-legal and officially sanctioned violence, condoned or initiated by local policemen, is evident in Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Mississippi where Negroes have tried to exercise their rights under the 1964 Civil Rights Act."

The SNCC office here reported the following incidents:

Georgia establishments in Atlanta, Albany, Thomasville, Tifton, Savannah and Americus integrated quietly on July 3, but on the days following, SNCC worker John Perdew, 22, of Denver, Colorado, was beaten in Americus four times by a white mob on July 4 after leaving a newly integrated restaurant; mobs of whites drove through Americus' Negro neighborhoods shooting and throwing bricks; four SNCC workers, Donald Harris, Randolph Battle, Roy Shields and Dale Smith and nine other Negroes were arrested on July 5 for trying to enter a public swimming pool in Albany; a mob of 250 whites and police chased Negroes away from an integrated movie theatre in Americus.

In Laurel, Mississippi on July 4, a group of Negroes attempting to enter a restaurant were repulsed by a white mob and two Negro youths were slashed with razor blades.

In Selma, Alabama, Negroes peacefully integrated a movie theatre on July 4 until the owner stopped selling tickets. Mobs of whites and policemen attacked the Negroes waiting outside.

In Pine Bluff, Arkansas, members of a SNCC testing team were served in two of four places they entered. At one, Ray's

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

MISSISSIPPI HARASSMENT

Clinton, June 26 - The Church of the Holy Ghost was damaged by fire in the fifth firebombing in ten days in Mississippi.

Jackson, June 27 - A white CORE worker, jailed for three weeks along with seven other rights workers, was beaten by white prisoners in the Hinds County jail.

Ruleville, June 28 - The mayor of Ruleville prevented a white Stanford University chaplain from attending services at a white church here.

Jackson, June 28 - A summer volunteer was kicked from behind by a local white youth at the train station here as he arrived from Oxford, Ohio.

Hattiesburg, June 29 - Two cars belonging to SNCC volunteers were shot at outside the SNCC office here. SNCC worker Pete Stoner was arrested for reckless driving and failure to signal.

Biloxi, June 29 - Several white volunteers working in SNCC 's pilot white community project were turned away from two hotels here.

Holly Springs, June 30, - A white man assaulted SNCC worker Larry Rubin and threatened to "shoot up" the SNCC office.

Harmony (Carthage), June 30 - The (white) county superintendant of schools suddenly announced a special session for Negroes only, two days prior to the scheduled opening of a Freedom School here.

Harmony, July 2 - Local citizens were told they could not use the Freedom School by the sheriff and county school superintendant. A cross was burned and six pounds of large roofing tacks were spread across roads of the Negro community.

WILLIAMS CHAPEL CHURCH IN RULEVILLE, the site of voter registration meetings sponsored by SNCC, was damaged by fire on June 25.

Meridian, July 3 - The 11-year-old brother of missing rights worker James Chaney received a broken arm when a white man's car ran a red light forcing the cars to collide.

Hattiesburg, July 3, - A Negro grocery store and teen spot was hit by dynamite.

Harmony, July 3 - A "No Trespass" sign was posted on the Freedom School here by the Leake County sheriff.

Tougaloo, July 3 - An integrated car en route to Canton was chased by two white cars.

Clarksdale, July 3 - A store manager told his Negro employees they would be "discharged" if they went to the courthouse.

Batesville, July 3 - A Negro man was struck by a white man as he left the Panola County courthouse.

Laurel, July 4- Two brothers, part of a group of seven Negro teenagers who attempted to test the public accommodations provisions of the civil rights law, were wounded by a mob of 25-30 whites.

Batesville, July 4 - A local citizen and summer volunteer were chased in their car for thirty miles.

Laurel, July 5 - Two white SNCC volunteers were held by police for questioning and a SNCC staff member was detained when she went to investigate.

Jackson, July 5 - A white car hurled bottles at the project office here cutting a local woman's leg.

Clarksdale, July 5 - Two white volunteers were denied entrance to the (white) First Christian Church.

Jackson, July 6 - A local Negro was told he faced $311 in fines and three months in jail on unspecified charges after he was visited by a summer volunteer.

Clarksdale, July 6 - Civil Rights workers were "nearly forced off the road" by a car of whites.

Gulfport, July 7 - The tires of a summer worker's car were slashed after she drove local citizens to the courthouse to register to vote.

Vicksburg, July 7 - White youths threw a bottle, breaking a window, at a car waiting to pick up Freedom School students.

Moss Point, July 7 - Three Negroes, but no whites, were arrested here when they followed a car of whites believed to have shot into a mass meeting here. The shots had injured a 17-year-old girl who was hospitalized for stomach wounds.

SNCC WORKER JESSE HARRIS surveys damage of SNCC FREEDOM HOUSE in McComb, Miss. A SNCC worker and summer volunteer were injured.

Walthall, July 7 - Police officials in two counties refused to give information - supposed to be public - to the Greenwood SNCC office on the whereabouts of a missing rights worker arrested earlier in the day. James Brown had been arrested for forfeiture of bond despite removal of his case to federal court.

Hattiesburg, July 8- The Rev. Robert Beech of the National Council of Churches was arrested on a false pretenses charge for allegedly overdrawing his local bank account. Bond was set at $2,000.

McComb, July 8- A SNCC worker and summer volunteer were injured when the SNCC Freedom House was bombed. The house contained ten project workers, six of them SNCC staff.

Columbus, July 8 - Three SNCC voter registration volunteers were arrested and charged with trespassing while canvassing for potential voters.

Ashland, July 8 - SNCC staff member Cleve Seller was arrested for reckless driving.

Ruleville, July 8 - A summer volunteer was "thrown out" of the Sunflower County registrar's office when he accompanied a local woman to register to vote.

Laurel, July 8 - A SNCC executive committee member, Lester McKinnie, was "missing" for close to 24 hours. Both city and county police, who finally acknowledge he was in their custody, claimed he was in the jurisdiction of the other department and refused to give information.

McComb, July 9 - A car with four white males is reported to have fired on the only Negro on the McComb police force following a SNCC mass meeting.

Gulfport, July 9 - Three SNCC summer volunteers were arrested in front of the Harrison County courthouse as they accompanied local citizens to the voting registrar's office.

Greenwood, July 10-Phil Moore, a SNCC volunteer, reported he was beaten and hit with a club by a representative of the Interstate Insurance Company who told him to "get out of town."

Hattiesburg, July 10 - Three summer volunteers were assaulted by two white youths with metal bars and beaten on their way to SNCC canvassing headquarters. All three, including a rabbi, were released after hospital treatment.

Greenwood, July 10 - SNCC worker Fred Mangrum was singled out of a group of 12 SNCC workers and arrested for profanity.

Hattiesburg, July 10 - SNCC worker reported interference by the telephone company with their phone lines after they made repeated calls to the FBI.

Jackson, July 10 - FBI director J. Edgar Hoover told newsmen the FBI would give "no protection" to civil rights workers.

PROGRESS REPORT I

SUMMER PROJECT

JACKSON, MISS. - "There are now 1,500 students ranging in age from eight years to 82 years enrolled in 25 Freedom Schools in Mississippi," a SNCC spokesman reported.

Six more schools are planned bringing enrollment to over 2,000 students. By mid-summer more than 900 full-time workers will be engaged in the "Mississippi Freedom Summer Project," a statewide educational and voter registration effort growing out of a pilot voter registration project started by SNCC in 1961 in McComb.

450 summer volunteers are in the state now. 100 additional workers are expected in the next ten days. They are joining close to 100 SNCC staff members and other civil rights groups that make up the coordinating agency of the three-month drive.

Some 150 lawyers and law students, plus 100 clergymen who will serve as counselors to the volunteers, make up a complement of 900 workers in the state.

The second group of volunteers, arriving here June 27 from a training session in Oxford, Ohio, man community centers and teach in Freedom Schools located in cities and towns across the state. The first group, which arrived June 20, is engaged mainly in voter registration.

Each school will have a low teach-student ratio. The "Freedom Schools" will offer courses in leadership development, remedial academic programs (reading, writing, mathematics, history), and contemporary issues.

SNCC STAFF MEMBER DICK FREY (left) explains SNCC's Mississippi Summer Project plans to Representative Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.), Rep. Philip Burton (D-Calif.) and Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.). The three congressmen and Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.) toured Mississippi last week with SNCC staff members to inspect summer project activity.

The first "Freedom Schools" opened Thursday, July 2 in Vicksburg, Clarksdale and Mileston with approximately 30 students each. Schools opening Monday, July 6 included Sharon, with 100 students; Camden, 100; Valley View, 100; Canton, 60; Hattiesburg, 575 (five schools); Greenville, 60: Moss Point, 60; Greenwood, 50 (three schools); and Ruleville, 30. Total enrollment at all schools is expected to top 1,000.

Director for the SNCC "Freedom School" program is Dr. Staughton Lynd, former social studies professor at Atlanta's Spelman College, who will join the Yale University faculty this fall. The United Federation of Teachers assisted in recruiting

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

SELMA

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theatres would obey the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Brown said a "Freedom Week," during which Negroes made registration attempts here in large numbers, would continue, with increased canvassing of Negro neighborhoods for potential voters.

Observers who saw Lewis jailed said police crowded the young integration leader into an alley with others arrested with him and "treated them with excessive brutality." The witness said policeman pushed electric cattle prods under girls' dresses to shock and burn them.

Lewis' arrest here July 6 was his 33rd. He was arrested here September 25, 1963, and again this week while carrying signs urging Negroes to register.

On Sunday night, July 5, posse members and local policemen beat and clubbed Negroes leaving a weekly mass meeting. Four persons were hospitalized, including two white newspaper reporters attacked by the officers.

Law officers refused to let Negroes seeking to register enter the front door of the county courthouse July 6 and made one SNCC staff member, a Selma resident, leave a line at the rear of the building. Fifty other Negroes seeking to register, plus Lewis and three other SNCC staff members, were jailed on charges they interfered with a court session.

Nine Negroes were jailed July 7 while walking down a Selma street.

16 more were jailed July 8, including Ernest McMillian, 19, a SNCC staff member from Dallas, Texas. Police have also impounded two automobiles belonging to SNCC.

VOTER DRIVE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

as possible may take the test as physical space allows.

Over 85% of the eligible white voters in Panola County are registered voters. Of 7250 eligible Negroes, however, only 1 was registered before the SNCC drive began.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals said a Negro Voters League, formed in 1955, had attempted to register 10 Negroes and had only registered one, while local white people could register "without distraction" even when many white voters "were not qualified to be registered according to Mississippi law."

In addition, the court found many Negroes had been intimidated by local whites.

The suit was originally filed against Leonard C. Duke, Circuit Clerk and Registrar of Panola County, and the state of Mississippi.

In other Mississippi voting cases, U.S. District Judge Sidney Mize took under advisement a request from the Department of Justice for a preliminary injunction to halt discrimination against Negroes in Lauderdale County. District Judge Claude Clayton will hear voter discrimination cases against Carroll County registrar George W. Tuberville and Humphreys County registrar G. H. Hood.

In addition, a three-judge federal panel has been appointed to hear a suit challenging the state's election laws, and asking for an injunction preventing all county registrars from giving Negro voting applicants tests not given to whites. The suit also asks the three-judge panel to set aside state Democratic precinct and county meetings and to delay the state Democratic convention until Negroes are assured a greater role in state Democratic party activity.

RIGHTS LAW

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Truck Stop, where comedian Dick Gregory and Arkansas Project Director Bill Hansen were arrested earlier this year, a white customer hit a Negro SNCC worker. At another eating place, a white man threatened the group with a shotgun.

In Helena, Arkansas, three Negroes - including two SNCC workers - were arrested July 7 near a swimming pool after integrating a formerly all-white library and restaurant. SNCC worker Hansen reported that two of the arrested men were beaten by Helena police.

In Jackson, Mississippi, Negroes integrated a movie theatre and two hotels. In Texarkana, Texas, four people were injured in an exchange of gunfire over an integration attempt at a beach. In St. Augustine, Florida, 15 white youths attacked five Negroes, including a woman and a child, while they were fishing. In Ocala, Florida, four restaurants served Negroes but a fifth refused to serve an all- Negro group. A Fort Smith, Arkansas swimming pool was peacefully integrated by eight Negro boys. In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a white government worker hit a Negro who took part in integrating a cafeteria at the state capitol.

In other Georgia incidents, Negroes were admitted to a previously all-white pool in East Point and five eating places in Warner Robins, but were turned away from three eating places in Perry and a Winder movie theatre by mobs of whites. The East Point pool was later closed after a fight at the pool's parking lot. In Brunswick, city and county pools were closed down.

NEWS ROUNDUP

GOULD, ARK. - The Arkansas SNCC project has expanded its voter registration drive to this small town about 30 miles from the Mississippi Delta, in Lincoln County.

Bill Hansen, 23, of Pine Bluff, who directs SNCC's work in this state, said workers had been based here since May.

The county's population is about 35 to 50 percent Negro.

ALBANY, GA. - A renewed effort at registering Negro potential voters will be made here and elsewhere in the state in connection with recent passage of a new election laws code which reopened registrar's books in Georgia.

Don Harris, 24, director of SNCC's Southwest Georgia project, said SNCC workers in the 22 counties of Georgia's 2nd Congressional District were devoting most of their time to a concentrated vote drive.

SNCC workers have been active in the campaign of Attorney C.B. King, the first Negro to run for U. S. Congress in the state in modern times.

Prior to enactment of the new code, the deadline for registering to vote in the primary elections was May 2. That deadline is now July 20.

CAMBRIDGE, MD. - Maryland Governor J. Millard Tawes ordered the National Guard withdrawn from here July 7 after more than a year of martial law in this Eastern Shore City, scene of SNCC work since December 1961.

BROWNING, MISSISSIPPI - A Negro church, located in the middle of an all-white neighborhood, was burned to the ground after church member refused to sell to a white property owner.

Pleasant Plan Missionary Baptist Church burned while local firemen stood by and watched. SNCC workers Fred Mangrum and Ed Rudd said the cinderblock structure was still burning at 6:00 a.m. on Saturday morning, July 11.

According to reports from the SNCC office in Greenwood, a Browning white man had asked church members to sell him the building and property.

They refused, and the local sheriff told them the church would have to be moved.

SUMMER PROJECT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

volunteers for this program.

The "Community Centers," primarily for adults will each have a library, sewing facilities, literacy and child care classes, health programs and instruction in Negro history.

No more summer volunteers are being accepted for the summer project.

"We see the Freedom Schools and community centers as a natural part of our voting program," SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman said. There are more SNCC staff members in Mississippi than other rights groups have throughout the South.

THE NEW MOUNT OLIVE BAPTIST CHURCH in Sasser, Georgia was re-dedicated two weeks ago. The church - and two others near here - were burned down by nightriders two years ago while SNCC was using them for voter registration meetings.

BOMBING

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ry Everitt, 19, from Pittsburgh, Pa.; CORE worker Pat Walker, from New York City; and summer volunteers Don McCord, 26, of Stafford, Kansas and Clinton Hopson, 26, of Asbury Park, New Jersey.

Samstein, Sweeney, McCord, and Walker are white; the others are Negroes.

Three Negro homes were bombed in McComb on June 23. This small southwest Mississippi town was the site of the first Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee voter registration voter registration project in 1961. SNCC worker Bob Moses, now Program Director for the state-wide Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, began work as the first SNCC field worker in August 1961.

The drive three years ago was met with official resistance and terror tactics from local whites, as is the state-wide drive today.

Moses and other SNCC staff members, including Hayes, who joined the anti - segregation group's staff then, were jailed several times by local law officers. Moses was jailed in nearby Liberty on August 15, 1961, as he accompanied three people to the registrar's office there. On August 29, 1961, he was beaten by the son of a Mississippi law officer on a Liberty street.

A local Negro supporter, Herbert Lee, was killed September 25, 1961, by a member of the state legislature, and a witness to that shooting was murdered on February 1, 1964.

The Ku Klux Klan and another racist group, the Americans for Preservation of the White Race (APWR), have begun organizational drives throughout Southwest Mississippi. Arsene Dick, APWR president, says his all-male, all-white group has chapters in 30 Mississippi counties and a membership "in the five figure bracket."

There are more than 15,000 Negroes in Pike County. Fewer than 164 are registered voters.

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A NEED RECENTLY MET BY OPERATION FREEDOM

AN EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF HELP OPERATION FREEDOM HAS BEEN GIVING

The Holmes family: Dock Holmes, 76; Mrs. Maggie Morton, 82 (Mrs. Holmes' sister); Mrs. Holmes, 68.

In a county in west Tennessee there today stands a tent, a tent torn ragged by the wind and rain. Until recently that tent (a leftover from "Tent City," moved to a private farm) had served as the home for three elderly people, the Dock Holmes family. More than four years ago, they had registered to vote. In 1960 they voted for the first time in their lives. Evicted from their house, they had to live wherever they could.

They moved into a tent colony ("Tent City") set up for persons in that county who had been evicted for trying to register. The Holmeses could have left the county, but where would they go? They had lived there all their lives, it was home to them, and they were determined to remain regardless of the outcome.

Registering to vote was of far greater significance to them than to most people. Mrs. Holmes said one day, "Me and my husband sit in the tent and talk about it. Something about it makes you feel uplifted."

Their only income is a monthly social security check. No help of any kind comes from the county welfare department. They have repeatedly been denied government surplus foods.

A few months ago the Holmes family started setting aside part of their social security money for used lumber and nails and other things needed to build a house. They could buy only a little at a time. "We don't know when we'll be able to finish the house," Mrs. Holmes said, "May not ever be able to finish it."

It was at this point that Operation Freedom learned of the Holmeses' plight and gave money necessary for the completion of the house, which meant putting the siding and roof on the house and putting up the inner walls and ceiling.

House almost ready to move into.

Tent where Holmes family had been living.

Just before they moved in, Mrs. Holmes said, "We learned to do without after registering." Even before registering to vote, they had lived poorly enough. Mr. Holmes had worked other men's land all his life. "Some years we didn't make anything," he said, "some years we didn't even make the rent." What he earned was never more than enough to buy necessities.

Today, as people come by to visit the Holmes family in their new house, Mr. Holmes laughingly tells how when it thunders Mrs. Holmes, still thinking of the time in the leaky old tent, grabs up a newspaper and runs to fill up the holes.

We are glad that for them the holes are there no longer.

– AND NOW HATTIESBURG

OPERATION FREEDOM NOW TURNS TOWARD THE HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI AREA WHERE MANY PEOPLE ARE MEETING ECONOMIC REPRISALS AND PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

Whereas registering to vote began on a large scale in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee, it certainly did not stop there. Because these people stood their ground bravely, in the face of severe opposition and reprisals, people in other areas of the south began to register and to face reprisals.

People in the Hattiesburg area recently tried to register. Even though the registrar was ordered by the federal government to stop discriminating against Negro applicants, he did not do so. On January 22, "Freedom Day," an intensive vote drive began. Arrests, loss of jobs, economic boycotts, and other harassments followed - all the things which had occurred in west Tennessee and other places where people joined the voter registration movement.

Operation Freedom will now attempt to give the same kind of emergency help to the stricken in Hattiesburg as it has given elsewhere - short range emergency assistance that will enable these stricken people to stay in their area in order that they might try to effect the basic changes necessary for a better life.

An Operation Freedom representative working in the Hattiesburg area reports the following:

¶ A minister lost his job as a county schoolbus driver, lost small plumbing jobs, lost credit with merchants, lost some church members, and was the victim of shots (fired at his house) - all because he had registered to vote.

¶ A maid was fired when she told her employers she planned to attend the street rally of Rev. John Cameron, a Negro Baptist minister running for Congress from the 5th District of Mississippi.

¶ A man was fired from his job at a country club after it was learned that he was among the picketeers in front of the courthouse on January 22, "Freedom Day."

¶ A mother of three children was fired from her cleaning job at a local radio station for her part in the voter registration movement.

Operation Freedom channels money directly from you, and other donors, to people suddenly in dire straits. All of the money which you send goes to the people you are trying to help, none of it going for defraying administrative costs.

Operation Freedom, which has been functioning for more than three years, is the only organization devoted solely to carrying on such a program of assistance. Operation Freedom has already channeled more than $100,000 - in form of loans (and in a few cases gifts) - to scores of families and individuals. Even though this seems a large amount of money, it must be stressed that the urgent needs are greater than the dollars Operation Freedom has available.

Although Operation Freedom now concentrates on the emergency-type need in the Hattiesburg area, it will also continue to respond to emergencies presented to Operation Freedom's national board by local committees in any area which was once as "hot" as Hattiesburg, but which now naturally has fewer cases of this desperate kind of need.

Operation Freedom board members are: Ella Baker (SCEF, SNCC), Anne & Carl Braden (SCEF), Rabbi Stanley Brav, Polly Brokaw, Ernest Bromley, Conrad Browne (Highlander), Marjory Collins, Rev. Gerald Cunningham, Lloyd Danzeisen, Rev. Frank Gordon (NAACP), Richard Haley (CORE), Virgie Hortenstine, Myles Horton (Highlander), Clarence Jordan (Koinonia), Paul Laprad, Carleton Mabee, Rev. M.J. Mangham, Rev. Maurice McCrackin, Jack McKart, Janet Meyers, Pat & Ed Morin, Rosemary Moss, Rev. Clarence Nelson, Wally Nelson, Miriam Nicholas, Marian Spencer, Walter Tillow (SNCC), Rev. C.T. Vivian (SCLC), Jim Williams, Rev. John Wilson. (initials in parenthesis listed for identification only)

THE HATTIESBURG PEOPLE NEED YOUR SUPPORT SO THEY CAN CONTINUE IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

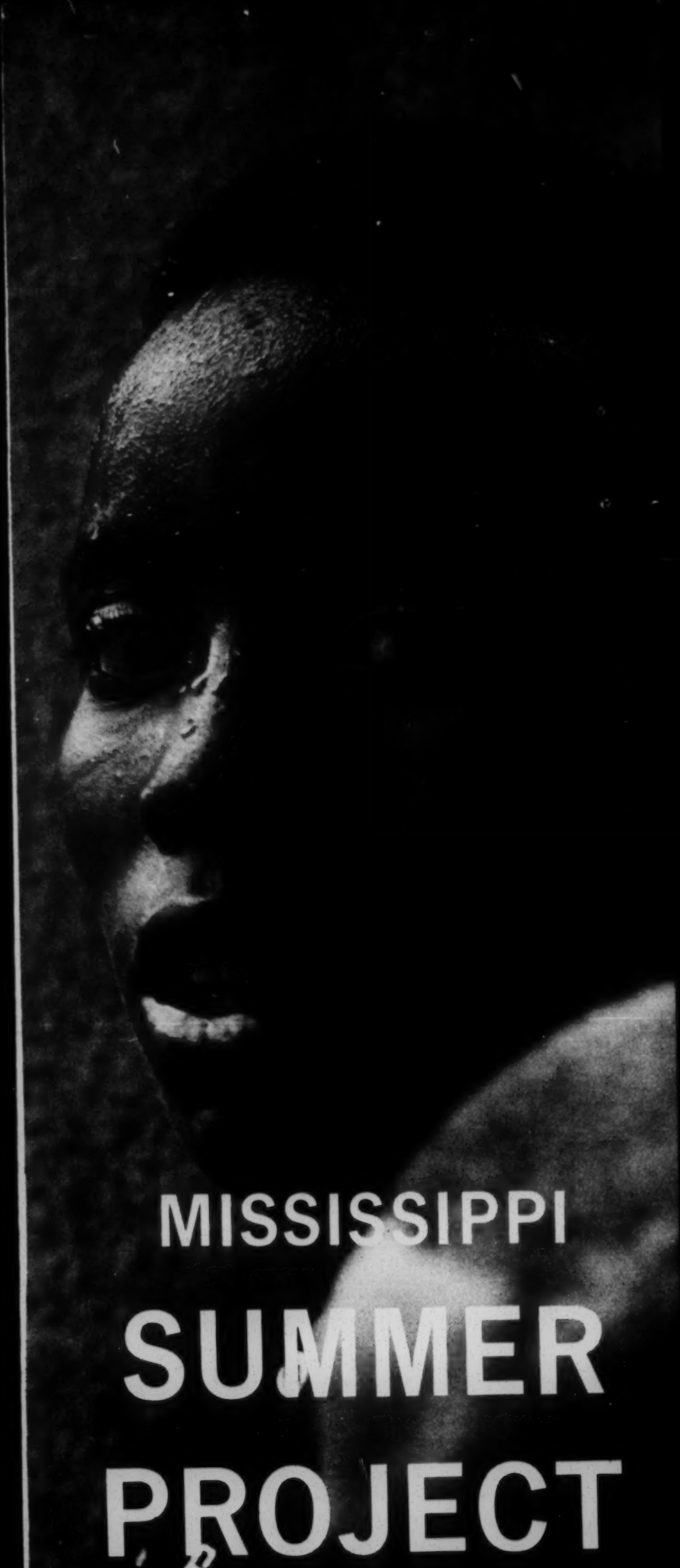
detach and mail to: Operation Freedom, c/o Rev. Maurice McCrackin,
932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati, Ohio 45214

APRIL 1964

- -

Name ______________________ **Date** ______________
Address ____________________ **Amount enclosed** ________
City _______________________ **State** ______________

Contributions are tax deductible.



MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT

VOTER REGISTRATION

The struggle for freedom in Mississippi can only be won by a combination of action within the state and a heightened awareness throughout the country of the need for massive federal intervention to ensure the voting rights of Negroes. This summer's program will work toward both objectives.

Voter registration workers will operate in every rural county and important urban area in the state. These workers will be involved in a summer-long drive to mobilize the Negro community of Mississippi and assist in developing local leadership and organization.

Forty thousand dollars must be raised for a Freedom Registration campaign. The registration campaign which was launched in February will be implemented by summer workers. Freedom Registrars will be established in every precinct, with registration books closely resembling the official books of the state. The Freedom Registration books will serve as a basis for challenging the official books and the validity of "official" federal elections this fall.

Finally, voter registration workers will assist in the summer campaigns of Freedom Candidates who will be running for congressional office.

FREEDOM SCHOOLS

An integral part of SNCC's voter registration work is the development of leadership for politically emerging communities. Freedom Schools will begin to supply the political education which the existing system does not provide for Negroes in Mississippi.

The summer project will establish ten daytime Freedom Schools and three resident schools. The daytime schools will be attended by 10th, 11th, and 12th grade pupils; the schools will operate five days a week in the students' home towns. Instruction will be highly individualized—each school will have about fifteen teachers and fifty students. The program will include remedial work in reading, math and basic grammar, as well as seminars in political science, the humanities, journalism and creative writing. Whereever possible, studies will be related to problems in the students' own society.

The three resident schools will be attended by more advance students from throughout the state. The program will be essentially the same as that of the day schools, with emphasis on political studies.

The students who attend the schools will provide Mississippi with a nucleus of leadership committed to critical thought and social action.

COMMUNITY CENTERS

In addition to the Freedom Schools, Community Centers will provide services normally denied the Negro community in Mississippi. Staffed by experienced social workers, nurses, librarians and teachers in the arts and crafts, the centers will provide educational and cultural programs for the community. Instruction will be given in pre-natal and infant care, and general hygiene; programs will provide adult literacy and vocational training. The thirty thousand books now in SNCC's Greenwood office library will be distributed to these centers, and others will be obtained. The centers will serve as places of political education and organization, and will provide a structure to channel a wide range of programs into the Negro community in the future.

RESEARCH PROJECT

The program of voter registration and political organization will attempt to change the fundamental structure of political and economic activity in Mississippi. In order to accurately picture this structure, extensive research must be done into Mississippi's suppressive political and economic life. Skilled personnel are needed to carry out this program both from within and outside the state.

WHITE COMMUNITY PROJECT

The effort to organize and educate Mississippi whites in the direction of democracy and decency can no longer be delayed. About thirty students, Southern whites who have recently joined the civil rights movement, will begin pilot projects in white communities. An attempt will be made to organize poor white areas to make steps toward eliminating bigotry, poverty and ignorance.

LAW STUDENT PROJECT

A large number of law students will come to Mississippi to launch a massive legal offensive against the official tyranny of the state. The time has come to challenge every Mississippi law which deprives Negroes of their rights, and to bring suit against every state and local official who commits crimes in the name of his office.

Trained Personnel Are Needed

For applications write:
MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT
1017 Lynch Street — Room 10
Jackson, Mississippi
(applications must be received by mid-April)

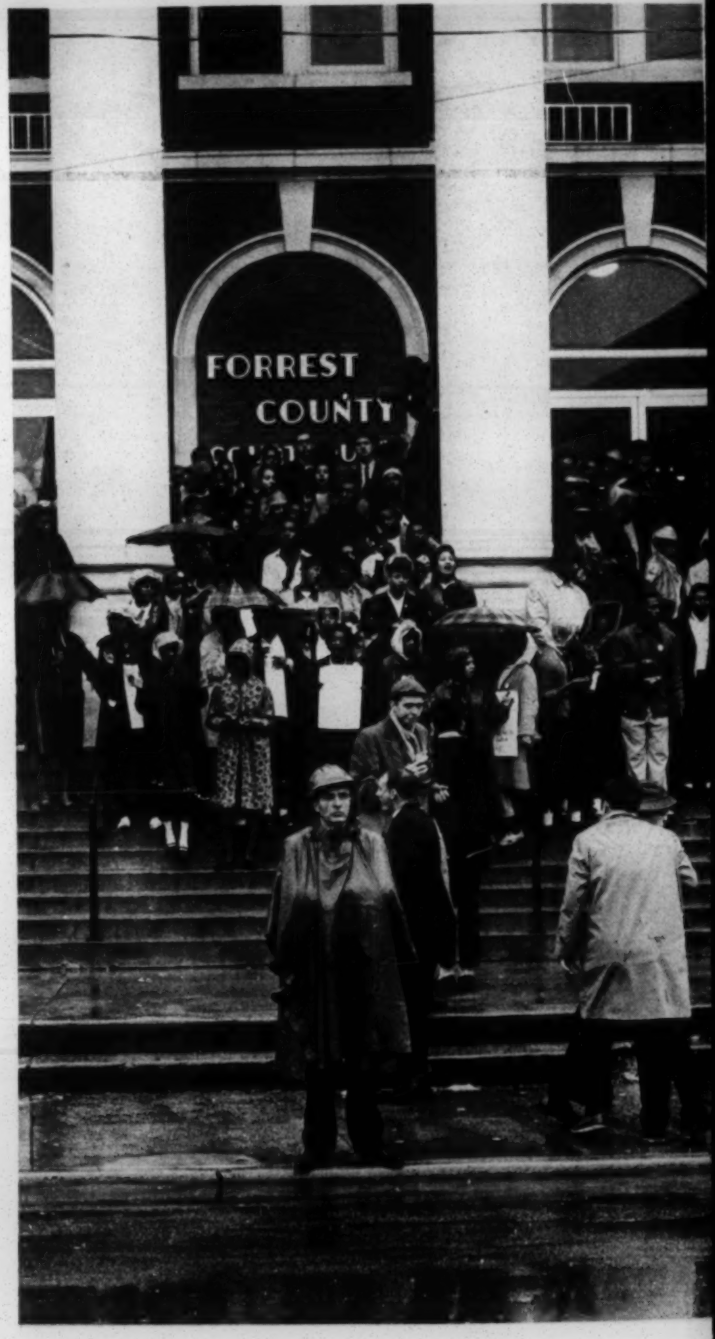
DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI PROJECT

Although the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has active projects in thirteen Southern states, it has achieved its most dynamic success in the state of Mississippi. A state where individual political life is nonexistant, where the economic condition of a vast majority of the population is appalling, the home of white supremacy, Mississippi has become the main target of SNCC's staff and resources.

In August, 1961, SNCC went into Mississippi under the leadership of Project Director Robert Moses. Overcoming violence and hardship, SNCC workers have been able to expand their activity into all five of Mississippi's congressional districts. By fall, 1963, SNCC had joined with CORE, SCLC, the NAACP and many voting and civic groups in forming a statewide organization, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), and through COFO conducted a Freedom Vote campaign in which 80,000 disenfranchised Negroes cast ballots for Aaron Henry for Governor.

Preparation for real democracy calls for additional programs in the state. Literacy projects have been instituted, and food and clothing drives. But much more comprehensive programs are needed to combat the terrible cultural and economic deprivation of Negro communities in Mississippi.

This summer, SNCC, in cooperation with COFO, is launching a massive Peace Corps-type operation in Mississippi. Students, teachers, technicians, nurses, artists and legal advisors will be recruited to come to Mississippi to staff a wide range of programs that include voter registration, freedom schools, community centers and special projects.



All photographs were taken during Freedom Day at Hattiesburg, Mississippi. on January 22. 1964. Above photo by Norris Mc Namara; other photos by Danny Lyon.

PROGRESS IN MISSISSIPPI DEPENDS ON YOU

The Mississippi Summer Project needs money now to establish and support the activities described in this pamphlet. We are asking the people of America—individuals as well as institutions—to contribute now to assist SNCC in its commitment to the struggle for justice in the state of Mississippi.

A contribution in any amount will be of help. For example:

$5 will supply school materials for one day-student for the entire summer.

$25 will pay the utility bills for one Freedom School for the summer.

$50 will buy office materials for one voter registration field office.

$100 will buy materials for a home nursing and baby care class for one Community Center.

$125 will buy one tape recorder for a Freedom School.

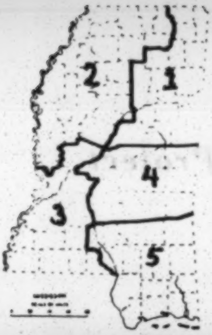
$400 will provide scholarship money for one Southern Negro college student, enabling him to return to school after working in Mississippi for the summer.

$2000 will rent and remodel a building for one Community Center.

$3000 will buy one used bus for transporting vote workers and registrants.

Send your contribution to:

MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
8½ Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia



**Council
Of
Federated
Organizations**

The King's Wish

WORK-STUDY PROJECT

The Work-Study Project

The Work-Study Project is sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Tougaloo College.

The project was begun because many students wanted to work in the movement but were afraid they would not be able to go back to school. The Work-Study Project gives these students a chance to work on voter registration and attend school also. It is called a work-study project because people in the project will do voter registration work for one month, then attend institutes for one month.

During the voter registration work, people in the project will go to different parts of Mississippi to work in a SNCC voter registration drive with the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). They will be SNCC field secretaries. During the study period, all of the work-study people will come together for discussions, lectures and classes on many things that are not taught in Mississippi's schools. They will learn about Negro history, the government of the state and the country, and many other things.

Who Can Come?

Only thirty people can join a Work-Study Project each year. They must:

- live in Mississippi, and
- plan to go to Tougaloo College.

The Field Foundation will provide a one-year scholarship to Tougaloo.

How Can You Become A Part?

To become a part of the Work-Study Project, you must:

- send an application to Tougaloo College, Office of Admissions, Tougaloo, Miss.
- be accepted by Tougaloo before you can be accepted by the Work-Study Project. But do not wait until you are accepted by Tougaloo to apply to the Work-Study Project.
- file an application with the Work-Study Project. You can get an application at any COFO office or by writing to:

WORK-STUDY PROJECT
1017 Lynch St.
Jackson, Mississippi

PLEASE PRINT

Name ______________________ Age ______

Address ___________________ City ______________

High School You Attend ______________________________

When Will You Graduate? Month __________ Year __________

____ Please send me more information on the Work-Study Project.

____ Please send me an application for the Work-Study Project.

Mail to: Work-Study Project, 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS

write: COFO STATE OFFICE
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Miss.
or call: 352-9605

or contact the office near you:

COFO
1323 6th Avenue N.
Columbus, Miss.
328-8916

COFO
213 4th Street
Clarksdale, Miss.
624-2913

COFO
708 Avenue N
Greenwood, Miss.
453-1282

COFO
507 Mobile Street
Hattiesburg, Miss.
584-7670

COFO
2505 1/2 5th Street
Meridian, Miss.
485-9286

S
N
C
C

FREEDOM RALLY

DICK GREGORY

SNCC FREEDOM SINGERS

Songs of the Southern Freedom Movement

Like the civil rights workers themselves the songs of the movement bring news of freedom and justice to the South. They protest white-only restaurants and hotels, vote discrimination, economic pressures and deprivation, and intimidation and brutality by white citizens and police . . . and they strengthen the spirit and drive that is changing all this. They ring out from . . .

the farmers' shacks
and dusty roads
of the South . . .

the county churches . . .

the sit-ins . . .

the picket lines . . .

the southern stockades and prisons . . .

the freedom rallies . . .

the voter registration drives . . .

. . . Without them the movement would lack a vital and enriching force which brings depth and meaning to the cry for FREEDOM NOW. They are the songs that will not be stilled until the struggle for freedom and dignity is won.

DICK GREGORY

Dick Gregory's activities in the civil rights struggle dates back to his high school days. As a track star at Sumner High School in St. Louis he led a march on the Board of Education because the athletic records at the segregated Negro meets were not included in official record books. This demonstration helped to contribute to eventual desegregation in St. Louis public schools. While at Southern Illinois University he helped lead successful protests against restricted seating of Negroes in the balcony of the Varsity Theatre.

After gaining national prominence as a comedian, Gregory continued in the freedom struggle, giving numerous benefits and speaking tours for various civil rights groups. At a mass rally in Jackson, Mississippi, a voter registration worker whose wife had died while he was in jail, told Gregory of his experiences. The comedian decided then to become more directly involved in the struggle. This decision led him into direct action in cities in which he has been arrested at least eight times, posted bonds totalling $2,000.00, served a total of two months in jail and lost more than $100,000.00 in canceled engagements. In one week alone he canceled $42,000.00 in performances to participate in demonstrations.

Despite the risk to his career, his family, his earnings and his life Gregory has vowed to remain in the fight for human rights. He has already spent more than one-half of his earnings as a professional entertainer in the cause. His wife, Lillian, who has participated in drives beside her husband and has gone to jail in Alabama and Georgia (sometimes while pregnant), supports Gregory's conviction and action with her own.

Dick Gregory appears today as part of a 30-day fund-raising tour for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

SNCC FREEDOM SINGERS

THE FREEDOM SINGERS appear today representing hundreds of freedom fighters who are struggling to bring a new hope of democracy to the South. Theirs is the story of voter registration drives met by snarling police dogs, of picket lines turned back by fire hoses and of sit-ins ended with electric cattle prods. Theirs is also the story of a determination and commitment which has given Americans everywhere a vision of freedom.

MARSHALL JONES, 26, is from Knoxville, Tennessee. He is a graduate of Florida A. & M. University and became involved in the civil rights movement while studying for his Master's degree at the University of Tennessee. He has been arrested twice for civil rights activity. He was a prize winner at last year's University of Tennessee Folk Festival and has sung with the Knoxville Civic Opera.

EMORY HARRIS, is 20 years old and from Albany, Georgia. He first came into the movement while still a high school student during the time of massive demonstrations in that city. He has worked in SNCC vote drives in Terrell and Lee Counties in southwest Georgia, and has been arrested seven times in connection with that work.

JAMES PEACOCK, 28, is a native Mississippian who first became active in voter resistration work in South Carolina. He returned to Mississippi and has worked for SNCC in Greenwood, Vicksburg and Jackson. His civil rights work has led to three arrests.

CHARLES "Chuck" NEBLETT toured with the first Freedom Singers group, appearing at Carnegie Hall, on television and on campuses throughout the country. Twenty-two year old Neblett left Southern Illinois University to work with SNCC in Cairo, Illinois and Missouri in the summer of 1962 and has since worked in Mississippi.

MATTHEW JONES, 27, is from Knoxville, Tennessee. He has been arrested 20 times for civil rights participation and was active in SNCC's Danville, Virginia, drive in the summer of 1963. A former school teacher, Jones has lost work in Macon, Georgia and Tennessee because of his civil rights work. He has composed many freedom songs, some of which the Freedom Singers will present tonight.

RECORD & SONGBOOK AVAILABLE FROM SNCC

FREEDOM SINGERS

WE SHALL OVERCOME

A record of Southern Freedom Songs by the original Freedom Singers.

WE SHALL OVERCOME!
Compiled by Guy and Candie Carawan for
The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
OAK PUBLICATIONS

WE SHALL OVERCOME

A book of Southern Freedom Songs, with guitar chords. Plus documentary of movement with testimonies of civil rights workers. Compiled by Guy and Candie Carawan.

-:- ORDER FORM -:-

SNCC — 6 RAYMOND STREET, N. W. — ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

Please send:

...... copy (ies) of Freedom Songbook, We Shall Overcome, at $1.95 each.

........copy (ies) of Freedom Singers Record, at $4.00 each.

Total amount enclosed $..............................

Name ....

Address ....

City.. State ....

SNCC

On February 1, 1960 four Negro college students sat down at a lunch counter in Greensboro, N. C. and asked that they be served. These four students have today been joined by hundreds of young people who work for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. They form the front lines of the freedom movement which has shaken the conscience and social structure of the South and of the entire country.

Today over 130 SNCC workers man voter registration and direct action projects throughout the South. Now located in some 60 counties from Texas to Maryland, SNCC field secretaries will also be based in all 82 Mississippi counties by mid-summer.

SNCC workers, most of them college students taking time out from studies or recent graduates delaying professional careers, receive subsistence wages. They live in homes of the people with whom they work and take part in the rural life of the Black Belt South. Food, clothing and their $10.00 weekly pay is shared among all, for their constituents are among the most impoverished in the land. As a part of their daily work, SNCC staff members conduct classes in freedom schools which augment inferior state education, organize the distribution of food and clothing sent for emergency relief and, above all, inspire in the community a sense of hope for a future of dignity and freedom.

SNCC workers daily risk their lives in the face of police suppression and local terrorism. They are convinced, however, that democracy will have its test in the most resistant areas of the hard core Black Belt South. They cannot continue without your help.

-:- PLEDGE CARD -:-

In response to the appeal of the Freedom Singers enclosed is my contribution of $ ....

I pledge to contribute $ .... per month. Contributors to SNCC receive "The Student Voice". Please send more information ....

Name ....

Address ....

City .... State ....

Mail to: SNCC, 6 Raymond St., N. W., Atlanta 14, Georgia

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On two of St. Augustine's murky nights, after state troopers in large numbers had been called in to stop beatings, brick and acid throwing, and other violence against non-violent demonstrators, white people bearing anti-Negro signs, led by racists, marched in a demonstration procession of their own through the main Negro neighborhood of the city. The troopers in a line longer than the procession of 170, walked beside them to protect them, as they had also done for the Negros. The white marchers include persons recognizable as members of the mob which had waited nightly to shout at and attack the Negro demonstrators. There were also children and women. Two boys, of the age for Boy Scout hikes, shambled along, side by side, eyes excited.

When this strange procession, with the armed troopers flashing lights to the sides, their police dogs barking, reached the entrance to the neighborhood, a sign greeted them: "Welcome. Peace and brotherhood to you." On the first night, as the column of whites moved by the sign along a dark street of Negro store fronts, a trooper whispered to himself: "God damn. It's dynamite." There was no violence either night.

The second night, when the procession filed into the same street, it was lined on both sides by Negroes. Some held signs: I am an American" ... "Equality for all in '64..." They extended the length of street, a good three blocks, outnumbering the white marchers probably three to one. They were still, almost motionless. And as the procession of whites, with Confederate flags and a big American flag, and their own signs - "Kill the Civil set italics

Rights Bill"..."Put George Wallace on the Supreme Court"..."Don't Tread on Me" -- went by, the Negroes sang their battle song: "I love everybody." Slowly, mournfully, softly, along the whole street, as the silent procession went by, they sang. An old Negro man and woman stood, arm in arm, staring at the white procession with eyes of loathing pain. "I love everybody..." they sang. A second floor porch over a store was filled with Negroes, staring down, singing. "Look up that Nigger's dress," one in the march said. Others shushed him. The song continued:

"I love everybody. I love everybody. I love everybody. I love everybody in my heart...You can't make me doubt him. You can't make me doubt him. You can't make me doubt him in my heart."

Down the darkened streets of residential sections, the procession moved, by a yard full of blooming flowers, by a shack with jazz blaring tinnily out, by the solemn, sorrowful faces of a family on a porch -- two children, a woman, a young man, his face angry. Most of the houses were darkened. Children's eyes peeped from behind curtains drawn in a window, visible in the darting beams of the troopers flashlights.

Near the end of the march a short line of Negroes stood on a corner, singing, "We shall overcome." Another was at the next corner. The song echoed in silent, dark streets, against the cadence of the marching feet. "We are not afraid," a slim Negro woman standing alone on her front porch joined in.

Along the last street, tension gone, jokes stirring in the ranks, the procession went.

set Italics

The police lights kept flashing, and two of them caught a woman in slacks standing on her porch, holding a baby, looking out. As the two lights held in a cross on her face she bent it to kiss her baby.

"Let's give a hand," shouted the leader in a speech at the end of the march, "to our law enforcement officers for protecting us from th~~e~~ose black savages."

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set regular

St. Augustine was the South's last great demonstration campaign against ~~[illegible]~~ legally supported segregation of public accommodations, the struggle continuing right up to signing of the civil rights law, as though to illustrate daily the desperate need for the law.

It showed, in counterpoint to violence broken loose in Negro ghettos of the North, once more the majesty of the non-violent movement, its mood and meaning, and the ~~[illegible]~~ sadness of American failures to respond in kind.

And beyond the struggle over race, it contained ingredients of what many are coming to discern as a larger national conflict emerging, involving freedom and justice and their opposites.

St. Augustine is regarded as the oldest city in America; ~~it~~ it is on the Atlantic coast, 30 miles below Jacksonville, and has a population of 15,000, of which 23% are Negroes.

The first-wave student sit-ins made no dent there. Dr. R. W. Puryear, president of the all-Negro Florida Memorial College, told a story about what happened in 1961 which conformed to observable patterns of 1964. Negro youngsters were locked in a variety store where they attempted to get service. ~~Men identified as sheriffs' deputies allowed~~ ~~a~~ A gang of local white toughs were allowed to come into the store, and they set upon the demonstrators, beating them badly.

Another round of demonstrations occurred in the summer of 1963. They succeeded in removing discriminatory signs in public facilities, and in desegregating lunch counters at two chain variety stores.

With ~~Threat of~~ a court suit threatened, ~~succeeded in desegregating~~ local schools were voluntarily desegregated to the extent that six Negro children were admitted in the fall of 1963.

Such progress was against a backdrop of such severe law enforcement as arrest of Negroes for distributing handbills, and the sentencing of four young demonstrators by Juvenile Court Judge Charles Mathis Jr. to what amounted to an indefinite term in the State reformatory. Their parents had refused to agree that they would demonstrate no more, and even when they did agree, six months later, it took a state board to free them. Bitterness about this still rankles.

The progress was also in the midst of waves of violence against Negroes. Ironically, the only fatality was a white man, shot to death in the fall of 1963 while riding with a shotgun through a Negro neighborhood where homes had been fire-bombed and shot into. Three Negro leaders were arrested.

In early 1964, during a lull in violence after the act of Supreme lawlessness which killed President Kennedy, there were signs of conciliation, a move toward a biracial committee. But violence, more fierce than before, intervened.

There were beatings and rifle fire into homes. Two Negro families had supplied the children who desegregated schools. One had its car burned while the parents were at a PTA meeting. The other had its home burned up.

Rifle slugs ripped into the home of Dr. R. N. Hayling, as his wife and two daughters slept. A boxer dog in the living room was killed. Dr. Hayling, a young dentist and Korean War veteran, had led the NAACP action during the summer. But after a severe beating by the Ku Klux Klan, and a rebuff by federal judge William McRae in an unsuccessful civil rights case over demonstrations, he had declared himself out of civil rights activity. The early 1964 violence apparently brought him back in; he soon emerged as head of a St. Augustine branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which led the spring and summer demonstrations in 1964.

No arrests were made during this siege of violence. ~~As in other parts of the South, accusations were whispered that Negroes did it.~~

The impact of terriorism in the specific human situation is easily glossed over. Out of the mouths of children, one gets a fleeting impression of its feel. "Does this mean," asked one of the school desegregation youngsters, whose home was burned, "that I can't go back to my school?" Said one of Dr. Hayling's little girls: "Daddy, they didn't understand about our dog. He looked real mean but he wouldn't hurt anybody. They shouldn't have killed him."

The beating of Dr. Hayling and three other St. Augustine Negroes occured in September, 1963, at a Ku Klux Klan meeting half a mile off U.S. Highway 1 just outside St. Augustine. The Florida Council on Human Relations published an eyewitness account by the Rev. Irvin Cheney of Daytona Beach written without notes immediately after he was there. It included an oration by a [redacted] Klan preacher, [redacted] the content of which helps in understanding the emotional climate of later events.

"But anyhow," [redacted] the Klan preacher is quoted as telling the crowd of 250 people, some robed and masked, "They [FBI] came by and said, 'Now you don't really advocate violence do you?' And I said, 'The hell you say. The niggers has declared all-out war on the plan of God and on God's family, the white man, and in war you shoot.' Then they said to me, 'Do you know who bombed the church in Birmingham?' And I said, 'No, and if I did, I wouldn't tell you.'

"But I'll tell you here tonight, if they can find those fellows they ought to pin medals on them. Someone said, 'Ain't it a shame that them little children was killed.' Well they don't know what they are talking about. In the first place, they ain't little. They're 14 or 15 years old--old enough to have venereal disease, and I'll be surprised if all of 'em didn't have one or more. In the second place, they weren't children. Children are little people, little human beings and that means white people. There's little monkeys, but you don't call them children...There's little dogs and cats and apes and baboons and skunks and there's also little niggers. But they ain't children...And in the third place, it wasn't no shame they were killed. Why? Because when I go out to kill rattlesnakes, I don't make no difference between little rattlesnakes and big rattlesnakes...So I kill 'em all, and if there's four less niggers tonight, then, I say, 'Good for whoever planted the bomb.'"

Such "preachers" were on hand during 1964's summer crisis, exhorting the mob.

Dr. Hayling, in an interview, told about the beating. He and the other three Negroes, apparently hoping to listen to the meeting from a side road, were caught and carried before the crowd. A stunned silence greeted their audacity, broken finally by a woman's scream: "Kill 'em. Castrate 'em."

They were beaten unconscious. Dr. Hayling said he heard someone say: "Work on his right hand; he's a right handed dentist." He said he regained consciousness to find himself piled upon the other three men, "like firewood." "Did you ever smell a nigger burn?" he said he heard a Klansman say. "Just wait until Klan brother so-and-so gets back with five gallons of gasoline and then you can. It's a mighty sweet smell."

Upon this scene, St. Johns County Sheriff L. O. Davis finally arrived. He arrested four Klansmen. St. Augustine justice found them innocent of assault on the Negroes - who had had to be given hospital treatment from the beatings. Subsequent charges of assault were placed against the Negroes, this based in part on discovery of a gun in their car. They were found guilty, and have appealed.

Before the beating, in August 1963, the Florida Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held hearings in St. Augustine, and issued a report which forecast much of what was to come.

It recommended that the federal government not grant a requested $350,000 to the city for celebration of its 400th anniversary in 1965. (So far it hasn't, and local officials seem reconciled that it won't.) The planning of the celebration, keyed to attracting tourists and Latin American cooperation, stood out among exercises in unreality during the crisis.

A planning dinner in the early summer of 1963, at which then Vice President Johnson was honor guest, barely averted embarrassment from demonstrators. Local Negroes still feel promises made then toward reconciliation were not kept. A dinner for the Pan-American Union Committee interested in the celebration had to be moved in the spring of 1964 to Washington to avoid demonstrations. Dr. Hayling, in some bitterness, some hope, still keeps in his office a document on the Pan-American Union, and quotes some of its ideology: "All men are born free and equal in dignity and in rights, and being endowed by nature with reason and conscience, they should conduct themselves as brothers, one to another..."

Earle W. Newton, executive secretary of the local quaddricentennial commission, a transplanted New Englander, blamed both embarrassments on "Radical elements" among Negroes trying to get "publicity." Blandly, he described plans of the commission to restore ancient buildings, to hold a year-long pageant in 1965, and to establish a great, "Inter-American Center" as a link to Latin America. Asked if he honestly conceived of these things happening in a city so committed to segregation (an anomoly among the state's resorts), he said he realized the "racial problem" would have to be solved.

Then he said: "With all the sympathy I have for the Negro cause, I think their problems are two. One is a demand for basic human rights. The other is a demand for publicity. And I'm not sure if they did get the first, the second would be satisfied."

White?

So much for the Negroes' sympathizers in St. Augustine. The Advisory Committee had also recommended the suspension of federal contracts for Fairchild Stratos Corp., "until it ends discriminatory practises and the intimidation of Negro workers," and remedial steps against the union there, the International Machinists, Local 1224.

Fairchild, whose sole business in its St. Augustine plant is repairing government planes, came up in testimony in federal court during the crisis. James Hauser, an employe, testified that he was beat up on company property (the parking lot) by six men, three of whom were plant employes. He also said that Klan symbols and epithets were chalked on plant equipment and washrooms.

In an interview, ~~In his office at the plant,~~ W. N. (Buck) Hall, plant superintendent, explained that the old advisory committee charges of discrimination in the plant had been a misunderstanding, and that all had been cleared up. About the beating, he said Mr. Hauser should have sworn out a warrant and let a jury act~~ on the beating~~. (Mr. Hauser had been one of the four victims of the earlier Klan beating and its subsequent legal action.) "We're in a tough spot," Mr. Hall said, without elaborating. He said he talked to Mr. Hauser the day after the beating, and his face showed no signs of ~~Yet~~ his having been hit. He said Mr. Hauser's statements previously had been false. Asked if he was still an employe, he said he was. Later reports indicated that one of Mr. Hauser's assailant, Holstead Richard (Hoss) Manucy, was fired from the plant over the beating.

Mr. Hall denied the charges about the Klan in the plant. Then he said a peculiar thing for an "old Southern boy," as he called himself. He said he just didn't know much about the Ku Klux Klan, not enough to say anything about it. "They might have a good cause, as far as I know..."

Having cited two of the three major outside influences on St. Augustine (the third is tourism), the advisory committee (whose hearing was not attended by city officials) called the city "a segregated superbomb aimed at the heart of Florida's economy and political integrity--the fuse is short."

The bomb burst first during Easter week of 1964. With 40,000 on hand for a big "Easter parade," featuring Mother Goose and Alice in Wonderland characters, Negro pickets turned out carrying signs more attuned to the religious significance of the season. Sit-ins were resumed. Participants included prominent New Englanders, the most prominent, Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, mother of the governor of Massachusetts, and wife of a retired Episcopal bishop.

This 72-year-old lady was among scores arrested for attempting to get interracial service in various of the luxurious motel dining rooms of the city. She was placed in the St. Johns County Jail ~~jailed~~, (and later described crowded conditions in it.) ~~the St. Johns County jail~~. ~~From a long lifetime of valuable good works at home, she had come to know the~~

~~special venom of the racist stricture to concerned Americans from without the South that they cleaned up their own [illegible] before protesting southern outrages.~~

Between this episode and the last week in May, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference picked St. Augustine as the site of its first big campaign of the "long, hot summer." The locale was considered appropriate to set a tone for the fateful summer, the tone in such a small-town southern Negro community reliably predictable as non-violent and movingly spiritual, and, as it turned out, the tone of the white reaction typifying the worst of excesses.

On the night of May 26, Negroes began the non-violent protest marches which kept up for a month as the symbolic confrontation of the crisis.

The marches moved from Negro churches in a generally Negro residential area southeast of the downtown area. The "slave market," which sits at one end of one of the old city's block-long, middle-of-the-street parks, became the center of ~~one of the~~ a non-sequitor argument~~s~~ of the type which rise amid the emotion of such situations. Negroes claimed it as a rallying point on grounds that in it, ~~was a site where~~ their ancestors were sold as human chattel. White residents stoutly maintained that its name came from a less brutal aspect of the peculiar institution, the use of it by slaves to sell produce and handicrafts in olden times.

Whatever its antecedents, the slave market became a strategic goal. The first march attained it with no opposition, about the only contrary voice being that of a man in a store-front headquarters of gubernatorial candidate Haydon Burns, a segregationist. It was election night, and the man shouted: "If our man's in, you niggers have had it." (His man was in.)

The next night, a gang of white toughs---from then on to be omnipresent in crisis developments--was ensconsed in the slave market. The Negroes, with word going down the line that the Klan was up ahead, marched up to them, and by them. There was no violence, but reporters observed such weapons among the whites as bicycle chains and iron pipes.

Such weapons were used by the same gang of white toughs the next night--not as much on demonstrators as on newsmen. Local police with police dogs were between the marchers and the mob, but got out of the way. Cameras and tape recorders were snatched and smashed. Someone hit NBC cameraman Irvin Gans on the back of the head with a bicycle chain. He was put in the hospital. Other cameraman were chased.

"Niggers ain't got no God," a member of the mob shouted when the marchers tried to kneel and pray. One demonstrator, a Negro man, was clubbed on the head ~~by the mob~~.

Harry Boyte, 52, a white official of SCLC, attempted to take a picture of the violence. A tough jumped on him, and a policeman with a dog moved in, They all rolled to the ground. A television reporter flung himself over Boyte to protect him.

outside!

Later that night, a shotgun was fired at Mr. Boyte and his college-age son as they drove into their motel. Neither was hit.

Still later that night, eleven rifle bullets and a shotgun charge were pumped from three directions into a beach cottage rented by Dr. King. A light was burning in the cottage, but it was not occupied that night. Dr. King and SCLC officials had been in it on previous nights.

There were no arrests in any of these acts of violence. There were however arrests that week and subsequent ones of demonstrators seeking service at St. Augustine public accommodations. They were charged with violating a Florida private property law.

After such a night, the St. Augustine Record in an editorial initialed by A. H. Tebault Jr., general manager and son of the owner, declared: "Most solid citizens who believe in strong law enforcement and general adherence and respect by the public are rapidly becoming 'fed up' with minority groups that flaunt the law and then cry 'police brutality.'...Both the city and county law enforcement officers have done an excellent job in prohibiting serious violent actions during the latest period of unrest..." In its news columns, the paper said newsmen "set off" the violence by their presence.

outside?

By contrast, the Daytona Beach Morning Journal commented: "All hurlers of invectives and brandishers of sticks and clubs should be arrested.

"And then the leading citizens should get together in a spirit of calm determination to work out rational solutions to the city's problems.

"The tolerance of violence can lead only to more violence and a bad name for St. Augustine and for Florida."

On the following night, local police and some state troopers blocked a march on one of the city's narrow streets. The sheriff had the night before told Negroes that night marches would be forbidden. The Negroes knelt to pray, police dogs bayed, and a man in a sport coat walked up to a photographer taking available light pictures of the scene and knocked his camera from his hands with a billy club. ~~breaking the photographer's knuckle.~~ A uniformed deputy looked on, and did nothing, and the photographer held his injured hand.

At this stage of things, newsmen reported seeing for the first time J.B. Stoner on the scene, riding around in a car with two other men, one of whom was armed with a pistol and a leather blackjack. Stoner is an Atlanta attorney long known to Southern police as an influence in extremist anti-Negro and anti-Jewish causes. He has defended Klansmen and others in cases involving racist violence. He has been designated as the vice presidential candidate of the National States Right Party, a fringe-element organization formerly concentrating on anti-Semiticism, more recently virulently anti-Negro. He later led the white marches, walking, as it was described in federal court, with a slight limp. A Florida legislative investigating committee said he and Connie Lynch, a Californian, were instrumental in provoking strife.

Negroes went into federal court on Monday asking an injunction against the ban on night marches on grounds that it violated First

Amendment rights to free speech and to petition for redress of grievances, and Fourteenth Amendment protection of these rights. This was the first of three hearings in the court of District Judge Bryan Simpson in Jacksonville, all remarkable for what they revealed about conditions in St. Augustine.

Judge Simpson, a tall, gray-haired native Floridian, in this first hearing frequently directed questions from the bench to the officialdom of the city as one by one (police officers, Police Chief Virgil Stewart, Sheriff Davis, Mayor Joseph A. Shelly, City Manager Charles P. Barrier, and newspaperman Tebault), they gave greatly similar sworn testimony. The case they presented was essentially contradictory -- that the situation was dangerous enough to warrant abridgement of constitutional rights, but that law enforcement had not been wanting; stories of violence were exaggerated, and rather than an armed mob of hoodlums beating demonstrators, it was merely a group of high-spirited teen-agers. ~~had beset demonstrators.~~ While such an argument suited St. Augustine self-interest which is focused on attracting tourists from over the nation, it did not get far in meeting the simple demand of federal law in such a case--that proof of a clear and present danger against the safety of the community is the only legal excuse for abridging first-amendment rights.

Repeatedly, Judge Simpson asked these city officials, including Sheriff Davis, who was in charge of law enforcement, whether efforts had been made to get identification of armed whites gathered at the slave market, ~~and armed,~~ and whether efforts had been made to arrest them when they had committed violence. The answer was obviously no. At later hearings, the judge kept asking with the same insistence, and getting the same negative response, whether any responsible citizens had spoken out against violence , and for calm.

Testimony of Sheriff Davis indicated that state troopers had been assigned to St. Augustine. The Sheriff, as chief law officer of the county, was in charge of them. Judge Simpson began asking about emergency and "special" part-time deputies. The following is from the court transcript of his questioning of Sheriff Davis:

8TN/14

☐ The Court: And what is the number of these special deputies?

The Witness: Well, I had around forty for fifteen days in Easter.

The Court: Forty for fifteen days in Easter.

The Witness: During the Easter period and I have a total now of about, I'd say thirty--thirty-thirty-five special deputies.

The Court: Well, what is the source of them? Where do you get them?

The Witness: Well for instance, I have eight or ten from Fairchild.

The Court: Where is Fairchild? Oh, from the Fairchild Plant?

The Witness: Yes, Sir, and they, when I need them, I call the plant and ask for the foreman and he goes in and gets them and sends them right to me.

The Court: All right, where are the rest of them? Where do you get the rest of them?

The Witness: Around town, I have some from Diesel Sales and some businessmen. I have an engineer there.

The Court: Do you recruit them from the Ku Klux Klan there in St. Augustine, Sheriff Davis?

The Witness: No sir:

The Court: Are some of them Klansmen, some of these special deputies?

The Witness: No sir, not to my knowledge, if they are.

The Court: Are you a Klansman?

The Witness: No Sir.

The Court: What is the Ancient Gun Club?

The Witness: That was formed by a man there that's a ---he has a forestry outfit there...

[The name of the organization was later determined in court to be the Ancient City Hunting Club.]

...

The Court: Are you acquainted with the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in your county either officially or through unofficial observation?

The Witness: I don't think we had a klan there until last year when we had an incident south of town.

...

The Court: I ask you this, isn't the Ancient City Gun Club just the local name for the Klan down there?

The Witness: I--I don't think it is, your Honor. I've questioned everyone that I've had contact with. In fact, I've --

The Court: When you go to recruit these special deputies or somebody tells you to put on a special deputy, how carefully do you look into the background of the people that you put on?

The Witness: At that time, I couldn't look into it when I put them on.

...

The Court: You say that now there are about thirty-five or forty?

The Witness: Yes sir.

The Court: I suggest you have around a hundred special deputies, men that you have deputized and told you may call on them...

The Witness: I had --

The Court: At this time. I suggest that to you.

The witness: I don't know judge, I really don't --

The Court: Don't you know how many you've got?

The Witness: No sir, I don't.

...

The Court: I would like to satisfy myself about this matter I've asked Sheriff Davis to report to me about. I think as a law enforcement officer, Sheriff, you can appreciate the danger in a situation where you have the members of the klan or allied organizations as I know and understand their purposes, if you have thee people in your organization as deputies, whether you call them special deputies or auxiliaries or whatever you call them, in this situation.

The Witness: Yes sir.

10/11

At Judge Simpson's order, the sheriff produced in court the next day a list of his special deputies, and read the names off--well over a hundred. At the name, Holsted Manucy, Judge Simpson exclaimed: "Why that man's a convicted felon in this court!" Later, Holsted Manucy, known as "Hoss", emerged as the leader of the violent gang which ran roughshod over law officers to get at demonstrators. His men with two-way radio aerials on cars were omnipresent, as were young men and teenagers who followed him about. He made inflammatory speeches and granted interviews, explaining that his federal conviction was for nothing more than bootlegging, and denying affiliation of his gang with the Klan, although praising the Klan. A short, barrel-bodied man who wore a big black cowboy hat, he was strutting and making pronouncements about "niggers" to the end at the crisis. And to the end, he was ~~often~~ seen doing this in the Sheriff's office.

Judge Simpson asked for a cessation of demonstrations while he deliberated on the decision. Negro leaders had to debate it in the court corridor before reluctantly agreeing.

"This is a very important thing," said William M. Kunstler, one of the attorneys representing the Negroes, congratulating them. In one of those many overestimations of the public's ability to make such discernments, he went on: "This will show the nation that you are responsible."

During the truce which lasted all that week, Dr. King returned to St. Augustine on Thursday. At a press conference, he said that even including Albany[16] and Birmingham, "This to my mind is the most lawless community that we've ever worked in in the whole struggle over the past few years..."

And in one of the packed, steaming-hot mass meetings in a Negro church, where the real truth, infrequently perceived, of the southern Negro movement is to be found, with all of America's and the West's philosophical, political, and religious fundamentals spoken out in a great folk outpouring of song, prayer and speech, Dr. King said to the audience of typical ~~small southern~~ small-town Negro Southerners:

Corny!

"I want to commend you for the beauty [YES crackled a deep bass response of a kind always heard in such audiences] And the dignity and the courage [YES LORD] with which you carried out

Negro Southerners?

demonstrations last week. /applause/ I know what you faced. And I understand that as you marched silently with dignity and with a deep commitment to non-violence, you confronted the brutality of the klan. You confronted the brutality of individuals who feel thay can block our righteous efforts toward a just and free society by beating Negroes--and not only Negroes but by beating white people who are here to give objective coverage to what is taking place in this community. But amid all this you stood up...This was a beautiful witness...So I want to commend you, the heroes of St. Augustine...Soon the Klan will see...that all of their methods or all of their violence will not stop us for we are on the way to Freedom Land and we don't mean to stop 'til we get there.../fervent applause/

"Now they do other things. You know they threaten~~ed~~ us occasionally with more than beatings here and there. They threaten us with actual physical death. They think that this will stop the movement. I got word way out in California that a plan was underway to take my life in St. Augustine, Florida. Well, if physical death is the price that I must pay to free my white brother and all of my brothers and sisters from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing can be more redemptive. /applause/ We have long since learned to sing anew with our foreparents of old that before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave and go home to my Father, and be ~~safe~~ saved... /applause/.

(The mass meetings have their own special heat, a physical presence in the South's sweating, cloud-brooding nights, and they have their special fervor, and their special beauty of simple people caught in something bigger than themselves, than present time, than even their nation: An old woman with thick-rimmed glasses far down on her nose, singing of freedom, and a big woman in a long flowered dress and a big sun hat, nodding vigorous assent to the cry to go to jail, and a young woman with a poodle cut, her baby in her arms, and a middle-class lady in a pink dress, and a teen-age girl in a yellow blouse and a young man in a blue t-shirt, and an old man with a farmer's lean face and long hands wearing black and white shoes, and two boys, solemn, one's head an African sculpture of clean, blue-black lines, all nodding, singing, clapping, shouting a belief bigger, still, than anything the earth has yet known. The Rev. C. T. Vivian, a tan-faced man with a thin moustache and liquid eyes, reported to them about the court procedure: "L.O. Davis was on the hot seat." They cheered, and cheered again when he described the reading of the deputy's list. And then they cheered as the Rev. Mr. Vivian broke off and introduced Attorney Kunstler, pointing to him, as heads turned to see him, coming in the rear door. He is a [redacted], vociferous spirit out of New York City, [redacted] a creature of a culture of much sophistication and tough-mindedness. He came forward, arms outstretched, grinning, and the Rev. Mr. Vivian moved down from the pulpit to meet him, and these two men, white and black, embraced each other there in front of a church full of people who had not seen this sort of thing before, and in the silence of seeing it, a sweet, soprano voice rose and the others joined in, and they sang to it, this sight saying so much of the

[illegible]

like hellin, I'm crying again

meaning and truth and simple hope there in the church.

(Later, a speaker, making the numerous announcements of such meetings, said that Mr. Kunstler had not expected the case to last so long, and had not brought enough clothes, and would the ladies send up a volunteer to clean up his clothes, because he had to look "real nice" in court the next day. The ladies came forward.)

No move was made by the officials of the city during that week of truce to try to end the demonstrations by ~~the simple act of~~ sitting down and negotiating. SCLC invited this, and instead of demands set out "suggestion" in a letter to leaders. By then, the economic effect was being felt. The city depends upon the tourist trade; the figure most often used was that it supports 80 % of business. This is in a ~~way~~ manner different from most of Florida'a vacation resorts. Rather than visitors coming to stay their allotted week, two weeks, month or season under the sun, St. Augustine seems satisfied to attract ~~them~~ people briefly, for a night or an afternoon or an hour or two. The city's Chamber of Commerce has a list of 21 "attractions" in the city, most of them charging admission, and this sort of stop-and-look (and pay) traffic is the staple of the city's tourist industry. Tourists clip-cl~~a~~op in horse-drawn surreys through an incredible jumble of authentic historical sites and beautiful Spanish-Colonial architecture and tasteless side-show commercialism. When demonstrations were in full swing, the sight-seeing guides, some of them elderly Negro men wearing top hats, began including sites of conflict and terrorism, like the slave market, in the tours. This attitude seems closest to the truth that holds such a city together, along with the remark attributed to a "tourist attraction" owner. When he saw that police had put in arc lights at the slave market park as a control measure against the rock and acid-throwing mob, he is supposed to have declared: "Good we'll build a grandstand and charge the tourists admission."

Probably the best indication of the negative effect of the racial conflict on tourism, ~~the willingness of vacationers to spend time and money there~~ was the count of paying visitors at the ~~[illegible]~~ Castillo de San Marcos, the old Spanish fort which dominates the downtown and, under the U.S. National Park Service, is the outstanding attraction ~~at~~ and the most reasonably priced. Business was off as much as 50 % compared with the previous year. The government forecast had been for an increase during all of this period.

One of the notable things about the St. Augustine story is that despite the awareness of this ruinous effect on money-making in a community which gave every indication of being interested in little else, the people directly affected, motel, restaurant and "attraction" operators, were unable to do anything about it, paralyzed by fear or prejudice or both.

Some of the reasons for this paralysis were evident in what one restaurant owner, James Kalivas, told about his own attempt to desegregate the previous month. In an accent still ~~fainy~~ pretty? quite? rather? thickly indicative of his Middle-East origins, he stressed his lack of interest in the race question, his lack of involvement with Negroes, his concern only to make a good profit from his restaurant. He said he had urged the restuarant association ~~to see~~ to see that the sensible way to handle desegregation was to let those who wouldn't be hurt by it do it, and let the others use the kind of discouragements common in New York City to avoid it. He was encouraged by their response, and soon afterward, he found himself confronted by Negroes seeking service. They were clean, well dressed and orderly. "I couldn't refuse them," he said. He served them. A police car was outside, he said. That night the windows of his business, his car and his home were broken. He ~~[illegible]~~ served no more. "People are scared," he said. "They are banded together. You need to survive. You don't argue with them."

He told of growing up in ~~[illegible]~~ war-torn Europe, seeing the war, partisan fighting and occupation. Never once, all through this, he said, was he afraid. "But now, I have to come to this peaceful, pretty little place in the United States of America, and I find, walking down the street, for the first time in my life, I'm afraid."

The truce ended on June 9 when Judge Simpson entered his orders in the case. This judge--who did ~~tedious~~ skillful wood carving; during the tedium of testimony, taking blocks of wood from a stack of them on the bench--~~[illegible]~~ is not considered necessarily a sympathiser with the integrationist cause. In an interview with a Jacksonville paper, he stressed his assessment of his duty--to follow precedent, not to innovate in such cases. There was through the hearings in his court a Faulknerian atmosphere, Sartoris contempt and scorn for Snopesian aspects of the affairs revealed about St. Augustine.

He enjoined the city from banning night marches on First and Fourteenth Amendment grounds. And he enjoined the sheriff from imposing higher than ordinary bond on demonstrators arrested, and from keeping them in cruel and unusual places of confinement.

One such place, mentioned in his order, was an outdoor compound behind the city jail. Local citizens referred to it as the "chicken coop." It was a roofless area about 30 by 30 feet, enclosed with hurricane fence. Demonstrators white and Negro, were kept in it during daylight hours, which under the Florida sun are by 10 a.m. above 90 degrees. ~~in heat.~~ On one morning there, about 20 demonstrators were in it, most of them seated in patches of shade provided by blankets stretched across the corners of the fence. They said no one had stopped them from bringing the blankets out, and so using them. Had they not had this protection from the sun, there could have been serious illness or death. As it was, they said, one girl had passed out the previous day. Even in the shade, the sun tanned the white inmates. "We wont be white long if this keeps up," one laughed. He was, as most whites there, a student from Florida State University. These prisoners were quiet and seemingly resigned, and morale under the circumstances seemed good. Some were reading, the titles of their books as always in such scenes, touching,

Florida Southern?

and by contrast with the treatment afforded them, a [redacted] commentary: The Nature of Prejudice, The Human Condition.

Their chief complaint was about the toilet. It was a shallow hole in the ground, Both sexes used it. A plywood enclosure hid occupants from the outside but not the inside of the compound. It stank.

Judge Simpson's order included these words: "The defendant, L.O. Davis, as sheriff has inflicted cruel and unusual punishment upon each of the plaintiffs in connection with their detention awaiting trial...The use of this compound in Florida's ninety-degree-plus June temperature and in one severe storm was sought to be justified by the defendant, Davis, as compliance with three successive grand jury reports that the jail must be equipped with an exercise yard...

"Further punishment devised by the sheriff was the crowding of nine or ten male plaintiffs together into concrete sweatboxes seven feet by eight feet. The females, 21 in number, on the other hand, were forced on one occasion, for an hour and 18 minutes, into a circular padded cell ten feet in diameter. This group included one polio victim...on crutches and unable to stand without them.

"More than cruel and unusual punishment is shown. Here is exposed in its raw ugliness, studied and cynical brutality deliberately contrived to break men, physically and mentally."

The sheriff is a surfacely genial man, his deeply-tanned face lined with the marks of many years of loud laughing, and sardonic grinning. He had just been re-elected, was in his 16th year as sheriff of St. Johns County. Bald and burly, he grinned when asked about the compound. He said he had tried keeping demonstrators inside the jail all day, but they had sung and cheered until 2 a.m. Other prisoners had complained. "People at the jail are entitled to their sleep." So the demonstrators were taken out to "exercise."

"If they're out taking exercise all day, they're ready to sleep at night."

Start

Every time you approach them, he complained, "they fall on their knees and pray for you. It's a big help."

He said he was born and raised in At. Augustine, had played high school and college football. Mr. Tebault of the newspaper, hovering about the interview, pointed out that the sheriff had once coached the Negro high school football team when its own coach was incapacitated. The sheriff nodded, beaming. "They always field a good team." On the wall was a picture of him in a Santa Claus suit.

He said he had never thought much about integration until demonstrations started last summer. "Then I became a segregationist. There are hundreds and hundreds like this. Talk about building up resistance---these people do it."

He went on to say without batting his hard little eyes that the FBI had told him that Dr. King is a Communist. (The local paper carried a full-page ad which skirted the laws of libel by implying this same canard with statements that Dr. King has "communist associates," and a smear-sheet along the same lines published in Georgia was circulated around the town.) The sheriff then told of a rumor around town that the Communists planned to kill Dr. King. "When his usefulness is over, he'll be a martyr." This same sinister story--the same that has been brought forward by right-wing extremists as the explanation of the Kennedy assassination--was reported by another resident as being whispered around town.

At mention of martyrs, Mr. Tebault [redacted] spoke up: "Medgar Evers was just a two-bit local philanthropist, and now he is a martyr. We dont want that to happen here."

His newspaper ~~besides its strictly~~ hews to a segregationist and generally right-wing editorial policy. ~~has included in its news columns; such meticulous details in [illegible] coverage as addresses of the parents of children applying to desegregate schools, and the badge number of a police officer who arrested one of the white toughs.~~ An indication of the attitude of such a journalist toward the Negro part of the community served by his paper was his federal court testimony about a mass meeting going on in a Negro church directly behind his printing plant. He said he could hear all the hollering. He was asked the name of this church. "I don't know," he answered.

/ In the reception room of the sheriff's office was a bulletin board containing letters from over the United States, and a telegram from the local chamber of commerce, praising him for his handling of the Easter demonstrations. Pictures of employes' sweet-faced children were on desks. And on a table was a stack of pamphlets charging a conspiracy to discredit local police forces. It bore the imprint of the John Birch Society.

Negroes marched on the night of the court order assuring their right to do so, and on the next night; on both nights the white gang inflicted violence on the marchers. The first night there were beatings, the second, bricks and acid. By the third night of that week, more than 100 state troopers were on the scene (in all more than 200 law officers) to march in a column in eerie silence through the hot darkness with the Negroes ~~to~~ into the purplish glare and rabid shouting at the slave market park.

(Its name, among the ironies, is Constitution Square. A wax museum, with Gandhi in its window at the time, faces it. The adjacent bay is the Innlet of Menendez, which means slaughter. Playing at the movie across the street that week was "Law of the Lawless.")

The reinforced police contingent kept the peace just barely that night, and on the next two nights managed to do the same while the whites conducted their own marches through the Negro section.

The tension of such confrontation prompted the state of Florida, in the person of Attorney General James Keynes, to return to Judge Simpson's court, asking that the ban on night marches be allowed. This time, there was no effort to double-talk on the "clear and present danger" issue. The state tried forthrightly to prove that there was.

Start

Again, Judge Simpson and attorneys for the Negroes kept asking law officers, including this time, Major J.W. Jourdan, in charge of the state troopers, whether efforts were made to identify suspicious looking persons, ~~were identified,~~ and whether persons doing violence were arrested. Again for a very large part, the answer was no. Major Jourdan testified to one incident where an automobile was found during a demonstration which contained a shotgun and five pistols, all loaded, and "probably five bushels" of ammunition. Troopers got the names of two white men to whom they belonged. The weapons and ammunition were seized and turned over to the sheriff's office which in turn informed the two men they could have them back the next morning. There were no arrests. Major Jourdan said that since the weapons were not concealed there was "no legal way" to make a case. Tobias Simon, ~~a white~~ an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer from Miami, a young white man, who represented the Negroes, asked how this could be if a "clear and present danger" of riot existed. When there were objections to his question, Judge Simpson commented drily that the attorney had merely been expressing "surprise and incredul~~i~~ousness" that the guns were not seized and men were not arrested. He ~~also~~ commented that allowing guns to be brought into such a situation was like allowing kerosene to be brought to a fire. Testimony made clear that Sheriff Davis was still the final authority over law enforcement, including the state troopers. It hinted at dissension between the state and the county police.

At the end of the day-long hearing, which was on Saturday, June 13, Judge Simpson again denied that there was clear and present or St. Augustine? [illegible]?

danger sufficient to warrant abridgement of First Amendment rights. Among the ironies, this last serious seige of demonstrations before the Civil Rights Act had the kind of Fourteenth Amendment protection all, ~~but~~ ~~few in the South~~ ~~no others,~~ should have had, but few others, if any, in the South did,

"I suggest," Judge Simpson said icily, "rigid law enforcement and some arrests and real charges against the hoodlums everybody down there seems afraid to procede against. If local law enforcement officers won't, maybe it is time for the state to step in. The state of Florida surely has the power to police a little town like St. Augustine." ~~He said he would remain assured that the state would protect lives and property and First Amendment rights.~~

A Negro woman from St. Augustine, leaving the court that warm afternoon, said fervently: "Thank God for blessings in disguise. Thank God."

Thus St. Augustine entered its final phase of crisis, the most bloody, the most revealing. There followed two weeks of increasing violence. The nation saw it in quick television shots and in the flat language of news accounts: Negroes jumping into the Monson Motor Court swimming pool, and Manager James Brock (the president of the Florida Hotel and Motel Association) rushing up to throw acid (a harmless solution, it turned out) into the water. Brock shoving rabbis from over the nation along to a paddy wagon after they tried to eat with Negroes at his dining room. Negroes again and again attempting to swim in the Atlantic Ocean, only to be met by the mob and violence, tableaus of strange, slow sluggings in the water.

White marchers met Negro marchers at night, and there was more violence. Old women and teen-age girls, unresisting, were among those ~~set upon and~~ beat up by groups of grown men. A reporter told of coming upon a teen-age Negro girl, hurt and bleeding, who in terror begged him to save her from further beating. He stood up to the whites chasing her, and she ran to safety. They knocked him down and kicked him. Newsweek described how a state trooper watched a white ~~thug~~ slug a Negro, and then offered the thug his billy club.

Troopers arrested whites at one such melee, only to turn them loose when the mob shrieked its rage. Nineteen Negroes required hospital treatment after police stood aside and allowed whites to attack them. Three whites were injured when, in this once instance, Negroes fought back, according to the New York Times.

This was on June 25. On June 26, Governor Farris Bryant imposed a ban on night marches. He was promptly ordered by Judge Simpson to show cause why he should not be held in contempt of his court order. Hearings were ~~not~~ held, but by the time for decision, Negroes had dropped the case.

For the civil rights law ~~was in~~ had gone into effect July 2, and there were promises to obey it. A secret biracial committee had been set up, apparently at the behest of the governor and three powerful local men. Demonstrations were called off. Hoss Manucy, according to the Associated Press, "advised his followers not to engage in violence during this truce period." Such, still, was the state of law enforcement.

Behind ~~the~~ this was fear ~~were~~ of the forces of terrorism and intimidation commonly referred to in St. Augustine as the Birchers and the Klan.

The far-right mentality and modus-operandi were alarmingly clear. From the top of society, ~~a~~ the absurd conviction was spread to its lowest elements that a demand for the most basic of American, Western rights may be equated with Communism.

The new dynamism of the Ku Klux Klan and Klan-type organizations, with indications of a rather well organized underground terrorist mechanism, was constantly apparent. This was symbolized by the long, whip-lash antennas on cars equipped with citizen-band radio. Such a car waited, alone, at the beach to alert the mob when Negroes came to try to swim. There are indications of interest by the Federal Communications Commission in such uses of the air waves.

Against such forces, law enforcement failed. Time after time, superior forces of police failed to prevent a relatively small crowd from doing violence. It was only in the last phase of demonstrations that arrests in any effective sense were made, and these were by state, not local, police. The strong indications, in federal court and by simple observation, of police alliances with lawlessness showed in classical outline the processes by which the ~~order~~ security of civilization itself collapses.

or cooperated?

Behind all this was a city whose every institution for a year, marked by serious violence, had refused to exercise full responsibility or recognize reality in dealings with its Negro community, awakened to American rights. A rationale which insisted on local control and at the same time insisted on severe restrictions of that control ended with amelioration possible only from without, most spectacularly from the federal bendh, and behind the scenes from the governor's office. A nation hearing anew the old cry of state rights might consider the pattern.

(1)?

Is Russia Moving Toward War With China? P. 2

Why So Many Bombings Unsolved? Because Justice Dept. Nullified The Law

Senator Keating of New York the other day suggested an on the spot Senate inquiry in Birmingham to determine why "not one" of 21 racial bombings there had been solved "despite adoption of a Federal anti-bombing statute in 1960." He can get the answer closer home by questioning Justice Department officials. He will find that for two years after the law was passed, it continued to hold that bombings were primarily a local matter.

This is the hitherto unpublished story: That the Act was being nullified first became apparent after Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the NAACP, wired the Department on Jan. 7, 1962, asking for action in three church bombings. The response, on Jan. 25, from Bourke Marshall, head of the civil rights division, was that "in view of specific provisions contained in the (1960) Act, matters of this kind fall within the primary jurisdiction of local law enforcement agencies."

Mr. Mitchell replied that the wording and intent of the Act was exactly to the contrary. This elicited a reply dated March 1, 1962, in which Mr. Marshall said, "I think I should make it clear that the policy of the Department is not to defer to local authorities in all cases" and "It will be my practice to initiate Federal investigation in appropriate circumstances."

Just what the appropriate circumstances are was not spelled out but the Department was still moving on reluctant feet when the NAACP earlier this year asked it to investigate the bombing of Medgar Evars' home shortly before he was killed. The response was that since the bombing was done by Molotov cocktail, it did not come within the terms of the act. The NAACP pointed out that the Act defined as explosive any "mixture" that could be detonated by "concussion." But by then Evers had been killed and the Department therefore classified that bombing as "moot"! This correspondence is available to the Senator whenever he wants to see it.

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The Wasteland In The White Man's Heart

It's not so much the killings as the lack of contrition. The morning after the Birmingham bombing, the Senate in its expansive fashion filled 35 pages of the *Congressional Record* with remarks on diverse matters before resuming debate on the nuclear test ban treaty. But the speeches on the bombing in Birmingham filled barely a single page. Of 100 ordinarily loquacious Senators, only four felt moved to speak. Javits of New York and Kuchel of California expressed outrage. The Majority Leader, Mansfield, also spoke up, but half his time was devoted to defending J. Edgar Hoover from charges of indifference to racial bombings. His speech was remarkable only for its inane phrasing. "There can be no excuse for an occurrence of that kind," Mansfield said of the bombing, in which four little girls at Sunday school were killed, "under any possible circumstances." Negroes might otherwise have supposed that States rights or the doctrine of interposition or the failure of the Minister that morning to say "sir" to a passing white man might be regarded as a mitigating circumstance. Even so Mansfield's proposition was too radical for his Southern colleagues. Only Fulbright rose to associate himself with Mansfield's remarks and to express condemnation. There was more indignation in the Senate over Nhu's pagoda raids in Saigon.

No National Day of Mourning

If four children had been killed in the bombing of a Berlin church by Communists, the country would be on the verge of war. But when four Senators (Hart, Kuchel, Humphrey and Javits) framed a resolution asking that the Sunday after the Birmingham bombing be set aside as a national day of mourning, they knew their fellow Senators too well even to introduce it. They sent it on to the White House where it was lost in the shuffle. Despite the formal expressions of regret, the sermons, the editorials and the marches, neither white America nor its leadership was really moved. When Martin Luther King and six other Negro leaders finally saw the President four days after the bombing, it was to find that he had already appointed a two-man committee to represent him "personally" in Birmingham, but that both men were white. This hardly set a precedent for bi-racial action. If Mr. Kennedy could take a judge off the Supreme Court to settle a labor dispute, he could have taken one of the country's two Negro judges off the Court of Appeals to dignify a mission of mediation. He might have insisted, for once, after so terrible a crime, on seeing white and Negro leaders together,

(Continued on Page Eight)

Another Fact-Evading Mission

Five months after his inaugural, President Kennedy sent Vice President Johnson to Vietnam on a fact-finding mission, where the latter haled Diem as "the Churchill of today!" Five months later Mr. Kennedy sent General Taylor and Walt W. Rostow. Every few months, the White House sends another fact-finding team to Vietnam. Now it is sending Secretary McNamara and General Taylor. To the future historian, these missions will appear not as efforts to find the facts but to evade them. One fact is that a clique of rich Catholic mandarins can't go on ruling a Buddhist country. Another fact is that you can't go on pouring napalm on villages and poisons on crops, uprooting people and putting them in prison-like compounds, and expect to be liked. A third fact is that you can't stabilize Southeast Asia without coming to terms with its biggest neighbor, China. A talk with Sihanouk in Cambodia, or de Gaulle in Paris, with a view to mediation—this is what the occasion calls for, not another frantic mission to Saigon.

Rostow's Dayton Speech Rewrites History to Make Germany Our No. 1 Ally

The Test Ban Treaty — Move Toward Peace or Russian War on China?

The violence of Sino-Soviet controversy may cast a different light on the test ban treaty. It may represent Moscow's willingness to sign on the West's terms in order to protect itself in Europe while it prepares for a basic struggle in Asia. The tone of the Soviet press is now worse than that of Stalin's time in the attack on Tito, for it has moved to the most crass propaganda against the Chinese people themselves, picturing them as ill-mannered barbarians, urinating on Russian railroad platforms and spitting on the floor of the Lenin Institute. This has the smell of emotional preparation for war.* It may well be that huge Russian wheat purchases reflect this as much as the poor crops all over Europe (too wet in Western, too dry in Eastern Europe).

The Test of Co-Existence

Moscow rightly rebukes Peking for its border disputes with India but itself engages in equally irresponsible bitterness with Peking over the poorly marked Asian borders between them. The detente with the West may merely be a byproduct of Khrushchev's personal struggle with Mao. It would be a disaster for a large section of mankind if the two Communist giants were to engage in war, and the peace movement ought to keep clear of the propagandistic exaggerations of both sides and stir up pressure for mediation. Moscow is right in its co-existence line, but the test of that line is its willingness to co-exist with China, as the test of ours is a willingness to co-exist with Cuba.

The possibility that we are the victims of euphoria in the atmosphere created by the test ban treaty is strengthened by the President's speech to the United Nations. His prose has improved, but the substance is vague. Indeed one suspects that the joint moon proposal was put in at the last moment because without it there would be nothing concrete in the speech "to make a headline." The failure of the Russians to mention it in their press seems to indicate that their military like ours are fearful of giving away military secrets in such an enterprise. Even better than a Russo-American agreement to go to the moon arm-in-arm would be a Russo-American agreement to give up this billion dollar boondoggle altogether and spend the money jointly here on earth for less favored peoples.

In our opinion, U.S. policy continues to move along a hard line. The clearest indication of its basic direction may be found in W. W. Rostow's speech at Dayton, Ohio, Sept. 18 on "The Role of Germany in the Evolution of World Politics." This marks a new stage in the rewriting of history to make Germany our No. 1 ally in Europe. We must be, says this key presidential adviser, not only Germany's "reliable ally" but its "true partner." This means that "the problems posed for us by negotiations with Moscow looking towards control of atomic weapons touch vital interests of each nation of the Atlantic community, which require resolution within the family." That means a German veto. In the meantime, over British objections, we go ahead with our plans for a nuclear Polaris fleet in which the Germans will play a major role. The line still is to stand fast in the hope that the Russians will some day throw in the sponge and give up Eastern Germany. Serious trouble with China might speed that day. *Sept. 23*

*** There is the smell of coming war, too, in the appearance of Life Magazine Sept. 13 with a special issue on Russia, portraying not only Khrushchev but Malinovski and Suslov as fine fellows while Time of the same date has a cover story on China as "The Arrogant Outcast." Does Luce's sudden pro-Russianism reflect hope of an attack on China?**

Brazil Suggests The Next Step

In opening general debate at the United Nations 18th session, Brazil's de Araujo Castro recalled that his country first suggested the idea of a limited nuclear test ban and proposed the next step—a treaty which would forbid underground tests above the limit of detectability, to be revised downward as the capacity for detection improved. This proposal was ignored by the press but ought to be taken up by peace organizations. Attention should also be focussed on Brazil's renewed call for "a unanimous agreement bringing into effect the de-nuclearization of Latin America." The State Dept. is cool to this because it fears the precedent for Central Europe and because "unanimous" would include Cuba. Also attention worthy: Brazil's suggestion that an agreement to divert a mere 1 percent of world arms expenditures to a UN Capital Development Fund would give it $1,200,000,000 a year.

U.S. Officials Begin to Feed Out A Milder Line Toward Communist China

Some warmer currents in the icy relations between Washington and Peking deserve notice. For the first time in the long and frozen-faced series of meetings between the U.S. and Chinese Ambassadors in Warsaw, news and camera men were allowed in (AP in Washington Post, Sept. 12) to record an exchange of curt bows and half smiles when the 119th session opened Sept. 11.

U.S. sources have been feeding out a milder line toward Communist China in talks with newsmen. Bernard Gwertzman, Soviet specialist of the Washington Star reported Sept. 12 State Dept. officials were worried lest the (in their opinion, incorrect) Russian description of the Chinese leaders as "nuclear madmen" take so strong a hold on U.S. opinion as to "inhibit future U.S. policy toward the Chinese." The Wall St. Journal Sept. 17 carried a similar Washington article saying that Mao's bark was worse than his bite and reporting "U.S. analysts" also disputed Indian charges of an aggressive border buildup. The same note was struck by Joseph Kraft in his Washington Star column Sept. 20, concluding that "in time it might prove fruitful to deal with Peking on Southeast Asia, where Soviet influence has evaporated."

Whether such talk had something to do with the visit here by Chiang's son is not known but several days later, Col. Ray Cromley, with good Pentagon connections, reported (Washington Daily News, Sept. 19) that there was a split between Chiang and Kennedy. He said the former wants to step up mainland raids while the latter wants to cut back military aid and make Formosa a showplace "of what free enterprise can accomplish."

Against this background the advocacy by U.S. Chamber of Commerce President Nieland of trade with mainland China no longer seems merely the voice of a business maverick. The outlines of a wiser policy are faintly visible.

We have always believed that Chinese extremism in part reflected U.S. imposed outlawry.

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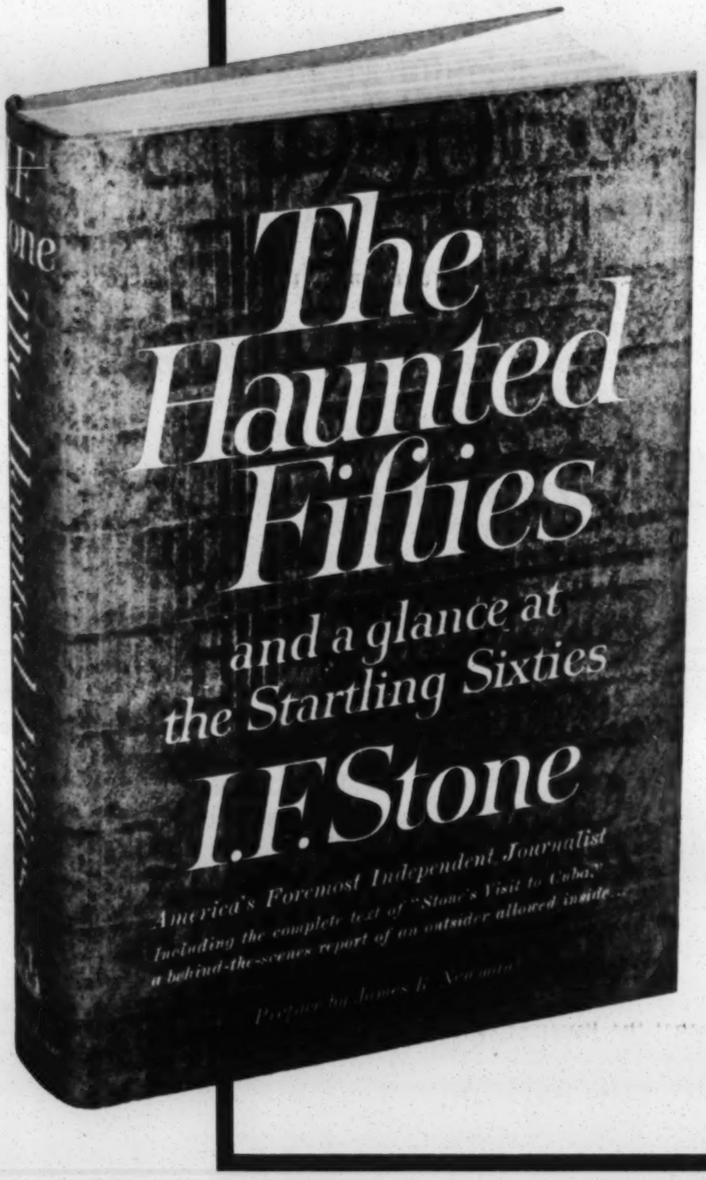
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—from the Preface by James R. Newman

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You'll Dip Again and Again With Pleasure Into These Memorable Pages

From The Haunted Fifties

"The two contenders for mastery of the earth, the 'communistic' Russians and the 'capitalistic' Americans have this in common. Their rulers equally distrust the 'intellectual.' The intellectual, like a special breed in a hive, is well-fed so long as he devotes himself to the tasks allotted him by his masters: the fabrication of new weapons, the inculcation of ideas to keep the human herd submissive. But let him begin to speak his mind and he gets into trouble. At the least, he may find himself deprived of livelihood; at the worst, he may be imprisoned as 'subversive' or 'counter-revolutionary.' The intellectual on both sides is prized and yet suspect, favored but subjected."

"What is missing from the debate is easily discernible. The Negro has his champion in the Senate, but no spokesman. Amid the sterile legalisms and the courtly compliments what is missing are the realities only a Negro can know and only a Negro Senator could express. The Senate appears not merely as an exclusive club but as a white man's club in which a younger group faces up reluctantly to the task of enacting regulations painful to some of its oldest members. Even through the speeches of those most devoted to the Negro's cause there runs a tone of supplication, apology and tenderness. Rarely has so much tact been expended on the oppressor by those who are supposed to be rescuing the oppressed."

"These bargaining sessions have the spurious ferocity of a wrestling match, in which the mountainous contenders make up by groan and grimace for the essential unreality of the contest. The lords of industry look forward eagerly to being pinned to the mat. Trade unionism has become their profit escalator. Every extra dollar in wages gives them an excuse for several dollars extra in price increases."

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The Moral Sore of Our Cuban Policy Tainted JFK's Appearance at the UN

On Students, The Right to Travel and the Right to Disagree

A week after the leaders of the student trip to Cuba went before the Un-American Committee, the *Free Cuba News* here put out a special report on the visit. It said a student group in Cuba succeeded in smuggling a letter into the men's room of the Havana Riviera while the Americans were there and then phoned their leader, Levi Laub, to tell him where it was hidden.

If the American students have a sense of humor, this letter must strike a sympathetic chord. For the Cubans complained that they had "no right to unrestricted travel abroad" and could not speak freely at home. Maybe they and the Americans ought to form a joint committee.

Hardly Pure Essence of 1776

For the leaders of the American students have been taken before a grand jury in New York. Their indictment is sought for breaking the travel ban. Our dissident student leaders are also charged—as no doubt their opposite number are in Cuba when they speak up—of being "foreign agents." Apparently—to echo the President's own words to the UN—Cuba is not the only country where "the fruits of the revolution" have been "falsely betrayed from within." Denial of freedom to travel and denial of freedom to disagree are not exactly the pure essence of 1776.

Cuba can defend its restrictions as a necessity so long as the CIA infiltrates the country and provides planes and bombs for attacks from Nicaragua. But our restrictions are a moral sore. Our policy toward Cuba taints all our pretensions, as it did Mr. Kennedy's appearance before the United Nations. Didn't his advisers realize that when he warned against "chronic disputes" and said "the badge of responsibility in the modern world is a willingness to seek peaceful solutions," many at the UN would ask—under cover of the applause—"Well, what about Cuba?"

Even as we relax elsewhere, the noose on Cuba is being tightened. Secretary Rusk in a TV interview on *Issues and Answers* Sept. 15 said that while Russian troops were being moved out of Cuba "the problem is not so much (military) units now as technicians and advisers." Our attempt to strangle Cuba undercuts those Marxists, from Khrushchev down, who stake their future, in the titanic Sino-Soviet split, on a declaration of faith in America's good intentions.

Why I Withdrew from The New York Meeting

"After listening Thursday night in Washington to a panel discussion by the students just back from Cuba, I felt that if I went on as moderator with such a panel Sunday at Town Hall in New York I would be compelled either to engage in prolonged argument with the participants or appear to acquiesce in their views. These views seem to me a mixture of naivete, Negro nationalist distortions (understandable enough in the light of the Negro's anguish but still distortions) and out-of-this-world leftism. I defend their right to speak I believe they performed a public service in breaking the travel ban. I think it a joke at the expense of our country when a Congressional committee regards it as un-American to fight for freedom of travel. This is why, before realizing the narrow range of opinion represented, I originally accepted the invitation to be their moderator. But I do not wish to be identified with what I regard as hysterical exaggerations hurtful to an honorable settlement between the United States and Castro's Cuba." —*Statement issued Sept. 13.*

It is natural under the circumstances that the few pathetic and hounded pro-Castro organizations in this country have tended to be under pro-Chinese line leadership. This is true of the student trip to Cuba which was organized and led by a small ousted pro-Peking offshoot of the U.S. Communist Party, the so-called Progressive Labor Movement. Its tactics before the Un-American Committee made good reading in Peking but bad politics in America. It gave the Committee a chance to associate peace with Cuba and freedom of travel with pictures of screaming beatniks being hauled out by the police.

The police *were* brutal. The Committee *is* an abomination. But I don't want to carry coals to Newcastle. I want to talk sense in the bosom of the family. The student leaders had a chance to make fools of the Committee; its oafish informer had nothing really damaging to say about them or the trip. They could easily have turned the scales of opinion against the Committee as did Women's Strike for Peace. They chose instead to make an old-fashioned *agitprop* demonstration in the fashion set by Moscow in the early 30's.

The PLMers really believe peace with Cuba is impossible until capitalism is overthrown in America. Neither Cuba nor the rest of the world can wait that long. The same crowd is organizing a new trip to Cuba. We hope more sensible students will wrest leadership from them. The cause of peace and travel deserves advocates with better sense.

Business Week, After On-The-Spot Survey, Finds Economic Upturn in Cuba

"Los Angeles, Sept. 20 (AP)—A high State Dept. official said today that an unrelenting squeeze from the U.S. isolation policy and massive Castro mismanagement has made a shambles of Cuba's once-healthy economy. Edwin M. Martin, Ass't Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, gave this assessment in a speech on Cuba and Communism in Latin America before the World Affairs Council."

—*Washington Post, Sept. 21.*

"Far from being in a state of collapse, Cuba's Soviet-supported economy now is showing signs of an upswing. . . . This is the conclusion that was reached by a Business Week reporter after a tour of the island. . . .

"Cuba boasts these achievements on the industrial front: About 25 light industry plants have been put into operation . . . manufacturing everything from picks and shovels to sulphuric acid. . . . Despite a U.S. embargo on spare parts, the Cubans have managed to keep in operation oil refineries seized from Americans and the Nicaro nickel plant. . . . With Japanese and Soviet help, Cuba is rapidly expanding its commercial fishing industry. . . .

"This progress refutes any notion that Cuba's economic situation might generate all-out opposition to the Castro regime. There are still shortages of food and many consumer items, particularly in the cities. But no one is starving in Cuba, and many Cubans—including students and peasants who form the backbone of Castro's support—are eating better than ever."

—*Business Week, Sept. 14.*

For Black Birmingham, It's Martial Law With Insult and Carbine

(Continued from Page One)

instead of giving a separate audience four days later to a white delegation from Birmingham. It is as if, even in the White House, there are equal but separate facilities.

The Negro leaders, facing the TV cameras outside the Executive Offices that Thursday afternoon, looked like men pursued by despair, afraid that at the slightest misstep they might be trampled under by the hopeless fury in the ranks behind them. The white delegation, the following Monday, had underling written all over it. The President of the United States could take time out to hear white Birmingham, but the Mayor was too busy and sent his secretary. With him were neither the Big Mules nor their Northern capitalist overlords; it is as if they had assigned their office boys to see the President. If what they told the press afterward was a sample of what they told the President, he too must have despaired of finding a solution. Even these supposed moderates could not shake loose from the mythology of white supremacy: if only outside agitators like Martin Luther King would stay away peace and quiet could be restored; many Negroes favored segregation, but apparently were afraid to say so except privately to their white friends. Hire a Negro policeman? That was a "profoundly difficult," "almost impossible," problem. Just why was never explained; perhaps Negroes do not look good in blue, with brass buttons.

Our Ancient Double Standard

Four centuries of white supremacy have left their indelible mark in the double standard we whites instinctively apply to race relations. The Attorney General, rejecting a Negro appeal for Federal troops, said hearts could not be changed by bayonets. But few stop to think that the alternative is to leave the Negro community of Birmingham to the bayonets of the State troopers. Gene Grove in the *New York Post* Sept. 20 vividly pictured how the Negro community is ruled. When one reporter approached Col. Al Lingo of the State police "with a question, the only reply was a shotgun in the belly. Wednesday night the troopers beat an aged man in the Negro district of East Thomas and a young boy in the Negro district of Parker Heights, both for failing to move off the street fast enough. Yesterday morning they rode down the street with carbines perking from every window, shouting at Negroes sitting on their porches to 'get back in the house, niggers, get your ass the hell off the street'." The Mayor's Secretary looked surprised when a reporter asked him if he thought the manners of the State troops toward the Negroes were not provocative. He found no fault with it. Such ways and language, after all, are accepted institutions in the South, the way "peace and quiet" have been preserved.

A Problem in Race Mixing

When the civil defense bill passed the House the other day, a first term Republican Congressman from Louisville, Ky., a Mr. Gene Snyder, tried to attach an anti-discrimination amendment to it. His amendment would have denied funds to any State or institution which failed to give "satisfactory assurances" that no one would be excluded from fallout shelters "because of race, color or creed." He was defeated 93 to 53. This will be reassuring to the South. Whatever happens to the country in a nuclear holocaust, everything possible is being done to keep white supremacy intact. The problem, however, may prove complex. Going in, it will be easy to solve; separate entrances, plainly marked, may be provided for white and colored. But afterward—can anyone be sure of ever sorting them out?

When I was in Germany, I felt the empty wasteland of the German heart. I feel the same way about the hearts of my fellow white men in America, where the Negro is concerned. The good people there as here are in the minority and weak. Just as many Germans feel it was somehow the fault of the Jews that they got themselves cremated, so many whites here North and South, feel that the bombing wouldn't have happened if the Negroes weren't so pushy. As a white housewife in a Birmingham supermarket told Robert Baker of the *Washington Post* (Sept. 19), it was "terrible" but "that's what they get for trying to force their way where they're not wanted." Worse than the bombing is this inhuman chill.

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McGovern's Fight Against Overkill, P. 3

The No. 1 Menace to Latin American Freedom Is Our Military Aid Program, See Page 2

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

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The FBI's Indifference to Civil Rights

The most important single omission in the latest report of the Civil Rights Commission is its failure to make any mention, much less study, of the FBI's relationship to the struggle for civil rights. J. Edgar Hoover's firm position as the capital's No. 1 Sacred Cow makes the omission understandable. The poor harassed Commission has enough on its hands. But sooner or later this question will have to be opened up. This becomes clearer when one takes note of the clear and inescapable, though unspoken, implication of the latest findings. This is that the Negro cannot count on litigation but must resort to wider measures of non-violent demstration in the streets if he is to win freedom from discrimination within the measurable future. Nearly ten years after the school desegregation decision, only 8 percent of the Negro pupils in the South attend schools with white children. After six years of Federal suits, the number of registered Negro voters in 100 of the worst counties in the South has risen only from 5 to 8.3 percent; in the Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina counties, the number of Negroes registered is actually *less* than it was six years ago. More demonstrations mean more clashes with the police. The police in the South, insofar as the Negro is concerned, are not upholders of law but the main instrument of a police state designed to maintain whites as the master class. This is evident from the listing of suits pending; many are against Sheriffs and other police officials for the beating, intimidation and baseless arrest of voter registration drive workers.

FBI Still 99¾% Lily-White

We seem to have obtained the first exact figures on the number of Negro FBI men. This is how our unexpected scoop came about. The 1963 report of the Civil Rights Commission says a questionnaire was sent out to local and State police officials to determine how many employ Negroes. "The Commission's statistical survey," the report declares, "establishes that law enforcement agencies throughout most of the nation are staffed exclusively or overwhelmingly by whites." We were puzzled by the failure to give figures on the racial composition of the Federal government's own police, the FBI.

When we telephoned the Civil Rights Commission to find out why, an official suggested that perhaps the figure was kept secret to protect the FBI's confidential informants. This didn't seem very plausible, unless the FBI was using bleached Negroes to infiltrate the Ku Klux Klan. We pressed for a definite answer. Later we were informed that a staff report showed that as of the end of 1962, the FBI had 10 Negroes among its 6,030 special agents and 3 Negroes in another category, known for some unexplained reason, as Special Agents, Limited. Could this mean that, like some Negro deputy sheriffs in the South, they couldn't arrest white men? My informant was sure it was nothing like that. He added that "as of today" and since the staff report, the FBI had hired 5 more Negroes as special agents. This still leave the FBI almost 99¾% lily-white, or neck-and-neck with Ivory Soap.

Too Fraternal With The Cops

This is the most overt form of civil rights violation by law enforcement officials. But the FBI has long been notoriously reluctant to impair its fraternal relations with local and State police officials by a too vigorous inquiry into civil rights infractions. In past years, the figures given by Mr. Hoover in the annual appropriations hearings have tended reassuringly to show the police and their friends in Congress how few complaints ever reach the stage of prosecution, much less conviction. In recent years, as the civil rights struggle became politically potent, fewer figures have been supplied lest this furnish ammunition to Mr. Hoover's critics. Even the number of complaints is no longer given. Thus last year Mr. Hoover provided a table showing that the number of "bombing or racial matters" had risen to 4,077 in the fiscal year 1961, or 37% above 1960, while "civil rights" cases were up 29% to 2,903. But no figures were given to show in how many cases arrests were made or convictions obtained. Even the number of complaints were not given in this year's hearings. Indeed it would have been very embarrassing to show how many "bombing or racial matters" had occurred in fiscal 1962 when the Justice Department now claims that it did not apply the anti-bombing provisions of the 1960 Civil Rights Act for two years because there were no important bombings until those in Shreveport, La. early this year. The anti-bombing provisions of the 1960 Act were intended to bring the FBI into the picture at once in racial bombings but the FBI has shown as little enthusiasm for getting into these as into civil rights cases.

Every year, in the appropriations hearings, Mr. Hoover presents a chart "to refute what we hear so frequently, criticizing the use of confidential informants." This shows the amount of stolen property recovered and the number of fugitives arrested through the tips of confidential informants. But Mr. Hoover has yet to report tips leading to arrests in the mounting toll of murders and bombings in the civil rights struggle. The day after the Birmingham church bombing in which four little girls were killed, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., of Americans for Democratic Action, sent President Kennedy a telegram in which he said the increasing number of such outrages made more shocking "the failure or reluctance of the FBI to infiltrate right wing subversive elements." This was not the first time the Administration was asked to step up

(Continued on Page Four)

The No. 1 Menace to Internal Security Are the Armies We Finance and Train

The Only Sure Way to Stem the Anti-Democratic Trend in Latin America

The surest way to end the epidemic of military take-overs in Latin America would be to end our military aid program in the hemisphere. The original excuse for the program, when it began in 1946, was hemispheric defense. But "the great majority of civilians," Edwin Liuewen wrote in his book, "Arms and Politics in Latin America" (*Praeger*) have been led by experience "to fear their own armed forces far more than they do the Russians." Lately the excuse has been internal security and "civic action." But militarism is plainly the No. 1 menace to internal security in Latin America, and the kind of civic action to which the military gravitates is to take over the government and the Treasury whenever they can. These armies are now the largest single source of graft in the hemisphere and the biggest single obstacle to the reforms the U.S. claims it wants. In a foolish speech (see adjoining box) to a hemispheric military conference in the Canal Zone last July, Teodoro Moscoso disclosed that Latin American military expenditures are now running at one and a half billion dollars a year, or more than our government made available last year to the Alliance for Progress of which he is U.S. Coordinator. This literally takes bread from the hungry. The excuse, according to the report on the foreign assistance program sent Congress by the President last August 28, is that "well-trained and effective armed forces" provide "the stability and internal security necessary during the critical period of economic and social reform." The overthrow of democratic regimes in Honduras and the Dominican Republic by the military we financed and trained is only the latest evidence of how untrue this is.

Just Before The Roof Fell In

"The trend clearly is away from 'personalismo', from coups and revolutions which bring a mere change of faces without any change in policy, away from the suppression of legitimate opposition elements; away from callous disregard for the real problems of the majority of the people. With few exceptions, the military in Latin America today are showing a greatly increased sense of political, economic and social responsibility, including their prime duty of supporting constitutional civil government."

—Teodoro Moscoso, Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress, at the 1963 Conference of the American Armies, Panama Canal Zone, July 19.

The Lesson Fidel Taught

The only country in Latin America with a stable and free society is also the only one without a standing army of any kind—Costa Rica. Fidel Castro taught the hemisphere an invaluable lesson when he at once dissolved Batista's army and sent our military mission packing. Our first move where democratic regimes appear—as they did in the Dominican Republic and Honduras—should be to withdraw our military missions, and encourage the new regime to cut the army down to size. Our military tend all too often to share the tough guy attitudes and political backwardness of the Latin military, particularly the tendency to see as Communistic any proposal for social and economic reform; such attitudes by our military encourage local take-overs. Senator Humphrey in 1957 and Senator Gruening in August of last year warned against military aid and the military mind in Latin America but to no avail. Working with the military were rightist Catholic parties in both Honduras and the Dominican Republic, and behind both were U.S. interests hostile to reform, United Fruit in Honduras, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Puerto Rican Sugar Company in the Dominican Republic. Standard Oil has been lobbying against Bosch in Washington because he resented the terms of an oil refinery contract hastily entered into after his election but before he took office. Puerto Rican Sugar Company hostility, like that of the native capitalists, becomes understandable when one notes that the 30 cents a day which used to be paid common labor under Trujillo had gone up under Bosch, in some cases to $2 a day. These forces drove out the most gifted democratic leader Latin America has had in a long time.

Those liberal Senators like Gruening and newspapers like the *Washington Post* which advocate a kind of Eisenhower Doctrine for the Caribbean, with interventions like that in Lebanon to support democratic governments, seem to us well-intentioned but deluded. It is not accidental that the only government against which we have taken strong measures was Castro's; even our action against Trujillo was motivated by the desire to set a precedent for a blockade of Cuba. Support for really democratic governments and for social reform in Latin America is at best lukewarm, half-hearted and confined to a fringe element of thoughtful liberals and some businessmen. United action is only possible against the menace of communism, real or imaginary; only then does the country and the Congress really spring to arms. Under such circumstances, any new doctrine of intervention, whatever its origins, will soon be used to stiffen U.S. support for gendarme government. Latin American democrats will instinctively and wisely fear us most when we come bearing such gifts. It's not more intervention that Latin America needs but less—and the first step should be to end military aid altogether. That billion and a half spent on armies would do more good spent on roads, schools and shoes.

Dominican Republic Got More U.S. Arms Aid Per Capita Than Any Other Latin Land

"The U.S. supplied the Dominican Republic during fiscal year 1963 far more military aid for its size than any other country in all of Latin America. . . . We have built up the power of the military junta. . . . American military aid in Latin America has built up in country after country a powerful military caste, nondemocratic in its ideology, nondemocratic in its philosophy and nondemocratic in its tactics, for military castes the world around are not noted for their belief in the institutions of democracy. . . .

"It (U.S. military aid) is responsible for building up the power of the Fascist regime of the military which has taken over under Col. Elias Wessin y Wessin. Who is he? He is a man with a sordid record of Fascist police state leanings in the Dominican Republic. . . . The President of the Dominican Republic . . . sought to remove this Fascist-oriented police state Colonel. . . . When he (Bosch) tried to exercise his constitutional power, the military took over."

—Morse (D. Ore) in the Senate Sept. 30.

McGovern Quotes Ike Against JFK In Fighting to Cut Down Military "Overkill"

Kennedy Afraid to Venture A World Peace Through World Trade Campaign

> **On Mme. Nhu's Optimism**
>
> **"It's not really a war any more. . . . I am optimistic because the strategic hamlets have made it impossible for the Viet Cong to score new successes."**
>
> —*Mme. Nhu, at Paris press conference, Washington Post Foreign Service, Oct. 4.*
>
> **"American military sources also disclosed that two Vietnamese strategic hamlets were overrun by an estimated battalion of Communist rebels in the Dak Bot region, 20 miles southeast of the Provincial capital of Pleiku. The source said the attack occurred early Monday and that the Communists drove the hamlets' estimated 2,000 inhabitants back in the mountains from which they had come only 4 months ago."**
>
> —*AP from Saigon, in adjoining column, same day.*

How can we expect the poor Latin Americans to control their military when we do so poor a job with our own? The Senate had just finished ratifying the nuclear test ban treaty when the leadership called up a $47 billion military budget and in little more than an hour obtained its approval 77 to 0, with 23 not voting. These astronomical annual totals are usually approved in cursory fashion. This year McGovern of South Dakota dared question them and put his challenge to a vote though he knew he would be snowed under. McGovern followed up his August 2 speech on "overkill" by moving for a 10% or $5 billion cut in projected additions to weapons and nuclear stockpile. His argument: that we were wasting on "overkill" resources which could go to build a stronger America and a more stable world. His cut, he argued, would still leave the new Kennedy military and atomic budget ten billions higher than Eisenhower's last! The Democrat, McGovern, in attacking arms spending, found himself quoting Eisenhower against the sharp rise under Kennedy. But no Republican rose to support him. Only another Democrat, Randolph of West Virginia, backed him on the floor and in the vote. Two others, Nelson of Wisconsin and Morse of Oregon were paired for the motion. Peace groups ought to use the McGovern speeches of Aug. 2 and Sept. 24 as ammunition and get ready for the next round. Sooner or later the country will wake up.

A Little Evangelism Needed

A little moral leadership, a little evangelism, would help. But Kennedy, like Eisenhower, lacks taste or capacity for it. The Administration's hesitations about selling wheat to Russia are another indication of Mr. Kennedy's unwillingness to take the risks of leadership for peace. His idea as always is not to mobilize the latent idealism of the country—he has no real faith in it—but to make a deal behind the scenes with Dirksen and Halleck. Maybe he will feel himself stronger now that Eisenhower has spoken out in favor of a wheat deal if "it is a good horse trade." Characteristically, Ike is anxious to disavow any deeper moral or political purpose. He doesn't want us to be "altruistic." He sees "no principle" involved, only "material gain." Thus small minds reduce great occasions to their own dimensions. In the Senate Oct. 3 Javits of New York in a comprehensive discussion of East-West trade pleaded that the possibility of reducing "tensions among nations through mutually beneficial economic relations has been demonstrated over and over again in history." Humphrey, in despair over the hesitation, told the Senate he thought we had already missed the boat on a wheat deal and provided a succinct answer to objections from the right: "I never have heard of a people who have become more placid, more pliable or more reasonable because they were hungry." A "world peace through world trade" campaign is his objective, but Kennedy holds back. He doesn't like to venture beyond sure things—a treaty against nuclear testing when both sides are satiated with testing, and now perhaps an agreement not to put bombs in orbit, a step neither side considers militarily worthwhile anyway.

From Khrushchev's point of view, the scene is a bitter one. With Kennedy as before with Eisenhower, he staked his political position on the possibility of a detente with the United States. Now he sees it may even be impossible to buy U.S. wheat for gold without undergoing a humiliating political debate, with the possibility of rejection. Leading the fight against the sale of U.S. wheat to Russia is his old opponent, Adenauer. To us he says "only the stupidest calves choose their own butcher." But extensive tables put into the Congressional Record by Javits show that Western Germany enjoys by far the biggest Western trade with the Soviet bloc—almost $1.5 billions in 1962. A survey on the financial page of the *New York Times* Oct. 6 showed that one third of the 100 million bushels of wheat equivalent in flour bought by Russia from Western Europe recently came from West Germany, the bulk of it being milled from U.S. wheat. *Oct. 8*

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Hoover Admits He Spies on Negroes, But Silent on Racists

(Continued from Page One)

surveillance of racist and rightist organizations. A similar proposal was made privately by Walter Reuther to Attorney General Robert Kennedy in the Fall of 1961.*

A Wide Range of Snooping

In the annual budget hearings, Mr. Hoover boasts a network of informers in liberal and Leftist organizations. A minuscule Communist Party is his excuse for surveillance over a wide spectrum of opinion. "Since the Communist Party," Mr. Hoover told the House Appropriations Committee this year, "carries on many and varied activities to infiltrate and manipulate various segments of American life, we must have broad and penetrative coverage so that we may be aware of the plans and tactics of this subversive organization." Just how "broad and penetrative" this coverage is may be gathered from Mr. Hoover's boast that the FBI had "approximately 165 known or suspected Communist front or Communist infiltrated organizations under investigation." It takes hard searching to find a half dozen genuine Communist front organizations nowadays. Mr. Hoover met this objection by explaining that while "some of these organizations are created by the Communists" many are "legitimate non-subversive organizations" which the Communists have urged their members to join. This admits that many "legitimate non-subversive" organizations are among the 165 watched by the FBI. Among them, according to Mr. Hoover's presentation to the House Appropriations Committee, are "organizations in the peace, youth, political, trade union, Negro, disarmament, and nuclear testing fields." This list indicates how far the FBI reaches into respectable organizations with legitimate purposes, many of them shared by the Kennedy Administration. Notice that Negro organizations are included among those over which the FBI keeps watch. In the fiscal 1962 budget hearings, in explaining that the FBI had "some 200 organizations . . . now under investigation" Mr. Hoover said that the Communists were exploiting the Negro sit-in demonstrations. It is clear that the FBI watches the Negroes closely. It is not at all clear that they watch anti-Negro organizations.

One Way to Solve the Race Problem

> **"Many military commanders are aware of the plight of Negro personnel. With few exceptions, however, their policy has been to yield to the racial practices of the community. One [military] installation in Alabama is faced with a delicate problem because it trains foreign nationals as well as Americans. The military authorities have solved it by issuing 'passports' to colored foreigners to enable them to travel unmolested in the community. For the American serviceman no such protection is afforded."**
>
> —*1963 Report of the Civil Rights Commission.*

Mr. Hoover dwells at length each year on internal security, but the menace is always on the Left. In this year's hearings, Mr. Hoover took time out to dwell on the insidious dangers behind the Communist campaign for peaceful co-existence. But he never seems to see any danger in the paranoid racist propaganda that has created a sickness in the South which may erupt into the worst menace to internal security since the Civil War. Mr. Hoover is not only incapable of seeing this but shares the pathological obsession with the Red Menace characteristic of racist and Fascist groups. His power and influence are rarely turned against these kindred mentalities. In this year's hearings, he said he had only 95 telephone wiretaps in operation, and that these "are utilized only in cases where the internal security of the country is involved, or where kidnapping or extortion may bring about the jeopardy of a human life." We are as opposed to wire-tapping as we are to political espionage, right or left. But it is Mr. Hoover who makes and applies the rules. We wonder how many, if any, of those wiretaps are used to protect internal security or human life against well known hate groups which breed the madness that ends in these bombings. It is time a group of representative citizens asked the President to set up a Commission to investigate the role of the FBI in the civil rights struggle. It is serious when the Federal agency on which Negroes must depend for investigation of civil rights cases, is so indifferent to them.

***Parts of a 24-page memorandum submitted to the Attorney General by Mr. Reuther may be found in the recent book, "The Far Right" by Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann.**

IFS Speaks on Vietnam in San Francisco, at 8 p.m., October 25 at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, and 8 p.m., October 28 in Los Angeles, at the Music Box Theater, 7080 Hollywood Boulevard

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Will New Chances for Peace Be Another Lost Opportunity?

The history of Indochina since the war has been a history of lost opportunities. Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh worked closely with the OSS during the second World War, and took FDR's promises of colonial liberation seriously. So pro-American was its orientation at one time that, as Oliver E. Clubb, Jr., writes in his *The U.S. and the Sino-Soviet Bloc in South East Asia* (Brookings, 1962), "Vietnam's declaration of independence began with lines from America's own Declaration of Independence and its first constitution more closely resembled that of the U.S. than that of the Soviet Union." Hopes of American support were dashed when the Truman Administration acquiesced in France's effort to restore colonial rule. Ellen J. Hammer in her book, *The Struggle for Indochina* (Stanford, 1952) tells the story of another blasted Vietminh hope. Ho Chi Minh risked his political leadership to reach a moderate agreement with the French on March 6, 1946, accepting a limited independence within the French Union. Because of this agreement the Viet Minh permitted the French to reoccupy Hanoi without a shot being fired. The French troops "fresh from the liberation of Paris" were hailed "as the incarnation of Free France." But French promises were broken, and a war began that was to cost France $5 billion dollars and the blood of many of her best young professional soldiers before Dien Bien Phu and the Geneva agreement marked her defeat 8 years later.

Ho Ready to Accept An Independent South

Another of these opportunities is now being lost. The international situation makes this a favorable moment to negotiate an end of the war with China and North Vietnam. The latter would like resumption of its normal trade relations with the South; it fears expansion of the war would risk destruction of its resources by American bombardment and end its precarious independence of China. The most important revelation in Bernard B. Fall's forthcoming book *The Two Viet-Nams* (Praeger, 1963) is that the North Vietnamese leaders in three interviews given Westerners last year (the London *Daily Express* in March, Dr. Fall in July and Col. Jules Roy of *L'Express* in December) made it obvious to all three that North Vietnam "had backed away from outright conquest of South Vietnam and was veering toward a negotiated solution embodying the existence of a neutral South Vietnamese state that would not be reunited with the North for a long time to come."

A representative of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in a clandestine interview with Georges Chaffard of *Le Monde* (Aug. 24) during his visit to Saigon last summer also set forth a program for an independent South Vietnam to be established in free elections. "We have not fought all these years, in the worst conditions," he told M. Chaffard, "to end by replacing one dictatorship with another. None of us can accept a relation of dependence on the North." The domestic program outlined was a moderate one, with a friendly attitude toward foreign investments. "We wish to be realists," M. Chaffard was told. "We know the difficulties of our compatriots in the North, and we have also studied the example of the states of Black Africa. There is no question of wishing to install systematically a Popular Democracy in the South. . . ." The desire is for a neutral regime which can deal with both sides in economic development. Both Peking and Hanoi last year called for reconvening the Geneva Conference to make peace in South Vietnam. For North Vietnam a neutral regime in the South would enable it again to exchange its coal and industrial products for the rice of the South. If East and West Germany can do an enormous trade, despite sharp political differences, why not North and South

(Continued on Page Two)

Another Official Myth

Those Lovely Strategic Hamlets

"The strategic hamlet program is producing excellent results. . . . The hamlets are governed by councils elected by secret ballot. In addition . . . the government is supplying the hamlets with schools, medical aid, cheap fertilizer, low interest agricultural loans. . . . Morale in the countryside has begun to rise. . . ."

—*Secretary Rusk's April 22 speech on Vietnam.*

"Not far from the town of Vinh Long is the model strategic hamlet of Phuoc Nguon. . . . Life is regimented in Phuoc Nguon. As in every other strategic hamlet, those who know what is good for them join the regime's National Revolutionary Movement, the only political organization permitted in the hamlets. . . .

"The lack of democratic rights exercises the villagers only to the point that they rarely appreciate the appointed village chiefs. But the evidence suggests that they do resent the demands made upon their time and labor. The average peasant today is required to spend almost as much time on unproductive and unpaid government work as he spends in the fields. His basic freedoms may be no less than they were in the past, but he is now obliged to suffer an almost commune-like regimentation. . . .

"The peasants need permits to leave the hamlets. They are watched, spied on. . . . Like the peasants in Viet Cong villages, they are required to listen to hours of political indoctrination each week. The rice they grow fetches a low price and is sold by the government for a high price. . . . The result has often been unhappy. 'Too many lessons are being copied from the Communists in the strategic hamlets,' said one Westerner who had come to Vietnam to help Diem win the war."

—*Denis Warner: The Last Confucian (1963).*

(Continued from Page One)

Vietnam, especially since such trade would go a long way toward ending the trade deficits of both? For China, looking for new ties in the West to fight off the isolation imposed on her by Russia, the ending of the war in South Vietnam would remove one major obstacle to better trade relations with the West. This is an ideal time for the West to negotiate.

Two Different Policies Toward Communism

Unfortunately we still have two basic policies for dealing with Communist regimes. In Eastern Europe we seem to have given up containment for conciliation. We reward the Kadar government in Hungary for liberalization at home by resuming relations. We continue to give support to Gomulka in Poland as a means of encouraging some independence of Russia. Ever since Tito's break with Stalin, we have moved away from the notion that the Communist world is a faceless monolith run from Moscow, and sought to foster centrifugal forces within it. But in the Far East, as in our dealings with Cuba, we still cling to the older view that the only way to deal with a revolutionary movement is to do all in our power to starve it out. If we were treating East Asia as we treat East Europe, we would be actively exploring the differences between China and Russia, and those between North Vietnam and China, for leverage with which to end the costly uprising in South Vietnam. But we still think of China and of North Vietnam, as we did in the twenties of Russia, as untouchable regimes.

The lack of a constructive policy in East Asia becomes more understandable when one looks back and sees that the change in our policy toward Eastern Europe was a reaction to events in that area rather than the result of any diplomatic initiatives on our part. Churchill, after Stalin died, flew to Washington and urged us to negotiate with Melenkov, but the State Department insisted nothing had changed. It was not until the 20th Congress and the upsurges to which it gave rise in Hungary and Poland that we began to recognize belatedly that something was happening in the Soviet world. The policy of detente in recent months was largely made in Moscow, and our continued freeze in the Far East also shares the made in Moscow label. For suddenly the conflict between the Chinese and Russian ruling bureaucracies has led the latter to seek the isolation of China. Thus Russian policy and the policy imposed on us by our China lobby converged. The path of least resistance was to accept Russian overtures in the West—while pursuing the old rigid cold war policy in the Far East.

Where Do The Viets Get Their Weapons

Q. General, does Viet Cong get its recruitment and arms at this point mainly through infiltration through Laos or Cambodia or mainly from inside South Vietnam?

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, U.S. Army Chief of Staff: It is a combination. . . . They get arms from about three different sources. One, stuff that is actually toted in from up in North Vietnam. For example, we found 57-millimeter recoilless rifles made in China as far south as the Delta. They also have some local production of weapons. These are usually rifles of a kind. They are very crude. Single-shot affairs, but if they hit you they will kill you. There is no doubt about that. Then, of course, some of the stuff is captured from the Vietnamese.

To answer a question I know someone will ask, we are now capturing more weapons from the Viet Cong than they are capturing from the Vietnamese.

—Briefing at the Pentagon, Feb. 4, 1963.

Compare This The Official Myth With the Box Below

It should be obvious by now that problems arising in territories contiguous to China can no more be settled without her than Caribbean prolems can be settled without the United States. The Chinese taught us a lesson at the 38th parallel in Korea which we seem unwilling to acknowledge at the 17th parallel in Vietnam. China in effect warned us that if we crossed the 38th parallel it would intervene; its "volunteers" forced us back to the parallel. To end the Korean war, we had to negotiate with China. The West had to negotiate with China to settle the Laotian conflict. There will have to be negotiations with China again to end the South Vietnamese war.

The primary obstacle to the negotiation of such a settlement lies in Washington. Kennedy cannot afford to go into the campaign next year and face a Republican cry that under the Democrats we "lost" Vietnam, whether by withdrawal or negotiation. The politically safest course is to "stand firm," i.e. to follow the line of least resistance, though this means continuation of a war that most observers agree cannot be won, and could at any time expand dangerously. As in

McNamara Blushes To Learn that Captured Viet Cong Rifles Are U.S. Made

Saigon, Vietnam, Oct. 13—When Robert S. McNamara was inspecting South Vietnamese defenses recently, he paused curiously before a display of weapons captured from the Communist Viet Cong. Pointing to one in the pile, the Secretary of Defense asked, "This one's from Communist China, isn't it?"

"No," replied a Vietnamese officer. "It's an American 57-millimeter recoilless rifle, seized by the Viet Cong and recaptured by us."

McNamara, blushing, turned to Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, and said, "My God, I didn't recognize it." McNamara had reason to feel embarrassed. For the biggest supplier of modern weapons to the Viet Cong guerrillas is the United States. An official American breakdown of a cross-section of arms taken from the Viet Cong in recent weeks shows that nearly one out of three was marked "made in the US." And only one in 50 came from the Communist bloc. These were mostly Chinese but included some dated Czech and Soviet models.

About half the total weaponry of the pro-Communist forces is what the military lump together as "French and old"—all made before the French evacuated Indo-China in 1954 and some tracing to the World War I era. . . .

The official military line is that the weapons captured by the Viet Cong are not so important when it is remembered that Government troops are taking arms from them, too. For the first six months of 1963 for example figures show that the Government side lost 3,000 weapons and captured 2,700. But the statistics are deceiving in view of the difference in the quality of the arms exchanged. The Viet Cong yields largely outmoded weapons and home-made pipe guns and obtains factory fresh American models.

As one informed observer put it, "the weapons exchange figures would be encouraging only if we were in the plumbing business."

—Louis R. Rukeyser in the Baltimore Sun, Oct. 14.

France, the national interest is to be subordinated to the convenience of the political leadership; we will go on pouring out blood and treasure; we have already sunk some $5 billions in the Indochinese quagmire. The Administration's hope is by a little pressure on Diem, at least for some face-saving reforms, and a lot of flim-flam at home, to keep this tragic comedy going at least until after the 1964 elections. The political realities of Washington, not the military realities in Saigon, explain the Oct. 2 White House statement that Gen. Taylor and Secretary McNamara had "reported their judgment that the major part of the U.S. military task" in South Vietnam "can be completed by the end of 1965," i.e. a year after the elections. Never was a crystal ball more clearly clouded by politics.

Kennedy's Moral Responsibility

The outcry about Diem diverts attention from the policies of Kennedy. The inhumanity which has made a world scandal of South Vietnam has its origin as much in Washington as in Saigon. The uprooting of the rural population and its incarceration in stockaded villages, the spraying of poisons from the air on crops and cattle in violation of the Geneva convention, the use of napalm for attacks on villages suspected of harboring rebels—these policies were all formulated and directed out of Washington. The familiar belief that the end justifies the means in any conflict with Communism was enough to wipe out qualms, if any, about the mistreatment of the Vietnamese. It was only the unexpected clash with the Buddhists which brought relations between Washington and Saigon to a crisis. The spectacle of a U.S. supported Catholic family dictatorship oppressing the majority creed, the international repercussions in the Buddhist world and Kennedy's own Catholicism made this most embarrassing. Above all, in the cant of the cold war, religion is sacred, God being regarded as safely on our side in the struggle against "athe-

(Continued on Page Four)

How The War Against Diem Started

"What happened in South Vietnam during the next five years deserves to be listed near the top of the success stories of the postwar period. By plebiscite, the Emperor Bao Dai was replaced by a Republic, with Ngo Dinh Diem as President, with an elected National Assembly, and a written Constitution. . . .

"Although North Vietnam inherited most of the industry of Vietnam, and although its population is larger, it fell rapidly behind South Vietnam in food production, the number of children in school, and in standards of living. . . . This was competition which the Communists apparently could not endure. Very likely it was one of the reasons why they decided in 1959 to renew their assault on South Vietnam."

—Secretary of State Rusk, "The Stake in Vietnam", before the Economic Club of New York, April 22, 1963.

Compare This The Official Myth With the Box Below

Noted French Historian Describes How the Uprising Against Diem Began

The "mistakes" of the South, from 1957 onwards, were to furnish opportunities to Communism and to the movement for reunification which operated under its aegis. As if not satisfied with the re-establishment of calm and security, the Diem regime, haunted by a strange desire to bring back into being the society of former days, when there were no sects and no Communists, and reckoning that it would itself be safe in the future, accentuated its authoritarian and repressive character. There are serious reasons for supposing that it was encouraged along this path by certain American activist milieux. . . .

The Diem government . . . launched out in 1957 in to what amounted to a series of man hunts. . . . A considerable number of people were arrested in this way and sent to concentration camps. . . . This repression was in theory aimed at the Communists. In fact, it affected all those, and they were many—democrats, socialists, liberals, adherents of the sects—who were bold enough to express their disagreement with the line of policy adopted by the ruling oligarchy. . . .

In 1958 the situation grew worse. Round-ups of "dissidents" became more frequent and more brutal. The enemy (those suspected of Communist activities or of being affiliated to the sects) were difficult to apprehend. The areas where they took refuge . . . with their marshes and forests, were not favorable for operations by government forces. Moreover the way in which many of the operations were carried out very soon set the villagers against the regime.

The Communists, finding themselves hunted down, began to fight back. Informers were sought out and shot in increasing numbers, and village chiefs who had presided over the denunciations, village notables and members of the militia who took part, were frequently treated in the same way. The people of the villages, thus intimidated, fell silent. Diem's police and army saw their sources of information drying up one after another. To make good the lack, they resorted to worse barbarity, hoping to inspire an even greater terror among the villagers than that inspired by the Communists. And in that fateful year of 1958 they overstepped all bounds. The peasants, disgusted to see Diem's men acting in this way, lent their assistance to the Communists. . . .

In December 1958 the death of some 20 Viet Cong detainees in the Phu Loi concentration camp served to fan the flames of anger of the guerrillas. . . . In the course of that December and the following January armed bands sprang into being almost everywhere. . . .

What did the authorities of the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam do in the face of these sad circumstances? They protested in diplomatic notes. The members of the Viet Minh cadre in the south, who had been promised by Hanoi that unification would be rapidly achieved, had to listen to the bitter remarks that were made to them about the inability of the North to do anything about the Diem dictatorship. The overriding needs of the world-wide strategy of the Socialist camp meant little or nothing to guerrilla fighters being hunted down in Nam-Bo.

It was in such a climate of feeling that, in 1959, responsible elements of the Communist Resistance in Indo-China came to the conclusion that they had to act, whether Hanoi wanted them to or no. They could no longer continue to stand by while their supporters were arrested, thrown into prison and tortured. . . .

The point of view of most foreign governments, especially in the West, is that the fighting going on in South Vietnam is simply a subversive campaign directed from Hanoi . . . it leaves out of account the fact that the insurrection existed before the Communists decided to take part, and that they were simply forced to join in. And even among the Communists, the initiative did not originate in Hanoi, but from the grass roots, where the people were literally driven by Diem to take up arms in self-defense.

—Philippe Devillers. French scholar who lived for some years in Vietnam during the Indochinese war and once admired Diem. His book, Histoire du Vietnam 1945-51 has become a standard work on the causes and early stages of that war. This excerpt is from North Vietnam Today: Profile of a Communist Satellite, ed. by P. J. Honey (Praeger, 1962).

(Continued from Page Three)

istic communism." Religious persecution could not be reconciled with holy war. So Mr. Kennedy in his interview with Walter Cronkite on CBS Sept. 2 ventured the opinion that "in the last two months the government" of Diem "has gotten out of touch with the people." This ranks with the best understatements of our time; Diem quite obviously has been out of touch with his people a good deal longer than two months.* Mr. Kennedy condemned the repression of the Buddhists but again his choice of words was tepid; he called it "very unwise." The words reflect neither moral revulsion nor human sympathy but only cool calculation. At a press conference a week later he summed up his policy. The test of official action in our government or Diem's was to be whether it might "handicap the winning of the war." This, and not justice for the people of South Vietnam or the establishment of a decent regime there, is our No. 1 aim. All else is subordinate to it. When the main objective is thus military, our main reliance is on the Pentagon and on cloak-and-dagger operations. The government becomes a prisoner of the end and the means it chooses. The type of men, mentality and institution brought into play determines the course of events and constricts the choice of alternatives.

Kindred Spirits

The CIA's dominant outlook, even more under McCone than under Dulles, sees Communist conspiracy in every type of colonial struggle and gravitates instinctively to repressive measures for dealing with it. The alliance between the CIA and Ngo Dinh Nhu, whose special forces—his Storm Troopers—have been getting $3,000,000 a year from CIA, is not accidental but reflects a kinship of spirit; McCone's religious and apocalyptic views are much like those of Vietnam's ruling family. The President has recalled John H. Richardson, the CIA chief in Saigon, under pressure from Ambassador Lodge, but there is no way of knowing what if any changes in CIA policy will be made. A cloak-and-dagger organization is by its very nature hard to control. It is difficult enough for the White House to keep a firm rein on the State Department a few blocks away; it is almost impossible to control a distant underground operation attracting a local entourage of informers eager to jump on the gravy train. The intelligence supplied by such a network is probably a good deal less reliable and perceptive than that which the careful reader can get for himself from the American, British and French press. Certainly no one following the press reports would have been as silly as was Secretary McNamara when he told a Congressional committee that there were three times as many Catholics as Buddhists in South Vietnam, and that the latter constituted only about ten percent of the population. This was a real scoop, comparable to the discovery that Ireland is largely populated by Protestants.

The Situation In the Villages

"The first target was the people themselves. The patient poor farmers were given the choice either of supporting the Viet Cong by providing supplies and recruits or of suffering violence. . . . Another important target were the civil servants of the Republic. . . . Hundreds . . . have been murdered by this Viet Cong terror. Their sacrifice must not be forgotten for it was made for all free men."

—Roger Hilsman, Ass't Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, at the 1963 Conference on Cold War Education, Tampa, Fla., June 14, 1963.

Compare This The Official Myth With the Box Below

Whether Secretary McNamara was the victim in this of the CIA or of military intelligence no one knows. But the latter, too, must be a rich source of misinformation. Louis R. Rukeyser in the last of a revealing 6-part series from Saigon in the *Baltimore Sun* Oct. 18 wrote that at the military headquarters of Gen. Paul D. Harkins, "all is sweetness and light. The Viet Cong guerrillas are being licked, one is told, and it is only a matter of time before the assisting Americans can go home victorious." The French had a whole series of such Generals in Indochina; victory was always just around the corner.

The Kennedy Administration, like Eisenhower's and Truman's before it, has carried on its Indochinese policies behind a thick smokescreen of official falsification. The contrast between propaganda and reality is visible in Eisenhower's forthcoming memoirs (*Mandate for Change*: Doubleday) where Ike begins his part of this story by describing the Vietminh in the customary way as "so-called 'patriots'" and "Chinese supported rebels." He recalls with approval the NATO

*** Diem seems to be out of touch altogether. The Australian newspaperman, Denis Warner, in his new book, The Last Confucian, writes, "Diem talks but never listens; he looks but never sees. Any Ambassador who can get in 500 words in a 4-hour conversation with him feels that he is just about hitting par for the course. Diem talks monotonously and repetitively, rambling from one subject to another and never talking a problem through . . . never does he spark with humor. Twin threads of thought provide the only continuity. One is the assumption that he is right and knows best; the other that he is the victim of lies and calumny."**

Independent Observers Report Quite A Different Picture from The Villages

"In the countryside many of Diem's officials came to regard their government jobs as open licenses for larceny. They often extorted money from the peasants, demanding protection money from merchants and manipulated the prices farmers got for their crops. Thus the Viet Cong guerrillas could gain popular approval by occasionally murdering a corrupt official. Soon they had thousands of peasants eager to supply them with rice and information."

—Don Schanche: Saturday Evening Post. Jan. 6, 1962.

"Out in the more remote villages of mud and wattle, the government is identified as the man in uniform who comes on a punitive raid, or with a heavy bodyguard, and who always wants something—money, labor or even those suspected, sometimes incorrectly, of working for the Viet Cong.

"The Viet Cong cadre, on the other hand, is barefooted and dressed in black like every other peasant. He makes tax demands, but they are not excessive. He is meticulous about paying for food and lodging, and scrupulous, also, in his relations with village girls and with the villagers' property. To begin with, he does not talk Communism or Marxism, but exploits local grievances, and is at pains to implant the idea that the Vietnamese have thrown off French colonialism only to be saddled by President Diem with American colonialism. It is simple propaganda, but effective."

—Denis Warner: The Last Confucian (Macmillan, 1963)

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resolution of Dec. 17, 1952, on the basis of which the Truman Administration next day launched its program of military aid to the French. This resolution said the war "was essential to the defense of liberty" and "in harmony with the ideals and aims of NATO." But Ike himself could not have taken these ringing phrases very seriously. For he confesses that he did not want to intervene in 1954 without at least token forces from other nations to "lend real moral standing to a venture that otherwise could be made to appear as a brutal example of imperialism." This need "was particularly acute" Ike adds, "because there was no incontrovertible evidence of overt Red Chinese participation in the Indochinese conflict." Later in the story Ike makes another admission that the government did its best at the time to keep from the American people. "I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs," Ike now discloses, "who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possibly 80 percent of the population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh." What the government said in public was very different from what it knew in private. The truth then and since has been that we were financing a war to impose on the Vietnamese a regime they did not want, first that of the French and then that of Diem.

Our Official Mythology

An elaborate mythology has been built up by the Kennedy Administration to cloak our role in what the French are calling the second Indochinese war. The first article of faith in this mythology is that the war broke out not because of Diem's failure to satisfy his people's aspirations in South Vietnam but because of his success. As Kennedy wrote Diem Oct. 26, 1961, "The Communist response to the growing strength and prosperity of your people was to send terror into your villages, to burn your new schools and to make ambushes of your new roads." This myth was further amplified in the two volume Blue Book on the war put out by the State Department a few weeks later, "A Threat to the Peace: North Vietnam's Effort to Conquer South Vietnam." Here the genesis of the war was spelled out even more glamorously, "The years 1956 to 1960 produced something close to an economic miracle in South Vietnam. . . . The economic and social advances scored by the South Vietnamese up to last year made it plain that Hanoi's program for peaceful takeover had little or no chance of success. If they were to win the Communists had to resort to force. . . . South Vietnam was outstripping the North in the same fashion that West Germany had exceeded the achievements of the 'socialist' East. The leaders in Hanoi apparently could not accept that prospect. They decided on a course of violence. . . ." The State Department has never tried to sell more obvious nonsense. Guerrilla war cannot be stirred up among a contented people. Yet this has been the official line ever since.

Rusk Hails Democracy Under Diem

"Critics have complained that South Vietnam is not a full constitutional democracy and that our aid has been subject to waste and mismanagement. Let us make clear that these criticisms are not merely alibis for inaction. For in passing judgment, let us recall that we are talking about a nation which has been responsible for its own affairs for less than a decade, about a people who have had no peace since 1941 and little experience in direct participation in political affairs. Their four national elections, their thousands of elected hamlet councils, and their forthcoming village council elections show steady movement toward a constitutional system resting upon popular consent."

—Secretary of State Rusk, "The Stake in Vietnam", before the Economic Club in New York, April 22, 1963.

Compare This The Official Myth With the Box Below

In part this myth was made necessary by the position Kennedy took on Vietnam in the 1960 campaign. The book of foreign policy speeches edited by the distinguished historian Allan Nevins for the campaign as Kennedy's "Strategy of Peace" also hailed, and virtually took credit for, "a near miracle" in South Vietnam. One of the speeches was made in 1956 to Diem's sounding board in this country, the American Friends of Vietnam. Nevins said "exceptional interest"

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A Leading Authority on Vietnam Describes the Realities of Government by Diem

"On April 26, 1960, 18 highly respected citizens, including several former Cabinet Ministers, submitted an open letter to Ngo Dinh Diem, warning him of the disaffection of the people:

"'A Constitution has been established in form only; a National Assembly exists whose deliberations always fall into line with the Government; anti-democratic elections—all these are methods and "comedies" copied from the dictatorial Communist regimes. . . . Continuous arrests fill the jails and the prisons to the rafters . . . public opinion and the press are reduced to silence. . . .'

"With the progressive destruction of even the hope of institutional reform from within, all opposition to the Diem regime has had to be of a revolutionary nature. The paratroop putsch of November 11, 1960, was the first indication of that new ugly mood, although it was conducted, as its own leaders took pains to point out, in a 'gentlemanly' fashion. . . .

Having survived the putsch, the regime, in a first fright, announced on Nov. 17 a 'sweeping reform program.' But at the same time . . . began a 'purge' of known oppositionists. The Committee arrested the 18 signers of the April 26 manifesto, and coached mobs ransacked the offices of five newspapers that had shown themselves lukewarm towards the regime. . . .

"When the promised reforms were finally unveiled on Feb. 13, 1961 . . . they were hardly of the kind that would win the support of the villages. The bulk of the 'reform' consisted simply of promises that the various judicial and economic institutions embodied in the 1956 constitution would finally be brought to life and that—now that the villages were heavily Communist-infiltrated — provincial, municipal and village councils would be set up again. No promise was made that they would be elective in character, as they traditionally had been in Vietnam before during the colonial era and even in the midst of the Indochina War under the defunct Bao-Dai regime. . . .

"Thus the long awaited establishment of local self-government, widely considered to be essential to the success of the 'strategic hamlet' program, also became a meaningless distortion. In May, 1963, however, Saigon finally yielded to American advisers who maintained that the only way to win over the village population was to give it some real responsibility . . . the new 'reform' will leave the villages about as much leeway as the Communist village administration does."

—Bernard B. Fall of Howard Univ. in his forthcoming book, "The Two Viet-Nams" (Praeger).

Diem's Land Reform

"A land reform program, patterned on the land reforms in Japan and on Taiwan, was pressed forward—123,000 heads of families become small landowners. A comprehensive system of agricultural credit was set up. Thousands of Vietnamese were moved into the highlands to raise industrial crops."

—Secretary of State Rusk, "The Stake in Vietnam", before the Economic Club in New York, April 22, 1963.

Compare This The Official Myth With the Box Below

(Continued from Page Five)

attached to this speech because despite fears at the time—

> **the faith of friends like Senator Kennedy was actually well founded. The U.S. had the wisdom to grant South Vietnam about $500 million in various forms of assistance. . . . The little republic truly became what Mr. Kennedy calls it, a proving ground of democracy. It has produced in its President, Ngo Dinh Diem, one of the true statesmen of the new Asia. . . . Vietnam is a country of which the West may feel proud.**

It would have been embarrassing to admit so soon that our statesman friend was a bust. A second reason for the myth that the revolt against Diem was fomented from outside was to marshal international support against it. In his speech to the UN General Assembly in New York Sept. 25, 1961, Kennedy cited South Vietnam as a threat to the peace. "South Vietnam," the President said, "is already under attack—sometimes by a single assassin, sometimes by a band of guerrillas, recently by full battalions. . . . No one can call these 'wars of liberation.' For these are free countries living under their own governments."

JFK's Own Troubles With Diem

But this picture of a peaceful and democratic regime attacked from outside soon became difficult to reconcile with Kennedy's own troubles with the Diem regime. Two months later (Nov. 29) he was questioned at press conference about the bitter attacks suddenly launched against the U.S. by "the government controlled press in Vietnam, apparently because we are asking for political reforms in exchange for our military and economic assistance." Kennedy in a rather fumbling reply said the U.S. was trying to get the Diem government to take "steps which will increase the sense of commitment by the people of Vietnam to the struggle." If Vietnam was a prosperous and democratic state, why this worry about an inadequate sense of commitment to the struggle by its people?

The truth is that the problem was not one of "inadequate commitment" by the people to the Diem regime but of positive hostility. To go through a pile of books and articles on the revolt against Diem as I have been doing in the past few weeks and to compare these unofficial accounts with the official pronouncements of the Kennedy Administration is a disturbing experience. On each page of this week's special issue, I have given a sample of these official myths and with each an excerpt from some independent scholar or journalist writing on the same subject. The reader will quickly see from these contrasting "boxes" that on every major aspect of the war the ~~Kennedy Administration has sought~~ to deceive ~~the~~ country. To bolster up these myths, it has cooperated with the Diem regime in making it as difficult as possible for independent American journalists to get the truth. Only a few weeks ago the Moss subcommittee on government information of the House of Representatives reported (Sept. 26) that

> **"In recent weeks the American public has been surprised by developments in Vietnam—developments which have been many months in the making but which the American people are just now discovering. The restrictive U.S. press policy in Vietnam—drafted in the State Department's public relations office by an official with an admitted distrust for the people's right to know—unquestionably contributed to the lack of information about conditions in Vietnam which created an international crisis. Instead of hiding the facts from the American public, the State Department should have done everything possible to expose the true situation to full view."**

The final sentence is incredibly naive. In 30 years experience, the writer has never yet known the State Department to expose any true situation to full view. "Papa knows best" has always been its basic attitude. The official criticized, very unfairly, since he was only conforming to the department's tra-

(Continued on Page Eight)

Diem's Land Reform As Summed Up By A Reporter With Long Experience in Indo-China

A meager 1.4% of U.S. aid, or $15 million, went to agriculture between 1955 and 1960. The much vaunted rural help program did not exist. Land reform was a flop. . . .

"In marked contrast to the land reform on Taiwan, where landlords were allowed to keep only 3 hectares (about 7 acres) of medium-grade paddy field or twice that area of dry land, or in Japan, where ten acres of land in the rice areas was a family minimum, South Vietnam's land reform has been anything but radical. A landlord in South Vietnam may retain up to 100 hectares of rice land and another 15 hectares for burial grounds and ancestor worship. . . .

"The program lacked regulatory machinery to control tenant-landlord registration, and all sorts of side arrangements were entered into to defeat its intention. In Central Vietnam, where there are at least 100,000 farms of one hectare or less, each village has public lands which, in theory, it rents out at reasonable rates to the poorest peasants. The idea is that the public lands should provide both village revenue and relief. In practice, the system usually works as yet another means for squeeze and graft by appointed village chiefs and one of the worst forms of land exploitation. No security of tenure is given beyond the crop year, and there is no incentive for crop or land improvement when the poor peasants are allowed on the land. More often than not they do not get a chance at all, and the land goes to the richest and most prominent landlord.

"In areas where a lack of security had for many years prevented the landlords from visiting or collecting rents from their properties, the peasants regarded Diem's land reform as an added tax, or worse. . . . All they knew was that Diem had brought the landlords back. To be sure, they had to pay taxes to the Viet Minh and were liable to compulsory service as porters or as guerrillas, but they knew the money did not go to the profit of absentee landlords. Thus, in September 1957, when they discovered that in addition to the payment of what they regarded as exorbitant rentals, they now faced the payment of high prices (from $7 to $428 a hectare) for land they had once all but regarded as their own they did not often respond with the enthusiasm that Saigon and Washington attributed to them."

—Denis Warner, an Australian journalist who has been covering Indo-China since World War II, writing in his newly published book, "The Last Confucian." (Macmillan).

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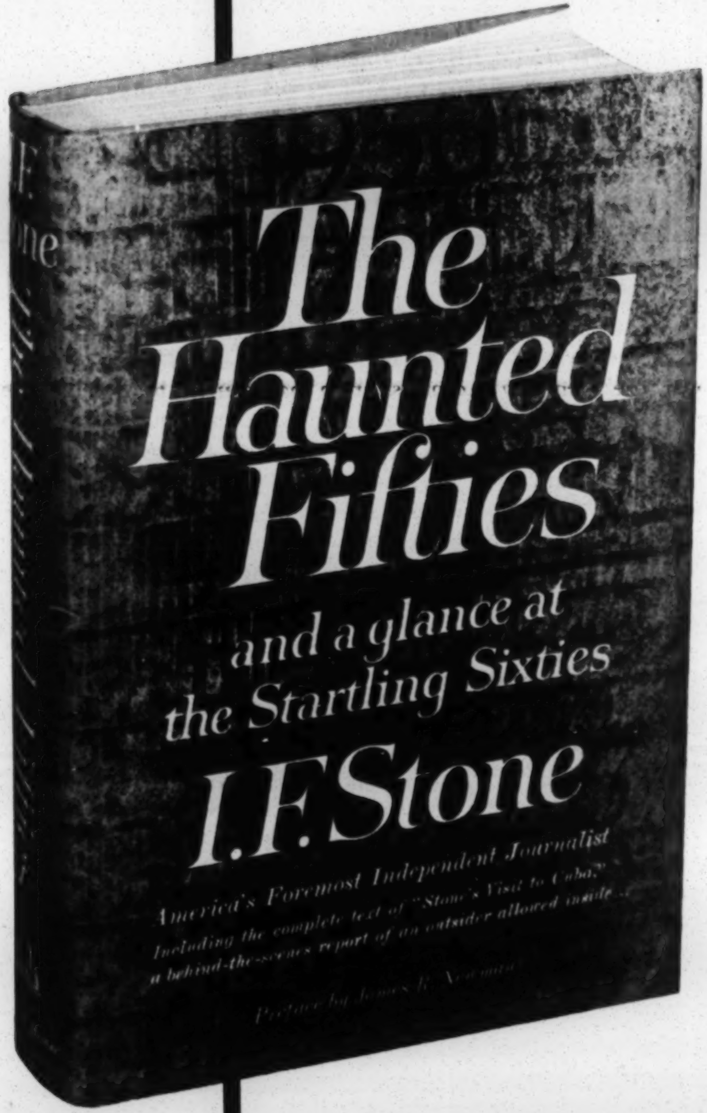
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Freedom of Information Is A No. 1 Casualty of The War

(Continued from Page Six)

ditional press policy, is Carl T. Rowan, now Ambassador to Finland, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. The Moss subcommittee called attention to a speech in which Rowan talked of the public's "right *not* to know," said that "in a period of undeclared war, we constantly must decide how far we can go in providing the well-informed populace without which a 'free society' becomes a mockery without violating our oath to protect this country" and complained that too few newspapers "are willing to weigh their stories against the national interest." But the Moss subcommittee did not mention that Rowan was only developing ideas put forward a few months earlier after the Cuban debacle by Kennedy in his speech before the American Newspaper Publishers Association. The purport of that speech was that if and when the government decided on a policy of undeclared war, the press ought not to publish matters which would let the public know what is going on. The effort to manage the news has never been more blatant than on Vietnam.

On Spraying Poison From The Air

Q. How successful, General, has your aerial spray program been to destroy rice crops of the Viet Cong and their hiding places in underbrush?

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army: I don't think I'd better comment on that, if you don't mind.

—Briefing at the Pentagon, Feb. 4, 1963.

"Recently there have been efforts [in Vietnam] to pierce this cover in forest areas by having airplanes spray out defoliants—chemicals which will poison and kill the leaves. Such sprays are used commercially along the rights of way of railroads and power lines in America, but their real utility in operations against guerrillas still seems open to question. To obtain meaningful results large areas have to be treated and in the tropics new growth appears distressingly quickly. Then too there are serious psychological and political drawbacks. The government's act of spraying poison from the air, no matter how carefully the flights are directed, is not likely to endear it to the population of the region concerned. . . . The insurgents are certain to blame all subsequent crop failures and epidemics on these tactics and a considerable number of people may believe them."

—James Eliot Cross: Conflict in the Shadows. The Nature and Politics of Guerrilla War (1963).

The Army Prints A Birchite View

In some military circles suspicion of the press seems to have reached Birchite dimensions. Thus Dr. Fall, in his book, "The Two Vietnams," discloses that the U.S. Army's most respected publication, the *Military Review* of the U.S. Army Command and Staff College, ran an article in its May 1962 by Suzanne Labin "a French socialist with extreme right wing leanings."

The article, according to Dr. Fall, "flatly accuses anyone who does not support Ngo Dinh Diem . . . of being a participant in an immense campaign . . . launched by the Communists and their dupes." A milder variant of the same conspiracy charge was made by Joseph Alsop, always a faithful satellite of the military, in a column of Sept. 23. While generously absolving his colleagues in Saigon of being under Communist influence, Alsop accuses them of engaging in a deliberate campaign to discredit and unnerve Diem. This may help to explain why Also seems to be Mme. Nhu's favorite correspondent: Dr. Fall in his book recalls that even *Time* once poked fun at her for suggesting creation of a committee of foreign correspondents, preferably headed by Alsop, to hammer out a general line to which they would all adhere, just like the boys on *Pravda.* This was another glimpse of the mentality Robert Guillian described in *Le Monde* (April 16, 1961). "One sees South Vietnam," he wrote from Saigon, which has since barred him, "by a strange and fascinating mimicry, borrow part of its methods from North Vietnam and China, and transform itself more and more into a bad copy of a Communist totalitarian regime." The desperate attempt to hide the truth about this hopeless but savage war is pulling our government in the same direction, toward the rewriting of history in an attempt to impose a party line myth on the press and public. Unless there is a counter campaign of pressure to bring home the truth, the war will drag on, poisoning the air of freedom at home, imposing misery on the bewildered people of South Vietnam and risking a wider conflagration.

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How Little Taxes Our Multimillionaires Pay, P. 2

The Fateful Question in Vietnam: What If Its People, After Diem's Overthrow, Want Peace? See Page 2

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

VOL. XI, NO. 22 NOVEMBER 11, 1963 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20 CENTS

Civil Rights Compromise Stronger Than Kennedys Wanted

One way to begin an examination of the compromise civil rights bill is with a passage censored out of John Lewis's speech to the August 28 March on Washington by pro-Administration forces. The head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee had wanted to say:

> **We have learned, and you should know, since we are here for Jobs and Freedom, that within the past 10 days a spokesman for the Administration appeared in secret session before the committee that is writing the civil rights bill and opposed and has almost killed a provision that would have guaranteed in voting suits for the first time fair Federal judges. And I might add, this Administration bill, or any other civil rights bill, will be totally worthless when administered by racist judges, many of whom have been appointed by President Kennedy.**

Curbing the District Judges

The fact is that among the provisions the Administration did not want but was forced to accept in the compromise bill is the one referred to by Mr. Lewis. The Administration wanted all suits involving the appointment of voting referees heard in the Federal district courts. Many of the District Judges, including some appointed by Kennedy, are racists. The compromise bill would deprive these judges of their power to drag their heels in such suits. It calls for the submission of voting right suits to a 3-Judge court to be named by the Chief Judge of the Circuit with expedited procedure and a direct appeal to the Supreme Court. While the compromise bill waters down the voting provisions of the subcommittee bill by making these applicable only to Federal elections, this new procedure would at last make workable the existing voting referee provisions of the 1960 Civil Rights Act which apply to State as well as Federal polls.

No Thanks to the Attorney General

The day a 3-Judge Federal Court in Georgia declared its incitement to insurrection statute unconstitutional and ordered four civil rights workers held under it set free, Senator Case of New Jersey protested in the Senate against the indifference of the Justice Department to this prosecution. He declared it a "shame" that the Department had not been represented in the court proceedings. He said he had written Attorney General Kennedy to express his disappointment about his "continued reluctance" to act, and received in reply a letter from Bourke Marshall which would be funny if the situation were not so serious. Senator Case said that though it was three months since the original arrests were made and though it had been apparent from the start that the purpose was "to discourage voter registrations by Negroes," the Justice Department was still "investigating." Though few if any papers seemed to report Senator Case's protest, we think it deserves attention. If the students had to depend on the Attorney General, they would still be in jail, facing a possible death penalty under a statute the Supreme Court held void a generation ago in the famous Angelo Herndon case.

The compromise bill, while weaker than the subcommittee bill, is a good deal stronger than the Administration bill. The compromise contains a number of provisions absent from the Administration bill. Among these is a Fair Employment Practices Commission; this FEPC would not be as strong as in the subcommittee version, which would have allowed it like other regulatory commissions to issue orders enforceable in the Courts of Appeal. It must act through the District Courts but it has the option of filing its suits either where the violation occurred or where the company's or union's main office is located. This means that big national concerns can be sued in the North. The Administration did not want a Title III allowing the Attorney General to enforce civil rights of all kinds; Title III of the compromise is stronger than Robert Kennedy wanted though not as strong as the subcommittee bill. The Administration didn't want a permanent Civil Rights Commission, as provided by the compromise. Nor the provisions for a census to reduce the South's representation in Congress if it continues to violate Negro voting rights. Nor the invocation of the 14th amendment as well as the commerce clause, a move which widens the orbit of enforcement.

The compromise bill was sold to the press by the Attorney General as a victory for reason and bipartisanship. The fact is that it illustrates the value of militant action. In the Judiciary subcommittee, the Young Turks like the Democratic Kastenmeier of Wisconsin and the Republican Lindsay of New York by raising the ante forced the Administration to accept more than it wanted. It had to do so because there were enough votes in the full committee to vote out the subcommittee bill; the Republicans, by helping to vote it out, would have put the Administration on the spot. The Administration's strategy is to cut down the Negro's bargaining power by making a bipartisan alliance with the Republicans, and enable itself to stand as a champion of moderation, with the least possible damage to its ties with the Southerners and the least possible risk of a kickback from Northern white suburbia. This strategy invites graceful retreats to get the bill out of the Rules committee in the House and through the Senate, which is unlikely to act this session. Unless a vigorous grass roots organizing campaign is begun now, *in the neighborhoods,* where effective pressure can be brought to bear on Congressmen and Senators, what finally emerges from the Senate next February or March will only be a shadow of this bill.

The Fateful Question: Call for A Mobilization of Conscience on Cuba and Vietnam

What If The People, After Diem's Overthrow, Vote for Peace?

The state of mind in Washington in the wake of Diem's overthrow was neatly mirrored in two statements, one before and one after the coup, by Rep. Zablocki *(D. Wis.)*, just back from Vietnam as chairman of a Special Study Mission to Southeast Asia. The day before the coup Zablocki warned against any such attempt. "The lesson of Cuba must not be forgotten," he reported. "Batista was bad but Castro is worse." After the coup Zablocki told the House the U.S. should demand definite commitments for free elections and vigorous prosecution of the war. But what if, in free elections, the people were to vote for peace? Or for reunification with the North under Ho Chi Minh? Would we even risk such a verdict by allowing neutralist, anti-war or pro Communist candidates?

Democracy With A Big But

The answer seems obvious to the victorious Generals. On the one hand they said they would not set up a dictatorship because "well aware that the best weapon to fight communism is democracy and liberty." But in the very next breath they also said that they would not allow "a disorderly democratic regime." In Saigon a street rally calling for a neutralist government was forbidden and its banners torn down. Censorship continues. Only prisoners the military regard as non-communist are being released; only parties they regard as non-communist will be allowed. In practice this means that if there is to be a choice between democracy and continuance of the war, it is democracy that will go.

This is the reality the pro-Kennedy liberals will not allow themselves to see. Saigon is like Paris after the liberation; the people dance in the streets. But the *Washington Post* (Nov. 5) in a leading editorial thinks "the cause of freedom need not sink with the passing of the old government!" This is Orwellianism with a vengeance. "The cause of freedom" is not the Vietnamese desire for freedom from a U.S. supported tyranny; "the cause of freedom" is soap advertising lingo for continuation of cold and hot war. Yet the *Washington Post* goes on sanctimoniously to say that Diem "refused to respond to the feelings of his own people." The conservative *Washington Star's* editorial (Nov. 4) was more honest. If the people turn on a new government "force may have to be used . . . we cannot be too squeamish." If the Vietnamese don't want strategic hamlets, prison for those who oppose the war, napalm on suspect villages, we'll back a new dictatorship. This cabal of Generals headed by a weak turncoat who has served any and every regime foreign and domestic will bring neither peace nor freedom to Vietnam.

In the case of Vietnam, as in that of Cuba, we need a Committee to agitate for a truly democratic foreign policy: peace in Vietnam, lifting of the embargo that strangles hurricane ravaged Cuba. Can America's better conscience be mobilized?

Dr. Pauling and The Moon Race

We are sure the Nobel Peace Prize Committee in Norway will not let itself be disturbed by the petulant editorial in Life Magazine (Oct. 25) calling its award to Dr. Linus Pauling "an extraordinary insult to America." On the contrary the award will encourage all those scientists who stood with Dr. Pauling when his campaign to bring home the dangers of fallout was subjected to derision and smear in such publications as Henry Luce's Life and Time, the foremost journalistic supporters of Dr. Edward Teller.

We would like to see a committee of American scientists formed to take up and spell out in concrete terms Dr. Pauling's protest against the race to the moon in his address to the 100th anniversary of the National Academy of Sciences here Oct. 22. Dr. Pauling said we were at the point "when it would be possible, if only the money were available, to determine the structure of an enzyme" which "determines the way the human body functions." Dr. Pauling cited Prof. Wm. Fowler's claim that when we get to the moon we will know whether the 10 isotopes of tin are present in the same ratios as on the surface of the earth. "For the same amount of money," Dr. Pauling said, "we could answer 1,000 interesting and important questions about the human body and about the world we live in for every one question answered about the moon."

"I believe it is a pitiful demonstration of something wrong with our system of values," Dr. Pauling told the National Academy, "when we are planning to spend 20 or 50 billion dollars to put a man on the moon, principally for reasons of national prestige, rather than putting this money into a sort of engineering that would use essentially the same people, the same computers, the same big instruments to decrease in a really significant way the amount of human suffering on earth."

Why not a report which would draw up a balance sheet of what could be accomplished for human welfare with these funds? Better than a Russo-American agreement for a joint trip to the moon would be an agreement not to make the trip and spend the money on earth instead.

Douglas Reveals How Little U.S. Multimillionaires Pay in Federal Income Taxes

"I rise to state the urgent need for tax reform and to protest its slow and quiet strangulation. There are, in the hearings of the Finance Committee on the pending tax bill, some shocking figures . . . furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury . . . showing that in 1959 there were 20 persons in this country with incomes—adjusted gross incomes —of more than $500,000 who paid not a penny in Federal income taxes in 1959. . . . 15 persons having incomes of more than $1 million [and] 5 persons having gross incomes of more than $5 million who did not pay a single cent in taxes.

"Adjusted gross income does not include interest on State and municipal bonds. It does not include write-offs for drilling and developmental costs in the oil and gas industry. It does not include one-half of capital gains. All these were in addition. . . .

"These figures are shocking when one considers that any worker with a wife and two children who is earning just $100 a week . . . pays about $456 in Federal income taxes. . . .

"Of course, not every multimillionaire escapes wholly tax free, as these five managed to do. But the average multimillionaire comes surprisingly close to achieving just that. . . . There were, in 1959, 37 people whose total incomes . . . came to more than $5 million and they paid on the average a little less than 25% of their total income in Federal income taxes. That is only somewhat higher than the first bracket rate of 20 percent. . . . Furthermore the tax cuts passed since 1954 have gone almost entirely to the large taxpayers."

—From a speech by Douglas of Illinois to the Senate Nov. 1 which few papers reported despite its sensational revelations. Douglas said that since there was no chance of getting a tax bill this year anyway, there was no excuse for the Administration's dropping tax reforms for the sake of a speedy tax cut.

Glimpses from The Record: Why Senate Liberals Under Morse Want to Cut Foreign Aid

Eight Democratic Senators See Our Latin Arms Program Menace to Democracy

Foreign aid for many years has been supported by a coalition of U.S. military men (anxious to dump obsolete arms, usually at inflated prices), big business (glad to have the "climate" for investment abroad sweetened by U.S. handouts) and humanitarians (ready to support a program top-heavy with military aid to dictators for the sake of a relative trickle of funds for genuinely humane purposes). That coalition is breaking down. In the Senate an alliance of liberals and right wing anti-spenders led by Morse, is trying to cut down a program in which for every 5 cents which may help the poor, 95 cents goes to crooked allies of our military. Because this debate is being poorly covered, we give some excerpts here. The most important of the foreign aid amendments is that by Gruening (Alaska) to to halt further military assistance to Latin America. This was co-sponsored by Ervin (N.C.), Nelson (Wis.), Proxmire (Wis.), Cannon (Nev.), McGovern (S. Dak.), Morse (Ore.) and Smathers (Fla.). Here, abridged, is a bit of Gruening's Senate speech Nov. 1 on the folly of Latin military aid:

By Senator Ernest Gruening

Recent events in the Dominican Republic and Honduras give added emphasis to remarks I made last year about the dangers we were running in continuing to supply arms to Latin America. A year ago those supporting military assistance to Latin America claimed the following five objectives: 1st, hemispheric defense; 2d, standardization of weapons; 3rd, modernization of weapons; 4th, reduction of force; 5th, indoctrination of the military as to their role in a democracy.

That was last year before I showed on the floor of the Senate Aug. 2, 1962 that not only were none of the objectives achieved, but as to some the exact contrary was the result. So this year there is a 'new look' to the presentation of the military assistance program for Latin America.

Now It's "Internal Security"

The new look was described to the Senate Appropriations Committee by Brig. Gen. W. A. Enemark in these terms:

"It is charged that a threat of direct aggression to the hemisphere is not realistic. We agree. It was precisely for that reason that the primary emphasis of our military assistance program for Latin American was changed from hemisphere defense to internal security. . . ."

But under the guise of internal security and civic action, it is still no less a dangerous program and should be stopped. I am not alone in this. On Sept. 28, 1963, our able and distinguished majority whip, Mr. Humphrey, stated: "We will weaken and perhaps cause the failure of the Alliance for Progress unless something is done to implement an effective arms control agreement in this area." And, indeed, only yesterday Mr. Humphrey said: "I thoroughly agree with the Senator from Alaska and other Senators that in most Latin American countries there is a waste of money in the procurement of military equipment. If it is desired to reduce expenditures in the [foreign aid] bill, that is a good place to start."

Our Secret Deal to Aid Franco

"In payment for bases, the U.S. has, through fiscal 1962, extended $1.173 billion in economic aid to Spain and $524 million in military aid. She is down for tens of millions more in military aid next year.

"A few weeks ago it was announced that a new agreement extending our 'leases' has been reached. What is in that agreement is still unknown to the American people and to most of Congress. It is known to call for an undisclosed amount of military aid to Spain. It has also become known that the agreement does not permit the U.S. to use the naval base at Rota for our Polaris submarines. Since the Strategic Air Command bases in Spain are steadily decreasing in importance, it is very difficult for me to see what purpose has been served by this agreement. . . .

"Imagine the hue and cry that would go up if an executive agreement of this kind were worked out in secret—and held in secrecy—with Indonesia, or British Guiana, or Algeria, or some other totalitarian government of the Left. But little is said about a secret agreement with a totalitarian government of the Right. . . ."

—Sen. Morse Nov. 1 on his amendment to cut foreign aid to Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey 25%.

Indeed it is. Hence my amendment. Since the inception of the Latin American military assistance program in 1951, we have poured over half a billion dollars into Latin America. Let us judge the program on the basis of its performance.

Can we point with pride to Peru where a year ago August military hardware supplied by the U.S. was used by the military forces there to take over from the civilian rulers of that country? Can we point with pride to the Dominican Republic? Can we point with pride to Honduras? There again U.S. arms made possible the coup. In the minds of the people of Peru, the Dominican Republic and Honduras, are we not aligned with the military cliques which have thrown out the governments selected by the people themselves?

Always the usurpers claim they come in to fight Communism, but within the last few days other dispatches told how, on taking over, the junta had jailed Communists, expelled them, and driven them from the Dominican Republic, so that presumably that country was free of Communists. Yet now the government of the Dominican Republic has suspended freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, in order allegedly to prevent Communists from subverting public order. The truth, of course, is that it was done to prevent the people from voicing their opposition. This is what we can expect in every such military takeover.

Morse Protests NATO's MLF Plan As Scheme to Give Germans Nuclear Arms

"Unless Congress is firm now, the American people are going to find themselves saddled with the cost of another NATO venture, one of the most expensive and least useful —the Polaris-carrying surface fleet. One would think that at a time when the American government has been trying to persuade our NATO partners to start putting up their fair share of the conventional forces, it would have better judgment than to propose a nuclear fleet for which we are offering to pay 40 percent of the cost!

"What a sham we are making of the notion that NATO is a multi-lateral alliance! It is a German-American alliance, as this proposed nuclear fleet makes embarrassingly clear. . . . I have not heard any clamor from the German people to become a nuclear power. They know, as the world knows, that any step in the direction of nuclear weapons for West Germany is considered by the Soviet Union to be a grave threat to her security. . . .

"Of even greater concern to me is the constant implication in all these discussions that once the nuclear fleet is a reality, the U.S. would be willing to give up the control of its warheads. . . . In my opinion, the time for Britain, France, Holland, Italy and Belgium to indicate their rejection of nuclear weapons for Germany is right now."

—Senator Wayne Morse (D. Ore.) Nov. 1 release to press.

The Story Behind the Raids On An Inter-Racial Lawyers Guild Affair in New Orleans

Eastland and Sourwine Sued for $500,000 in Anti Civil Rights Conspiracy

In South Africa, a brave Judge throws out the indictment of 11 opponents of apartheid for "sabotage" but the defendants are at once rearrested. In Louisiana, another brave Judge, Bernard J. Cocke of the State Criminal Court, throws out charges of Communist conspiracy against James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, its treasurer Benjamin E. Smith and the latter's law partner, Bruce C. Waltzer. But they find that the private papers illegally seized from them in the arresting raids have been spirited out of the State, to Mississippi and to Washington, for use in further harassing actions by Senator Eastland.

A True Son of the American Revolution

This is the background of the $500,000 suit filed by Dr. Dombrowski and the SCEF in the U.S. District Court here in Washington against Eastland, his counsel Jules Sourwine, the heads of the Louisiana State Police, and the chairman of the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee. Jim Dombrowski, a saintly man, a Doctor of Theology from Union Theological Seminary, a lifelong fighter for racial justice, himself Southern born, descendant of a Polish General who came here to fight under George Washington, has long been a target of Eastland. Nine years ago, when the informer Paul Crouch named Dombrowski as a Communist before Eastland's Internal Security Committee, Dombrowski denied the charge under oath and Eastland never dared prosecute him for perjury. This hasn't prevented Eastland and his friends Governors Wallace and Barnett from smearing Dombrowski and through him the anti-segregation movement.

The suit charges Eastland and his fellow plaintiffs with conspiracy that was intended to defame and to strike terror among advocates of integration. On Oct. 4, just as the National Lawyers Guild (with the Louisiana chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union) was opening an inter-racial workshop in New Orleans on civil rights, 100 State police raided the meeting, the SCEF offices and the homes of the three men arrested. Smith and Waltzer were taken into custody at the workshop. The streets outside their homes and the SCEF offices were cordoned off for three hours while the premises were ransacked. Next day, perhaps in fear that the charges might not stick, the records were "subpoenaed" from the State Police by Eastland's Internal Security Committee and later (despite a suit for recovery in Federal Court in New Orleans) removed from the State. South Africa is not the only place where racists ignore court decisions. The suit against Eastland will test whether they can get away with it.

The Missing Ounce

An Eisenhower appointee to the Federal bench in the District of Columbia, Geo. L. Hart, Jr., a Virginia Republican, has administered an implied rebuke to the Kennedy Administration in the case of Alden Whitman, reconvicted of contempt of the Senate Internal Security Committee. Judge Hart not only suspended a fine of $500 and 6 months in jail but waived any requirement to report during 10 days probation. Judge Hart said the "trials and tribulations" during the eight years the case has been in the courts was punishment enough.

Were this any ordinary case, neither Mr. Whitman nor any of the other seven contempt cases reversed by the Supreme Court last year would have been reindicted. The same ground on which the Court threw out the indictments makes it doubtful that new convictions can stand on appeal. The Kennedy Administration reindicted rather than risk a fight with the Internal Security Committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

It is a commentary on these cases that Judge Hart, who presided over the Whitman retrial and Judge Keech, who presided over the earlier contempt trial of John T. Gojack are refusing to take any more of them and there is difficulty in finding judges here willing to preside over the others. The cases are relics of an atmosphere a decade ago of which most Americans are ashamed. Several of the defendents, like Mr. Whitman, are victims of an attempt by Eastland and his counsel Sourwine, to smear America's greatest newspaper, the New York Times. With just an ounce of courage and moral conviction, the Attorney General might have won applause by refusing to reindict. The ounce wasn't there.

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Special 8-Page Issue on That New Berlin "Crisis"

How A Coincidence Strangely Like The U-2 Affair Upset A Detente and Brought Us Close to the Brink Again

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

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The Hidden History of the Incidents on the Autobahn

The peculiar thing about the recent incidents on the Berlin autobahn was the date on which they began. This was October 10. But for these incidents, it would have been a red letter day for peace. On October 10, representatives of the U.S., Britain and the Soviet Union deposited at the State Department the diplomatic instruments formally ratifying the nuclear test ban treaty. From Moscow that day Premier Khrushchev sent messages to President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan saying the treaty showed that the most complicated problems could be solved even by nations of differing social systems if they had a genuine desire to do so. In Washington on October 10 the President sent Congress a message defending the sale of wheat to the Soviet Union. And at the White House, as if to dramatize the change in atmosphere, the President held his first meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko since their conference of bitter memory on the eve of the Cuban missile crisis one year earlier. The stage seemed set at last for substantial progress toward peace.

Just in Time to Upset The Thaw

Then, as if maleficent forces were at work, just as Secretary of State Rusk was preparing to leave the State Department for the scheduled meeting at the White House with Gromyko, word was rushed to him that the Russians had held up two U.S. military convoys on the Berlin autobahn and were refusing to let them proceed unless the troops dismounted for a head count. The incident was as if made to order for the enemies of peace. The New York *Herald-Tribune* underscored the point in page one headlines next morning, "Irony of Kennedy-Gromyko Talks—First Cuba; Now A Berlin 'Incident'." *Time* magazine (Oct. 18) said "For once, talk about a thaw in the cold war seemed realistic. And then, for some mysterious reason that would require a Communist mind to unravel, the Russians deliberately tried to unthaw the thaw." This was characteristic of how the press handled the story from there on in. But even the meagre facts provided in the first news dispatches from Germany indicated a good deal of on-the-spot confusion as to just what the proper procedure for checking U.S. convoys was. If the reporters were confused, it was not impossible that the Russians at the checkpoints were, too.

The UPI from Berlin (*Washington Daily News,* Oct. 11) said the Army insisted the Russians had no right to make U.S. troops dismount for a head count "and said the soldiers could be counted in the vehicles, as is the usual procedure." On the other hand, an Associated Press dispatch from Berlin the same day (*Washington Post,* Oct. 11) said "When unusually large numbers of troops are being carried in convoys, they sometimes dismount to be counted by the Russians." The AP added, however, that "the Western Allies feel that dismounting for border checks is a 'courtesy' and not a procedure that must be followed at all times."

Practically A Soviet Tradition

We don't know who is now the head of the Soviet secret police, but his three predecessors, Yagoda, Yezhov and Beria were each in their turn executed as foreign agents. Objectively speaking, as the Marxist-Leninists like to say, the present man in charge seems to be following in their footsteps. To arrest Prof. Barghoorn just in time to upset the 30th anniversary of the resumption of U.S.-Soviet relations, the wheat sale, and new cultural exchange negotiations was a master stroke. In Stalin's day they would have shot him first and then settled down to investigate whether he was working for the CIA, the Germans or both.

Khrushchev, like Kennedy, seems to suffer from an internal opposition in his own bureaucracy which would like to trip up better Russian-American relations. We applaud the quick release of Prof. Barghoorn, and the firm stand by the President which brought it about. We believe that every blow against the Soviet secret police system is a blow for peace and a favor to the people of the Soviet Union. We hope a new cultural exchange will be made contingent on a promise to activate at last that clause in the Roosevelt-Litvinov recognition agreement which promised that when any American was arrested in Russia our authorities would be notified and given a chance to see him "without delay." We still remember the ugly way Anna Louise Strong was arrested in Moscow as a spy.

But then it turned out, after the convoy had been released only to be held up a second time at the other end of the autobahn several hours later, that the Russians not only were unaware of this supposed U.S. regulation but had deliberately been kept in the dark about it. A later Associated Press dispatch (*York, Pa., Gazette & Daily,* Oct. 14) quoted "high administration sources" as giving "this assessment of the convoy incident: The Russians apparently thought the 18-vehicle U.S. convoy carrying 61 men and supplies was varying from customary procedures. The U.S., for its part, has kept its exact operational procedures on the Berlin route a secret because it maintains there should be no interference with its access to Berlin." What then were the "customary" procedures to which the Russians were "accustomed"? How could we blame them if they failed to observe procedures we kept secret from them? These questions were neither raised nor answered. "U.S. convoys have been dismounting their personnel," this dispatch said, "when they numbered more than 30 passengers so it would be easier for the Soviets to check them through, but the Russians were not informed that the

U.S. had decided on 30 as the dividing line."

Clay's "Counter-Erosion" Strategy

To keep the U.S. regulations secret from the Russians was asking for trouble, especially on so sensitive a highway as the autobahn to Berlin. Indeed, if this were the whole truth, one wondered why there have not been more incidents in the past over refusal to dismount. The Allied military traffic on this autobahn is very heavy. "The total number of vehicles moving each way on the autobahn," said a special story in the London *Sunday Times* (Nov. 1), "average nearly 30,000 a year; of these roughly 18,000 are American, 9,000 British and 1,000 French." Checking procedures have developed over the years, "based on the Russians' admitted right to be satisfied that road vehicles are carrying Allied traffic." The Russians were told how many men were in each convoy and left to check this as best they could. The practice of dismounting to facilitate a head count began in August 1961 after a 1500-man battle group on its way to Berlin in the crisis atmosphere created by the erection of the Wall dismounted to speed up its clearance. Thereafter the custom seems to have become general as a convenient way to facilitate clearance. Gen. Clay when he got to Berlin in September (see the Associated Press backgrounder, *Washington Star* Nov. 9; *Washington Post* Nov. 10) seems to have felt however that this new practice of dismounting represented an "erosion process" which was wearing away Allied rights on the autobahn. The Associated Press story suggests that on his urging there then began a counter process. "This was the beginning," the AP said, "of the British and American tactic of dismounting troops of larger convoys but not when relatively few men were involved." For a clearer picture of this "counter erosion" process one must turn to a revealing article by a former Army officer who was stationed in Berlin and is close to Gen. Clay, Jean Edward Smith, writing in *The Reporter* for Nov. 21. This was the strategy Clay suggested, according to Smith:

> **"Instead of a refusal to dismount, the response should be varied: First, a few small convoys with only drivers should be sent through. These need not dismount since their numbers could be ascertained easily. The size of the convoys not dismounting could be gradually increased. Simultaneously, however, larger convoys should make this trip and—as usual—should line up for the Soviet head count. In other words, the Russians were to be kept guessing, the size of the convoys not dismounting would get larger and larger until finally the precedent had been eroded. The success of this maneuver clearly depended on the Russians' not realizing what was happening. . . . This, then, was the situation when the first incident occurred last month. We were still nibbling away at the precedent set in August, 1961; and the U.S. garrison in Berlin, taking advantage of the growing detente, elected to try the issue once more on October 10.**

An Invitation to Trouble

> **"The vagueness of arrangements for inspecting military convoys to and from Berlin is an invitation to trouble as well as to genuine misunderstanding. The Americans have been in the habit of dismounting passengers if their number exceeded 30 excluding drivers and co-drivers. The British set the figures a little higher. There is no ruling on the number of vehicles or the density of their passengers, and no standard practice among the western powers themselves. It is therefore as difficult for the Russians to know whether something new is being tried out on them as it is for the Western powers to know whether they are being subjected to deliberate harassment. The Russians can help repair the impression they have made by joining a sensible agreement on the subject."**
>
> *—Editorial in The Times of London Oct. 17, the morning after a British convoy to Berlin was held up.*

So, according to this account, the incidents were precipitated by the U.S. military, taking advantage of the thaw, as an attempt to "nibble away" at Soviet rights of inspection, not the other way around, as our press presented it. Smith says the idea of dismounting only if the number of combat troops exceeded 30, without counting drivers or assistant drivers, "was not a standing practice." He says it was worked out in negotiations with the Russians. Indeed it was not devised, he writes, until "Friday afternoon, October 11, as a means for extricating the convey held at Babelsberg, and subsequently was imposed on the U.S. Berlin command from Washington." According to Smith, "the first time the people in authority in Berlin learned of the formula was when they saw it in the papers," and "they were subsequently ordered to comply."

What is Smith's authority and what are his sources? This former Army officer is now Faculty Scholar of Public Law and Government at Columbia. His new book, "The Defense

How A Leading Pentagon Sob Sister Whooped the Story Up

> **"Washington—Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, for the second time in a year, has been the centerpiece of treacherous October tidings pushing the U.S. and Russia into an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation that could lead to conflict.**
>
> **"President Kennedy, aids said, is furious and determined not to be the first to blink in the crisis over the blockade of an American convoy on the Berlin Autobahn. The President, it is reliably learned, has taken personal charge. . . .**
>
> **"President Kennedy began the effort to convey to Moscow the seriousness of the situation by making a protest to Mr. Gromyko during a White House visit Thursday. During and after the White House meeting, Mr. Gromyko exuded sweetness and light in the pattern of last October.**
>
> **"It has been standard operational procedure in Berlin for the Russians to try to take advantage of periods of detente to extend their authority a little in the expectation that American desire for a Cold War breather would motivate the U.S. to look the other way. There have been occasions in the early 1950s when it worked This time the Soviets miscalculated. . . .**
>
> **"Mr. Kennedy has committed his prestige to a policy of detente and getting along with the Russians. Now the Russians are pulling the rug from under him for all the world to see.**
>
> **"Is the wheat deal at stake? Is the detente at stake? said a top official: 'The Russian people have been hungry before. If the Russians thought they could take advantage of the situation to get a stranglehold on Berlin—and control of American troop movements would give them that stranglehold—they wouldn't let a wheat deal stand in the way. What we have to convey to the Russians is that there is a lot more at stake than the wheat deal. What is at stake is war and peace'?"**
>
> *—Marguerite Higgins, New York Herald-Tribune, Oct. 12.*

That unnamed top official—could he possibly be Lt. Gen. William E. Hall, U.S. Air Force, recently retired, this newslady warrior's husband?

of Berlin," claims to be based in part on exclusive interviews with General Clay. It takes a hard line on the German question and is critical of President Kennedy and the New Frontiersmen for seeking fresh approaches to the German problem and abandoning the intransigent positions of the Adenauer-Dulles period. It pictures an "anti-Clay axis" at work in Washington. Rusk, Stevenson, Rostow, Schlesinger and Bohlen are all mentioned unfavorably and the President's proposal for a Berlin access authority is pictured as appeasement. The book is written as a defense of General Clay's position, as is *The Reporter* article.

Too Close to Shooting for Comfort

The defense of Clay by Smith in *The Reporter* illustrates the risks incurred by the probing operation of October 10. Smith writes that "General Clay emphasized gradualness and flexibility." Smith criticizes the October 10 probe. "The requisite finesse was lacking," he writes. "Under the Clay formula, flexibility was an essential ingredient." Smith says that "when it appeared that the Soviets were going to balk, as soon became evident, the convoy should have dismounted before the issue was joined. As it was the convoy commander—acting under orders which were far too rigid—refused to give in, and national prestige was involved." Smith said that General Clay in Berlin "chose his issues with incomparable skill, and in no case placed himself in the position where the U.S. would bear the responsibility for firing the first shot." Unfortunately, Smith continues, in his analysis for *The Reporter,* "the first autobahn incident was not so carefully selected. For if the Soviets had not decided to allow our convoy through we would have had no choice but to shoot or dismount. And no one has ever assumed that the U.S. should go to war over the reluctance of soldiers to dismount." We seem to have come very close to that, however, in the autobahn incidents.

Smith's sources in West Berlin seem to have felt differently about this. The fact that the Soviets gave in and let the first two convoys proceed without dismounting from Marienborn, made it look as if the risk had paid off. "In West Berlin at that time," Smith writes, "the military assumed that the U.S. had scored a cold-war victory."

Our military had, in fact, chalked up two cold victories. One was over the Russians. The other, which Smith only touches on in another context, was over Kennedy. For as Smith says in describing the situation when the original convoy was held up the second time at the other end of the autobahn outside Berlin late on the night of the 10th, "President Kennedy undoubtedly was in an uncomfortable position that night. He had firmly, perhaps irrevocably, committed himself to an election campaign based on peace and prosperity, and on improving relations with Russia. Perhaps the Soviets even shared this desire, but now, because of incidents not really designed by either side [but Smith had just finished saying they were designed by the U.S. military!—IFS], the whole accord—to say nothing of Mr. Kennedy's campaign pitch—seemed to be drifting away."

Perfectly Reasonable

Berlin—U.S. Major Gen. James H. Polk, the man who must make the big decisions in this divided city, quickly put the latest U.S. Soviet crisis over Berlin access rights in perspective yesterday. "They are trying to make the point that they are the ones who are calling the shots on the autobahn," the American Berlin commander said. "We are determined that they will not make it. I can't predict what will happen," he added grimly. "My only answer is that we are ready for anything and are prepared to cope with it."

Gen. Polk said the Allied procedures are "perfectly reasonable." He added: "A Soviet officer can count the men sitting inside the trucks—if he can count."

—Myron Kandel in the New York Herald-Tribune from Berlin, Nov. 7.

It is a pity the Berlin military cannot be called before a Congressional investigating committee and asked who authorized this probing operation, and who picked the day when the nuclear test ban treaty was to be formalized and Gromyko was again to be at the White House. The coincidence, the unleashing of a new cold war atmosphere, remind one of the U-2 flight scheduled just in time to disrupt the Paris conference.

Smith criticizes the October 10th operation for lack of flexibility. If the purpose was not so much to set a new precedent on the autobahn as to poison the atmosphere against further negotiations, rigidity was useful. Few Americans realize how carefully planned the incidents of October 10th were and the risks incurred. Once the Russians refused to let the convoy pass, contingency plans were put into effect which might easily have escalated. Let us notice first that two convoys met at the Marienborn checkpoint and refused to dismount. One was eastbound to Berlin, the other was westbound from Berlin; the latter, the larger one, with 73 men in 25 vehicles, had passed through the checkpoint outside Berlin without incident. Presumably its men had dismounted It was essential for this convoy to reach Marienborn without delay in order to make a joint stand there with the incoming convoy *because the first step in the contingency plan was to block all traffic on the autobahn.* This required large con-

The Enemies of Any Relaxation of Tension Were Jubilant

"One would love to know his name, so one could send him a letter of thanks. Whom? To the man who, in the Kremlin, has fabricated this incident on the Autobahn. Perhaps it was the big chief in person: he merits our gratitude. For he has opportunely reminded us how dangerous a thing is this famous detente [i.e. the relaxation of tension between the U.S. and the USSR]."

—Editorial in Berliner Zeitung, quoted in Le Monde (Paris) Oct. 13-14, as typical of Berlin press reaction.

"An ironic byproduct may be something of a tonic for a host of ills now sapping alliance solidarity. . . . Revival of the Berlin crisis as a live threat to Europe, this reasoning goes, could improve the climate for a number of pending measures for strengthening the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. These include: A broad U.S. backed plan for closer coordination and more equal sharing of the cost of NATO defense; a campaign to prod lagging NATO partners to fulfill their treaty obligations, and a program for a multi-lateral nuclear surface fleet armed with Polaris missiles and manned by mixed crews from a half-dozen or more nations. But if this is indeed the likely upshot of renewed Berlin tension, what's in it for Mr. Khrushchev?"

—Wall St. Journal, Nov. 6.

voys in both lanes. This was the first time the U.S. military ever tried this, and it might have led to serious trouble. The fact that all traffic was blocked was only disclosed two days later at a press conference in Berlin (see *New York Times,* Oct. 13), where it was described as "a successful bid to break the first Soviet attempt to detain the troops."

How We Blocked the Autobahn

The spokesman at the press conference boasted that within an hour the Russians processed and released both convoys. Whether this was because of the road block or because of messages from Gromyko in Washington to Moscow is not known. When the Berlin-bound convoy reached the other end of the autobahn three or four hours later, it was again held up for refusal to dismount. Here again a similar double play seems to have been prepared. A second convoy headed for West Germany had already been cleared through the checkpoint. It was made up of 164 men on 26 vehicles, and it had no trouble clearing, presumably because its men dismounted to be counted. But it did not move on; it waited for the inbound convoy (*New York Times,* Oct. 13, p.3 col. 4). This meant that again there were large convoys in both lanes, one already cleared in the westbound lane, the other newly halted in the eastbound lane where it had refused to dismount for counting. The two convoys were again in position to block all traffic in both directions.

An even more risky ploy seems to have been used in this second encounter. According to the *New York Times* (Oct. 12) from Berlin "Shortly before noon yesterday, [i.e. Friday the 11th], the Army ordered Lieutenant Fields [who was in command of the Berlin-bound convoy] to test Moscow's intentions by raising the barriers at the Babelsberg checkpoint in an attempt to get away without permission. The Soviet officer in charge then moved up two armored personnel carriers with 50 soldiers to block the autobahn." What if Lt. Fields had been shot when he raised the barrier and tried to go through without permission? This was a dangerous place to play games but the Russians backed down again, and on the 12th the convoy was allowed to proceed without dismounting. But in the meantime the cold warriors had had their inning. The *New York Herald-Tribune* under banner headlines the morning of Oct. 12 spoke of another eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation (see box p. 2) and suddenly Major Gen. James H. Polk, U.S. Commandant in Berlin, was being called "No Nonsense" Polk. This publicity buildup might have

Soviet Press Release on Nov. Incident

"On 4 November a U.S. military convoy consisting of 12 vehicles refused to submit to the customary control at the Soviet crossing and checkpoint in Marienborn. It did not proceed on its scheduled route from the German Federal Republic to West Berlin. The officer in charge of the convoy, who produced documents pertaining to the trucks and the U.S. military personnel travelling in them, declared that he could not parade his military personnel; nor could he give orders to open the sides of the trucks for checking the military personnel shown in the documents. He added that he would be relieved of his command if he did this. The conduct of the military personnel in this instance distinctly departed from the rules governing the passing of U.S. military personnel through Soviet crossing and checkpoints previously observed by U.S. military convoys.

"The reference by the Americans to instructions issued among the U.S. troops in Germany and which violate the rules laid down, of course, cannot have any validity for Soviet crossing and checkpoints. At the conference of the commanders-in-chief of the allied powers on June 1945 it was clearly laid down that 'Soviet troops will guard, patrol (kommandodienst) and regulate traffic on the roads mentioned.' For many years no complication arose in this connection at the crossing and checkpoints. The rules governing the passing of military personnel and supplies of the three powers through crossing and checkpoints are known to the American military authorities. The incident created by the convoy in question has thus been clearly artificially created by the U.S. military authorities guided by some erroneous considerations."

—From Nov. 6 statement by Soviet press officer at Marienborn, as broadcast by East Berlin radio that day.

What Khrushchev Actually Said to the Visiting U. S. Businessmen

MR. JAMES H. BINGER, president, Honeywell Regulator Co.: We were all very happy to learn this morning that the American convoy blocked on the road to Berlin had been allowed to proceed. Could you tell us why it was stopped?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV: A certain procedure has been fixed for the control of allied military units using the Berlin autobahn. Every time that military personnel of American, English or French units have respected this procedure, they have been allowed to pass. When they have not respected it, they have been held up, and it will always be so.

As soon as the American officers allowed the procedure utilized for years, they were authorized to proceed. There was no reason why the American soldiers had to stay blocked for two days. In fact, I was surprised that they were able to stay so long in their trucks. They must have hidden resources. But that is an internal problem in which I do not wish to interfere.

It is difficult to say what would have happened if the customary procedure had not finally been respected. Perhaps neither you nor I would be here today. We would certainly not have given in and it would have been necessary to pass over our corpses. It is you who provoked this incident. For our part, we want no tension of this kind.

MR. RICHARD CLURMAN, chief of correspondents, Time-Life: Do you mean to say that if there had not been an agreement about procedure, you would have given the order to fire and a war could have resulted?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV: We have given no order of this kind, but a soldier is a soldier. He has his instructions and if someone wants to infringe them by force, it is inevitable that he will resist by force. A soldier is not a Minister of Foreign Affairs. He does not engage in negotiations. He applies his orders. That is a law that applies as much to your soldiers as to ours.

It is clear that you wished to put us to a test of nerves. We responded by placing our armored vehicles across the road in order to test your nerves and see whether you would shoot or not. You did not do it, and we are very happy about that.

A VOICE: But what rule did they violate?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV: As for that, I advise you to ask your Ambassador, Mr. Kohler.

—November 6 interview with U.S. business men arranged by Time-Life. Translated from L'Express (Paris, Nov. 14) the only place where we found the text available.

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cost the rest of us dearly.

The crazy comedy was repeated, this time by the British on October 16. On that day the Russians held up a British convoy of nine trucks and 28 officers and men for nine hours at the Babelsberg checkpoint after they refused to dismount for counting. The Russians finally waved them through but three hours later, at the other end of the autobahn in Marienborn, they were again held up for three hours. Again the Russians gave in. Here again the same strange numbers game took place. According to the *Times* of London (Oct. 17) "The British procedure, which the Russians have previously accepted, has been that troops should get out only when the number of men is above a certain figure—which is not being disclosed because it is felt it would become a bargaining point for the Russians—or if the number of men in any one vehicle exceeds a certain number."

Almost Gilbert & Sullivan

Not only were the British pursuing the same tactics as the Americans in not telling the Russians what the magic number was at which convoys would dismount, but the British number seemed to be different from the Americans. For next day, the Russians passed four British convoys without trouble. The *Times* of London reported (Oct. 18), "The Russians this time appeared to be conciliatory. According to the British understanding of the procedure they were entitled to ask all the men to leave their vehicles, as the convoys each consisted of about 60 men. *They left only those vehicles, however, where the number exceeded the established figure.*" Apparently the British, unlike the Americans, had two sets of numbers, one for the total number in the convoy, the other for the number in each vehicle. The *Times* in an editorial (see box at top of col. 2 on our page 2) seemed to think this might breed a dangerous confusion, and its diplomatic correspondent (Oct. 18) said the Allies were in consultation on the problem. He reached almost Gilbert & Sullivan heights in explaining the situation. After saying that a Foreign Office spokesman had said he believed the Allied position was "perfectly understood" by the Russians, the Diplomatic Correspondent went on to say—

They Know, But We Don't

Berlin—Perhaps a Martian newspaper will report some day that humanity was obliterated from the Earth after an American soldier refused to drop his tail gate. If his readers are puzzled, they will be no worse off than the Earthling outsiders who try to follow the intricacies of the international debate over Berlin. . . .

Unfortunately the terms under which the Americans and British and French will dismount never have been made public. Everyone knows that 30 troops riding as passengers are a magic number; above 30, dismount; 30 or less, no.

But the formula is more complicated than that. Its details are a Western military secret known only to the Russians, the East bloc countries and possibly the Red Chinese.

—Henry L. Trewhitt, the Baltimore Sun's correspondent in Germany, Nov. 10.

> **The fact is, however, that the normal practice of each of the western allies—in leaving vehicles to be counted, for instance, if the number of men in the convoy is considerable—have never been exactly stated to the Russians, because the allies claim full and unrestricted access as their right, and wish to avoid any implication that their normal and well recognized practices, which have grown up for convenience, cannot be varied. Clearly the Allies would not put forward to the Russians an alteration of their rights. If, however, misunderstandings of their normal practices can lead to serious incidents, there is a case for making clear the sort of procedure which they are each, normally, prepared to accept.**

This would seem to reserve the right for the Allies to act abnormally, or eccentrically, when they so choose, leaving the Russian checkers to decide whether to shoot, wave them through, or summon a psychiatrist.

As a result of these doubts, the Western allies proceeded to draw up common rules and presented them to the Russians on Oct. 29. This led to new confusion because the British customarily lowered the tailboards on their vehicles to make it easier for the Soviet checkpoint officer to count the men in them. "The Americans," according to the London *Times* (Nov. 8), "whose tailboards were lower, and therefore less of a hindrance to checking, refused to lower them." The French had no tailboard problem, since they normally send their troops to Berlin by rail anyway. A compromise was finally reached; tailboards were to be lowered if over 6 feet. "The Russians were not consulted on the memorandum" ac-

New Yorker Suggests The Berlin Incidents May Be A New Form of Bloodless Combat

". . . Then the Russians shifted their demands, and asked that the tailgates of the trucks be lowered, so that our troops could be counted while remaining inside. Again we refused—not because Western troops always refuse to lower their tailgates but because Allied rules call for such lowering only when tailgates are more than six feet high. In this case, as we told the Russians, the tailgates were less than three feet high, and on this firm mathematical ground we drew the line and took our stand. Once again the Russians changed their demands, and asked that the American troops stand inside the trucks to facilitate a head count. This was going too far. Without even bothering to work out the mathematical justification, we took our stand and remained seated. However, as the Times reported the next day, our soldiers 'climbed off their trucks repeatedly to eat, sleep and relax' during the long ordeal, and this gave the alert Khrushchev the basis for his misleading 'victory' statement.

"All this may still seem a little confusing until one realizes that both superpowers—apparently convinced that a nuclear war would leave neither victor nor spoils—have devised a substitute form of combat, which produces headlines but no casualties, and provides precisely the same number of victors as there are participants. The very pettiness of the argument adds a safety element. Who ever heard of two superpowers going to war over three feet of tailgate? Perhaps the best analogy is to a certain social ritual that most people have participated in, or at least observed, during their formative years. The ritual consists of two small boys' standing toe to toe on an imaginary line, surrounded by an audience of their peers, and challenging each other to step over the line. Sometimes there's a bit of pushing and shoving, but almost always the crisis ends without bloodshed. Almost always. At least 9 times out of 10."

—The New Yorker: Talk of The Town, Nov. 16.

cording to the London *Times* "as the essence of the Western position is that they have unrestricted right of access and agree to certain procedures as a matter of general convenience." At the same time, according to this London *Times* "Guide to Incidents on Berlin Access Routes" (Nov. 8), the Western memorandum was not published. "The Western allies," the diplomatic correspondent of the Times said, "preferred not to establish a clear-cut position in public which might make it harder for the Russians to withdraw in case of dispute." Another motive may have been not to embarrass the Russians unduly by making it appear that the West was dictating traffic regulations for the autobahn. If so this was upset by a leak to the press. "Unfortunately," Neal Acherson, Berlin correspondent of The London *Observer* revealed in his paper (Nov. 10), "this action was leaked by a West Berlin Senate official to visiting American journalists. It looked as if the Russians were taking Allied instructions about how to run the autobahn. Possibly, as a direct result, the American convoy was stopped at Marienborn." This was a reference to the incident of Nov. 4 to which we now turn.

A New Set of Rules

According to the London *Times* account of Nov. 8 quoted above the Nov. 4 incident was the result of a deliberate test. "No acceptance of the Western memorandum having been received for five days," the *Times* reported, "the U.S. government, which had a convoy due to leave Berlin sent it off in 12 vehicles with 44 men in all—i.e. fewer than 30 passengers, if drivers and co-drivers are excluded—a form deliberately chosen to test whether the Russians accepted the procedure announced in the memorandum." This memorandum represented a new stage in the autobahn troubles. Earlier the U.S. was trying to whittle away the custom of dismounting large convoys. Now they were presenting the Russians with a new set of rules for the autobahn under their control. Five days seems a rather short time to wait for a response to so basic a precedent. For if the West fears a whittling away of its rights on the autobahn, so does the East. Certainly this picture is different from that conveyed to newspapermen by the State Department on Nov. 4, that the Russians were trying to change practices which had existed for many years.*

Checkers Not Allowed to Check?

"Sir—Am I the only one who is puzzled by the latest installment of the Berlin crisis? There seems to be general agreement that Russian checkpoints exist, presumably for the purpose of checking, and that we do recognize that they have some right to know how many allied servicemen proceed to or from Berlin, although the Russians did not usually bother with counting small numbers.

"The three Western powers informed the Russians about the number of troops which they have a right to send past the checkpoint without the Russians counting them. Two questions immediately arise.

"The first is that no checking authority could possibly concede the principle that it must always take the word of those checked about their own numbers. It must reserve the right occasionally to see whether they are telling the truth.

"Secondly, and more important, the Soviet cannot possibly concede the principle that the checking procedure, their procedure, can be determined by the unilateral declaration of the Western powers. To all intents and purposes we compelled them to act. Having done so, we sound the alarm, talk of 'blockade' and speculate about their far-reaching motives. What is the point of all this?"

—Letter in The Times of London Nov. 11 by A. Nove, Dept. of International Economic Studies, University of Glasgow.

Those Russians Just Don't Understand Good Old Teamster Union Practices

We keep having these tieups on the autobahn to West Berlin. Mr. Khrushchev says any one of them could lead to a nuclear holocaust and the end of civilization. True. But fear not. Neither side will ever yield.

As you know, the Russians get to check every convoy of troops we send over the autobahn to West Berlin. And if there's more than 30 passengers in the trucks, they have to get out, line up and be counted. A typical cold war agreement. Very simple. Theoretically.

But take the last tie-up. Along come 12 United States trucks. "Stop" says the Russian colonel. And he peeks inside. "Aha!" he says, "you've got one, two, three, four, five . . . 44 soldiers in those trucks. That's more than 30. Now that I've counted them, they've got to get out and get counted."

"Hold it" says the American colonel. "You counted the drivers, too. Drivers don't count."

"So, okay," says the Russian colonel, "we don't count the drivers. You've got one, two, three . . . 12 trucks. Twelve trucks, 12 drivers. Twelve from 44 that's let's see, 32. Hah! Everybody out!"

"Hold it!" says the American colonel. "We got 24 drivers. Count them for yourself. Those 24 in the front seats are drivers and those 20 in the back seats are passengers. What's the matter, can't you count?"

"You mean it takes two drivers to drive one truck?" says the Russian.

"Right," says the American. "One steers and the other lights his cigarettes, wipes the windshield, scratches his back and hollers 'Look out!' when necessary. Just like the Teamsters Union. It is, sir, the American way!"

"Bah!" says the Russian colonel. "I am checking with Moscow." So he does.

"Don't back down!" cries Moscow. And rushes up reinforcements.

"Don't back down!" cries Washington. And rushes up reinforcements.

All Soviet forces are alerted. All United States forces are alerted. NATO is alerted. Rockets presumably swivel ominously into position. France and Britain cry, "Don't back down!" And rush up reinforcements. To defend America's inalienable right to have two drivers in every truck.

Forty-two hours pass. Personally, I don't know how World War II was averted. Because both sides claim they didn't back down. But 42 hours is a long time to sit in a truck.

Well, whatever, I'm glad we didn't blow up civilization. This time.

But don't get me wrong. I'm sure we're all willing to die for our right to have two drivers in every truck. Just as all Russians are willing to die for the egalitarian principle of one truck, one driver. Moreover, if you're looking for a reason to destroy civilization, it's as good as any. If you're looking for a reason.

—Arthur Hoppe, Washington Star, Nov. 12.

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* The formal protest note of Nov. 6 got around this by

The Nov. 4 incident was carefully prepared from the Western side, and apparently, unlike the Oct. 10, with full knowledge of higher quarters. The *Baltimore Sun* reported from Berlin Nov. 6 that the Nov. 4 convoy was "the first direct challenge" since Oct. 10, "All American convoys since then have been formed in such a manner that they would dismount under their own rules." The knife-edge issue drawn was neatly phrased by the *Baltimore Sun's* correspondent in Berlin (Nov. 11) when he said, "The Russians say that they have to count the soldiers moving over the road. The Western allies agree but they decide what arrangements are made for counting them." The same dispatch threw further light on the argument when it said, "The Russians complain that they cannot see to count men inside a dark truck."

Russian Compromises Rejected

The Russians seem to have met the "crisis" by offering to compromise. If the men would not dismount, they asked that our men lower the tailgates for counting. When this was refused, they asked if the men in the truck would stand up to be counted. This was also rejected. These offers to compromise were described by Allied spokesmen in a belligerant and arrogant manner. They said (*Baltimore Sun,* Nov. 6) that "during the last two days, three separate and entirely arbitrary demands were made by Soviet authorities to change existing procedures. These were: demand to dismount; to lower tailgates, and for personnel to stand in the trucks to be counted. All were flatly rejected by U.S. authorities." Since we recognize the Russians' right to count and check the numbers against the convoy papers, this seems a very chip-on-the-shoulder attitude.**

How East Germany Saw It

"Cold war propagandists had a field day early in October, when they tried to play up a procedural difference on the West Berlin border into an 'international crisis'. . . . The conditions for the use of this motor highway by military transports have never been clearly defined in international agreements; a confused, and confusing, series of precedents have grown up since 1945, and arguments between American convoy officers and Soviet guards have recurred at irregular intervals over the past 18 years. . . .

"Observers in Bonn stated that there was some indication that the incident had been provoked by local American commanders, in cooperation with West German militarist circles, to upset the present tendency towards relaxation in the German question.

"It was pointed out in Berlin [i.e. East Berlin—IFS] that the incident showed how important it is for the powers concerned to conclude a proper detailed agreement on the legal status of West Berlin and its communication routes. Until such an agreement is reached, minor local differences can be used by anti-relaxation forces to create a major incident."

—Democratic German Report Oct. 18, a fortnightly published in East Berlin by the British journalist, John Peet, Krausenstrasse 9, Berlin W 8, an unofficial organ of the East German regime's point of view.

It is as if our military were spoiling for a fight. The convoy was blocked at Marienborn 9 a.m. local time Nov. 4. "At midnight," the UPI reported (New York *Daily News,* Nov. 5), "the convoy suddenly moved out without Soviet permission. It rolled about a quarter of a mile past two road barriers but was blocked about 400 yards inside East Germany as Soviet armored cars and five trucks, presumably laden with troops, rolled up to stop it. . . . West German truck drivers who passed through the checkpoint reported that the armored cars carried mounted machine guns." This effort to crash the border was made, according to the *Baltimore Sun* account, (Nov. 5) "apparently after a midnight deadline set by the U.S." It was this which brought about that danger of shooting and war to which Khrushchev referred in his interview with the U.S. business men (see box bottom of p. 4).

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some ingenious wording. It said that in stopping the convoy the Russians were acting "in contradiction with the established procedures followed up to the present time by the Allies. The pertinent procedures currently in effect were communicated by the 3 governments to the Soviet military authorities last Oct. 29." So the rules had been in effect all of 8 days!

**** Compare the statement made by the new British Prime Minister while the convoy was still being held. He said that "so far as he knew there was nothing sinister about the dispute in the Berlin corridor. . . . 'The dispute is about the opening of tailboards on the vehicles which carry the troops to and from Berlin'." (The London Times, Nov. 6.)**

"Our Tailboards Are Our Bulwarks Against Communism"

(The dramatic inside story of the Marienborn crisis, as related by Major-General Sir Roderick Talltrouser, Deputy-Director of Western Face, in a specially written new instalment of his memoirs, "Forty Years of Saving It.")

MARIENBORN! Throughout the annals of the free world the name will ring like a clarion call. Whenever they hear it, men will lift their heads proudly and say:— "Our tailboards were never lowered!"

The truth is that for 41 hours the Americans remained in their lorries on the autobahn and valiantly refused all Russian requests for co-operation in counting them. They refused to dismount. They refused to stand up. They refused to lower their tailboards.

As soon as we at Face H.Q. were informed of the American's position, we sent out a British and a French convoy as relieving forces, with strict instructions to remain seated and keep their tailboards up at all costs. The Russians, I regret to say, took this as the opportunity to play a particularly dirty trick on the American commander. They told him that at Babelsberg, at the other end of the autobahn, the French had, in fact, lowered their tailboards.

Fortunately, he refused to believe it. "What?" he must have said to himself. "Is it likely that the French, who did not lower their eagles at Austerlitz or Borodino, have lowered their tailboards at Babelsberg?"

The views of my American and French colleagues and myself, I may say, were in the closest harmony throughout the crisis. At one joint stag meeting the warm emotional tone rose to such a pitch that I became somewhat carried away. I stood up and sang to the assembled Western officers: "British tailboards never, never will be lowered."

At this, I am proud to say, there was applause, and my French colleagues jumped up and declared: "Ils ne baisseront pas!" The senior American general present added: "Be assured, gentlemen, that when the time comes to stand up and be counted, we will sit down and refuse to be counted." It was truly a moving moment.

—Michael Frayn, London Observer, Nov. 10.

IFS to Speak for Peace in Vietnam 8 p.m. Dec. 5 at Palm Gardens, 310 W. 52nd St., New York City, under Auspices of Studies on the Left

Khrushchev was not the only one who saw grave possibilities in the confrontation, though these possibilities were not advertised by U.S. military spokesmen until after the crisis had passed. Thus Myron Kandel from Berlin in the *New York Herald-Tribune* (Nov. 6) after the convoy was released said Allied officials had been meeting in Bonn and Berlin on next steps to be taken under their contingency plans and "Officials have confided privately that invoking some of these measures runs the risk of East-West bloodshed." The *Baltimore Sun's* correspondent (Nov. 7) said "evidence grew to indicate that the autobahn incident came nearer the point of explosion than anyone has admitted publicly." Earlier the *New York Herald-Tribune* (Nov. 5) had reported from Washington that the government's reaction to the new holdup "was one of studied calm. . . . Officials said there was a detailed contingency plan that had been worked out well in advance with the British, the French and the Germans, 'It's quite a bag of tricks'," an unnamed official was quoted as saying. Both the *Herald Tribune* and the *Wall St. Journal* drew a parallel with the Cuban crisis, the latter saying (Nov. 6) after it was over that the "latest Russian blockade became, in its way, almost as flagrant and frightening a test of Western will as the Soviet move to slip missiles into Cuba."

More Trouble May Lie Ahead

Fortunately the Nov. 4 convoy in one crucial detail had different orders from that of Oct. 10. The men in the latter were not allowed to dismount even to answer the calls of nature. In the case of the former "There was no lack of opportunity to count the men," the *New York Times* reported (Nov. 7), "for they showed themselves freely in periodic moments of relaxation and for a night time bivouac at the side of the road." This allowed the Russians a face-saver. They could claim that they had counted the men in accordance with their normal procedures. These counting procedures obviously are not limited to dismounting. As one U.S. official told the *Washington Star* afterwards (Nov. 6) "It's quite obvious that their procedures are quite flexible." That's more than can be said for ours.

But what happens next time? Nothing has been settled. What if next time U.S. troops stay in their trucks and cannot be counted? What if a dispute arises as to whether there are 30 or 31 passengers? "This argument has not yet been settled," a Western official told the Associated Press in Berlin (*Baltimore Sun,* Nov. 11). "Our plans are based on the expectation of more trouble in the near future." Major Gen. James H. Polk our commander in Berlin told the *Baltimore Sun* (Nov. 7), "We are ready for any type incident." Its correspondent said, "Neither Polk nor John A. Calhoun, chief of the U.S. mission, appeared to be optimistic that further incidents could be avoided." Polk's attitude may be gathered from his statement at press conference in the same dispatch when he said he would "not submit our troops to degradation and harassment." Why was it suddenly degradation to allow themselves to be counted standing up instead of sitting down?

Bonn Was Pleased

Bonn, Nov. 9—A measure of wry satisfaction was evident in Bonn this week as officials followed efforts of the U.S. to extricate one of its military convoys from a Soviet blockade on the Berlin autobahn.

Unlike Washington, Bonn had no doubt from the moment a previous U.S. convoy was held up a month ago that Premier Khrushchev had chosen deliberately to squeeze the West where it hurt. When the Soviet's authorities set in motion a conflict that could conceivably escalate into world war, West German officials are certain that no room is left for "local misunderstandings."

From the point of view of West Germany, the Soviet leader has thus performed a useful service. Even the most pro-American officials in Bonn have been troubled in recent months by what they regard as an imprudent dream in Washington that the intractable problems of Germany and Berlin could be at least temporarily by-passed in a drive for detente with the Soviet world.

—New York Times Sunday Review Section, Nov. 10.

If the Nov. 4 orders had not left a loophole for counting, if the Russians had not backed down, if shooting had started from either side when the convoy crashed the barrier, a World War might have been precipitated. Berlin is the neuralgic nerve of East-West confrontation. As serious as the light-minded way such great risks were taken over such picayune issues was the way the whole affair was misrepresented by U.S. press and officials.

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One of the Americus Four Tells His Story, Pps. 3 & 6

President Johnson: Lower Level Than JFK But The Country Could Have Done Worse, See Page 2

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We All Had A Finger on That Trigger

There was a fairy tale quality about the inaugural and there was a fairy tale quality about the funeral rites. One half expected that when the lovely princess knelt to kiss the casket for the last time, some winged godmother would wave her wand and restore the hero whole again in a final triumph over the dark forces which had slain him. There never was such a shining pageant of a Presidency before. We watched it as children do, raptly determined to believe but knowing all the time that it wasn't really true.

Of all the Presidents, this was the first to be a Prince Charming. To watch the President at press conference or at a private press briefing was to be delighted by his wit, his intelligence, his capacity and his youth. These made the terrible flash from Dallas incredible and painful. But perhaps the truth is that in some ways John Fitzgerald Kennedy died just in time. He died in time to be remembered as he would like to be remembered, as ever young, still victorious, struck down undefeated, with almost all the potentates and rulers of mankind, friend and foe, come to mourn at his bier.

Impasse at Home and Abroad

For somehow one has the feeling that in the tangled dramaturgy of events, this sudden assassination was for the author the only satisfactory way out. The Kennedy Administration was approaching an impasse, certainly at home, quite possibly abroad, from which there seemed no escape. In Congress the President was faced with something worse than a filibuster. He was confronted with a shrewdly conceived and quietly staged sitdown strike by Southern committee chairmen determined to block civil rights even if it meant stopping the wheels of government altogether. The measure of their success is that we entered this final month of 1963 with nine of the 13 basic appropriation bills as yet unpassed, though the fiscal year for which they were written began last July 1 and most of the government has been forced to live hand-to-mouth since. Never before in our history has the Senate so dragged its heels as this year; never before has the Southern oligarchy dared go so far in demonstrating its power in Washington. The President was caught between these old men, their faces set stubbornly toward their white supremacist past, and the advancing Negro masses, explosively demanding "freedom now." Mr. Kennedy's death, like those of the Birmingham children and of Medgar Evers, may some day seem the first drops portending a new storm which it was beyond his power to stay.

In foreign policy, the outlook was as unpromising. It was proving difficult to move toward co-existence a country so long conditioned to cold war. Even when Moscow offered gold for surplus wheat, it was hard to make a deal. The revolt in Congress against foreign aid illustrated how hard it was to carry on policy once tense fears of Communism slackened even slightly. The President recognized the dangers of an unlimited arms race and the need for a modus vivendi if humanity was to survive but was afraid, even when the Sino-Soviet break offered the opportunity, to move at more than snail's pace toward agreement with Moscow. The word was that there could be no follow up to the nuclear test ban pact at least until after the next election; even so minor a step as a commercial airline agreement with the Soviets was in abeyance. The quarrel with Argentina over oil concessions lit up the dilemma of the Alliance for Progress; however much the President might speak of encouraging diversity, when it came to a showdown, Congress and the moneyed powers of our society insisted on "free enterprise." The anti-Castro movement our CIA covertly supports was still a spluttering fuse, and in Vietnam the stepping up of the war by the rebels was deflating all the romantic Kennedy notions about counter guerrillas, while in Europe the Germans still blocked every constructive move toward a settlement in Berlin.

The Real Test of Our Morality

One way to demonstrate to the world in the wake of the President's assassination that we are a civilized people would be to pass a law forbidding the CIA ever, directly or indirectly, to finance or plan the killing of a foreign leader we dislike.

Essentially Conservative

Abroad, as at home, the problems were becoming too great for conventional leadership, and Kennedy, when the tinsel was stripped away, was a conventional leader, no more than an enlightened conservative, cautious as an old man for all his youth, with a basic distrust of the people and an astringent view of the evangelical as a tool of leadership. It is as well not to lose sight of these realities in the excitement of the funeral; funerals are always occasions for pious lying. A deep vein of superstition and a sudden touch of kindness always lead people to give the departed credit for more virtues than he possessed. This is particularly true when the dead man was the head of the richest and most powerful country in the world, its friendship courted, its enmity feared. Everybody is anxious to celebrate the dead leader and to court his successor. In the clouds of incense thus generated, it is easy to lose one's way, just when it becomes more important than ever to see where we really are.

The first problem that has to be faced is the murder itself: Whether it was done by a crackport Leftist on his own, or as the tool of some rightist plot, Van Der Lubbe style, the fact

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Any Honeymoon With Congress Is Likely To Be Short; Bobby Baker LBJ's "Heel"

Johnson Far Below JFK in Sophistication, Breadth and Taste

The scramble for positions of influence with the new Johnson administration makes it almost impossible to get an objective view of the man; everybody from the politicians to the Washington correspondents are, with few exceptions,* outdoing themselves in flattery of the new monarch. His vanity, his thin skin and his vindictiveness make even the mildest criticism, or approach to objectivity, dangerous.

The Perfect Extrovert

The negative aspects of Johnson are these. In sophistication, education and taste, he is a sharp drop from Kennedy. He has hardly read a book in years; never reads when he can help it; prefers to get information by ear, but rarely listens. He is one of the most long-winded men in Washington; a Babbit, with a remarkably small stock of basic ideas; these consist of a few clichés about freedom, which he translates largely into the freedom of the entrepeneur to make a buck. Money and power have been the motivating passions of his life. He was a New Dealer when that was the road to power, he became a conservative when that was the way to stay in. He is the perfect extrovert, with no convictions and a passion for "getting things done," anything. He rose as rapidly as he did in the House and later the Senate by endless sitting-at-the feet, after hours, of Sam Rayburn and later Senator Russell. *Then* he listened, the respectful and flattering young man; he had a genius for ingratiating himself with the old men of the Southern oligarchy. But he kept his lines open to the liberals, in order to deal with them, too, and he likes to picture himself as a Westerner rather than a Southerner.

Johnson's skill as a legislative manipulator may be overestimated. In the Eisenhower period, he was an effective middle man between the Republican and Democratic conservatives. In the special session of 1960, after the election, however, he and Kennedy together found it impossible to put through a moderately liberal program. Johnson is not a racist or a reactionary; he once told a visiting civil rights group that he had learned all he knew on the subject from Aubrey Williams (of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, once Johnson's boss in the New Deal's National Youth Administration) and Mary McLeod Bethune. As a shrewd politician, he knows he must move slightly leftward and make civil rights his No. 1 issue if he is to change the view of him as a Southern politician, with a basically standpat philosophy. In Texas the liberals distrust him deeply for running out on them and his New Deal past; the conservatives hate him for having been a more than loyal Kennedy lieutenant on civil rights.

The Southern Oligarchs Unsoftened

The Republicans suddenly feel a chance to win the next election and he will have a very short honeymoon. The Kennedy assassination has not softened the hearts of the Southern oligarchs and their coalition with the Republicans may easily and quickly be resumed. The vulnerable point of the new President is his old protege, Bobby Baker, a mercenary corkscrew of a character whose extraordinary influence in the Senate throws a horrifying light on the decayed underside of that august institution, and on Johnson's own aesthetic standards. The Republicans may have trouble in exploiting the Baker case, however, because it probably links up with as many ugly deals on their side of the aisle as on the Democratic side. It will take all Johnson's skill and energy to hush up this scandal and get action out of Congress. Men like Fulbright and Benjamin V. Cohen will be good influences in this administration, but on the whole Johnson like Truman will bring a lot of rather unseemly cronies to town and its level of literacy and civilization will fall again, as it did after FDR.

The hope is that men change and grow. A man's past is not necessarily a guide to his future, especially when he reaches the highest posts of a society. The sense of role, the maturing effect of responsibility, the consciousness of duty and love of country, the sense of humanity and history, all have their effect. Tom Clark, a one-time Texas lobbyist, not much of a lawyer, but a decent human being and never a racist, has made an honorable record and grown in stature on the U.S. Supreme Court. There may be surprises in Johnson, and we wish the new President luck. The manner and energy of his debut stir hope.

*** The only exception we have noted is James Reston who dared write in his column (New York Times, Nov. 27) that Johnson was "tyrannical with his personal staff, disorderly about administration and apoplectic about characters who write sentences like this . . . more thin-skinned about press criticism than anybody . . . since the last President Johnson . . . he has tended to regard dissent as perversity . . . as if criticism were not a duty in a free society but a crime" For a bureau chief, for whom access to the White House is a necessity, this took courage.**

Oswald's Mexican Trip May Prove The Key To The Assassination

The Left would like to find a way to blame it on the Right; the Right would like to blame it on the Left; the Arabs, in the ever irresponsible Egyptian press, are trying (because of Rubi) to blame it on the Jews. We have had phone calls from readers around the country, offering jigsaw puzzle theories of how the Kennedy assassination happened. We think it dangerous to spin theories from so few facts.

The press learned something from the McCarthy years, and handled the fact that Oswald seems to have been some kind of a leftist with great restraint. Not so many years ago there would have been screamer headlines, in some sectors, at least, "President Killed By Red." For this we can all be grateful and for the new Administration's wise move in heading off Eastland and the House Un-Americans by appointing a top level Commission under the Chief Justice to examine and report on the facts.

The killings may be just what they appear to be, or they may be part of a plot. If they are, it will take considerable time and hard digging to find out. What this requires is much more police work by police more trustworthy than those of Dallas and less sympathetic to the right than the FBI. It is always dangerous to draw rational inferences from the behavior of a psychopath like Oswald. But it would be important to know who financed his trip to Mexico, and why he took steps which at once, in a more panicky atmosphere, might have linked the Russians and the Cubans with the slaying.

Difficult to Organize the Poorest and the Wealthiest Among Negroes . . .

By John Perdew

In case you should wish to introduce this article you should know that I am 21, a student on leave from Harvard College, a field worker with SNCC. I've spent five months in southwest Georgia, partly in Albany and partly in Americus. I spent 20 days (June 19-July 9) in jail in Albany on charges of disorderly conduct, defacing public property, resisting arrest, and assault with intent to murder. I was released on $1900 bond (cash). I spent 85 days (August 8-Nov. 1) in Sumter County jail on charges of inciting to insurrection, interfering with a lawful arrest, rioting, unlawful assembly, and assault with intent to murder (state charges) and resisting arrest and disorderly conduct (city charges). I was released by order of a three-judge panel of federal judges on $2100 bond, which declared the insurrection and unlawful assembly statutes unconstitutional and all eight peace warrants lodged against me invalid. The court is in recess and will convene again after Dec. 1 to decide whether to issue an injunction restraining local officials from depriving people of their civil rights under color of law.

Participants in the civil rights movement today are not given to utopianism, but a theme which lies behind picket lines, mass demonstrations, and arrests is the attempt of American blacks to feel the pain of oppression which they have so long suppressed and find the strength to overcome it.

This became painfully apparent to me during my three month stay in the Sumter County Jail in Americus, Georgia, on charges of inciting to insurrection. One of the black prisoners there, a man in his forties, could not stop calling me "sir", even after I tried for several weeks to break his habit. For him the pain of communicating with me, a white, was so great that he avoided me as much as possible even though he knew I was in jail because of civil rights work. The way to relationships of mutual respect between white and black is blocked by deep counter currents in the personalities of, I would say, the majority of Southern blacks.

Still Jim Crow Despite ICC

Surface events in the racial struggle mean little until one can understand why, in Albany, Georgia, in spite of an ICC ruling which ended segregation in the bus terminal there, few blacks use the formerly "white" waiting rooms. After two years of mass demonstrations, boycotts, and voter registration, Albany blacks have little to show for their suffering in official desegregation, and the balance weighs heavily against even casual integration. The scale of success, however, is the people's state of mind, and there are at least several hundred blacks in the city who can now face a white man without the need to feel servile. These are the ones who have faced beatings, jail and the wrath of the white man with aggressive non-violence and have experienced at least temporary unity in the long-divided Negro community.

We asked one of the Americus Four to write his story for us and we are proud to present in his own words the reactions of John Perdew of Denver to the situation in the South. It breathes an objectivity, a humanity and a selflessness characteristic of SNCC. This article is given new meaning by the news that a grand jury in Americus has reindicted Perdew along with the other three (Ralph W. Allen of Melrose, Mass.; Donald Harris of New York City and Thomas McDaniel of Americus) for assault with intent to murder and rioting. The widest possible public support must be mobilized for these heroic young men if the vindictive authorities of Americus are not to succeed in finding some way to keep them in prison for many years.—IFS

There is at least one basic institution through which Southern blacks (I use "black" rather than "colored", which is the euphemistic word attached to segregated facilities) attempt to release and rectify the frustrations which result from inferior status. Country churches in particular have evolved a "language" of music and preaching and patterns of intense emotional possession which are baffling and embarrassing to whites used to more formal and "rational" means of religious expression. The elaborate, shifting chords and embellishments of a "common meter" hymn; the rising cadence of the black in the pulpit singing the Word; the shouts of the old bent ladies in the Amen Corner; the pleading prayers of the grimacing deacon—all are media through which, I think, the most oppressed blacks may convince themselves that their afflictions represent the road to that "great gettin'-up mornin' ".

The most talented and sensitive SNCC workers enter a country church and speak in the language of black religion but with the message that suffering, while a source of strength, is dehumanizing, that retreat only intensifies it. Black churches, for this reason and for convenience, become the site of mass meetings, the most regular feature of the Movement, and old hymns carry new words, themes such as "We shall not be moved", "We shall overcome", "This little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine".

A totally different reaction to segregation consists entirely in an attempt to be "white". Students at Negro colleges in the South, many teachers at all levels, some ministers with relatively wealthy congregations, and aspiring politicians and professionals deny their "roots" in black culture. Straightened hair, a flashy car, esoteric cultural tastes and formal, restrained church services become symbols of the escape. The result, in terms of the Movement, is that many, though certainly not all, of the upper classes in the Negro community will not actively identify themselves with the Movement.

In canvassing for voter registration I have found the most response from people in the middle ranges on the Negro income scale. The very poor are frequently afraid of me as a white (sometimes they will not answer the door, other times they will agree to everything the canvasser says in order to get rid of him). Or they are realistically or irrationally afraid that they will suffer eviction, firing, or even "legal" or physical intimidation. Ignorance and apathy as well obscure the connections in their minds between their personal failure to register and the fact that from top to bottom the "government is a white man". At the upper end of the scale, businessmen are threatened with white boycott, revocation of licenses, litigation, and property damage if they take an uncompromising public stand for black interests. Teachers, ideally a powerful force, usually in my experience succumb to subtle pressures from principals and the school board, much as teachers all over the nation willingly or not steer away from "controversial issues". All of these pressures reinforce the tendency to disavow "black roots" in a drive for respectability.

Only the most confident and aggressive leader can counteract the forces which maintain the status quo, for on the level

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What the Reviewers Are Saying About I. F. Stone's Book

"THE HAUNTED FIFTIES"

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Gerald W. Johnson in The New Republic (Dec. 14):

"His astonishing quality is not that he is independent but that, being independent, he has survived. . . . He is controversial in a day when controversy is equated with sin. He is bold, when courage is next door to treason. He is non-mercenary when indifference to money is close akin to forgetting God. He is extremely diverting when being amusing without being on television is usurpation."

Emile Capouya in The Saturday Review (Nov. 16):

"That one-man journal was founded in the days when Senator Joseph McCarthy was making the rules around here, and I suppose it is one of the reasons that McCarthy's triumph was not more complete in his lifetime, nor his heirs more firmly in power now. . . . Mr. Stone's reportorial prose is beautifully clear . . . clean as good French."

Quincy Howe in Book Week (Nov. 24):

"In this age of Hearst task forces, Time-Life writer-researcher-biographer teams, and Readers Digest condensations, I. F. Stone stands out as the embodiment of do-it-yourself journalism."

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Wm. German in San Francisco Chronicle (Nov. 3):

" 'The Haunted Fifties' . . . measures up to a remarkable vivisection of a nervous and stange decade. . . . The wonder and excitement of those 10 years comes back strongly as Mr. Stone's scalpel sifts through the weekly bits. . . . More power to this cheerful prophet."

Sam Galabow in the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer:

"This book is written by a man with a great sense of social justice. . . . It is amazing that one man can be so fearless and brave, that one man can refuse to tolerate cruelty and injustice, that one man can persevere in the search for truth, and that this same individual can also feel cheerful about the human race and believe that man ultimately will solve his problems."

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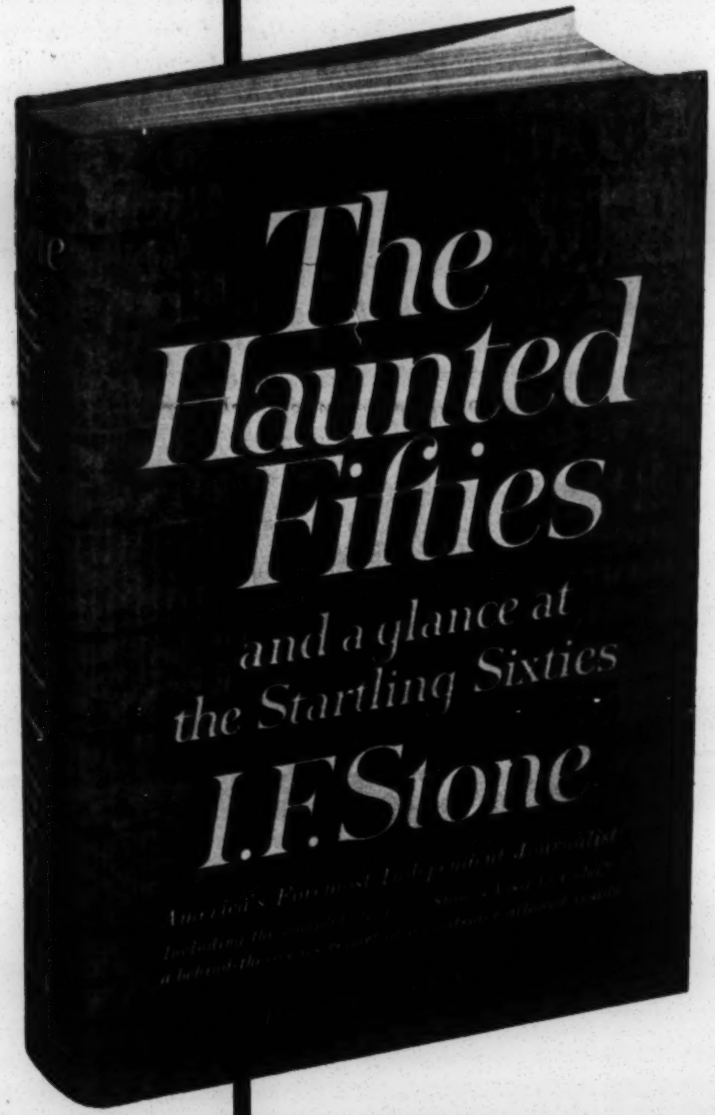

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. . . Washington Evasive and FBI Often Unsympathetic to Brutality Charges

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of personal contacts all but the most militant need a lot of pushing to rise out of short-term thinking and passivism. It is clear that youth are the most active leaders and followers in this Movement, but the most charismatic leaders are often defeated by their heroic image when, for example, their awed followers ask for autographs and lavish praise rather than risking jail and violence. An everyday principle in SNCC work is: balance between the hardest demands of a militant movement and the compromise necessary to maintain enthusiasm and communication.

Despite endless condemnation of the effects of white domination in propaganda, a basic submission to authority sometimes emerges in the strangest places. A southwest Georgia police chief once entered a mass meeting wearing his gun and was greeted not with a mass exit or cold silence but with uncertain applause. A skillful law officer can blunt the edge of the strongest leadership. Journalists, ministers, parents, and teachers can apply similar pressures in creating an aura of conventionalism — in phrases describing the "well-dressed, middle-class" Movement—which obscure the originality and depth of change. Paternalism as well undermines resentment and determination by a superficially friendly atmosphere.

The Whites, Too, Are Fearful

I think it can be argued that segregation both feeds on and spawns mutual fear between black and white and that this fear interacts with clear economic pressures. If violence may be said to indicate fear in the aggressor, then it becomes clear why it is in the blackest counties and towns of the South that lynchings and beatings are the commonest. One Georgia sheriff revealed his fear of a black SNCC worker when he forgot to lock him up after a conference with lawyers outside the cell block. Another sheriff once caned a SNCC lawyer who came to his jail to see about a white SNCC worker whom the sheriff had ordered beaten by prisoners. The most rabid segregationist propaganda reveals a fear of sexual and cultural pollution.

But the unbelievable intimidation which official and private whites wreak on "uppity niggers" would be impossible to perpetuate without economic support and incentive. The white employers and businessmen rely on the local monopolies which protect them from retaliation. If they antagonize the black population by kicking a customer or firing a black worker, they still in most cases run the area's only grocery or furnish the only source of employment. Only a well-organized and timely boycott can restrain the white who is driven to such behavior. And only massive voter registration and organization can restrain local politicians and law officers from arbitrary intimidation.

Strategy then is complicated when it is unclear whether deep prejudice and fear or expediency are driving a specific aggressor. In any case "justice" in the Black Belt can be accurately symbolized by the token prosecution of the Birmingham bombers and the threat of execution levelled against me and three other civil rights workers in Americus, Georgia.

Will the Movement for racial equality turn to violent tactics, and if it did would this tactic achieve the end of integration? I think the answer to both questions is "no". Organized violence will not come because the individuals capable of violence in the black population are least ready for sustained discipline. Gang leaders frequently work with SNCC but our insistence on non-violence forces them to choose between discipline within the Movement and violence against each other. The end of one such leader's association with SNCC could be placed at the time when he was wounded in a battle with a rival black gang. If violence were adopted as a tactic, I think, the effect of it would be to confirm and strengthen white fears.

Where is the federal government in all of this? My contact with the most active local representatives of the federal government, agents of the FBI, has been less than enchanting. While perhaps one third of the local agents I have met have been fairly impartial Northerners, the others, natives of the South, have taken statements from me with poorly disguised skepticism and sometimes antagonism. I have also talked with sympathetic Justice Department investigators, but their province is generally strictly limited to the evidence related to intimidation of prospective voters.

Official statements from Washington are usually evasive concerning allegations of police brutality: "there is no evidence", "investigations are underway (after three months!)", or "we have no authority to deal with this issue". But SNCC has submitted hundreds of sworn affidavits specifying cases of police brutality, and the FBI is in possession of photographs showing bruises and welts which we suffered as a result of official violence.

A symptom of the attitude of the federal government toward civil rights is Kennedy's appointment of a judge to the southwest Georgia district court who has consistently rendered unfavorable decisions in cases involving racial issues. His views on race relations were well-known before his appointment.

Where, then, does the Movement stand in southwest Georgia, and where is it going? Voter registration is receiving the greatest emphasis in anticipation of the elections next November. Albany, Georgia, saw a Black run for Mayor in October this year. An inevitable problem is low turnout—in this case roughly 60% of the registered Negroes, 10% of whom apparently voted for one of the two white segregationist candidates. White reaction to the candidate was surprisingly favorable, and he received a few votes in all-white wards. Political pressure has a high potential in towns like Americus, where almost 50% of the population is black, yet only 10% of the eligible blacks are registered.

The history of Albany, I think, has shown that momentary crises are not effective in bringing a change unless they are backed by substantial and visible economic and political power. Where once over 700 people went to jail during demonstrations, now potentially active participation is limited to a few tireless workers.

The Movement is reaching far greater economic sophistication in selective patronage, in a producer's co-operative for farm owners and workers (aimed at combatting price discrimination and seasonal unemployment), and possibly combination with white workers in union activity. Meanwhile, the currents of fear and pain and courage continue to clash in the Black Belt.

SNCC's Devoted Handful, Determined to Change The World, Recalls Earlier Martyrs

Where Caesar's Lions Failed, Can the South's Cattle Prods Win?

There is nothing wrong with our younger generation when it can produce a movement like SNCC. Not since the great pre-revolutionary generation in Russia, its assorted Narodniks, SR's, Marxists and Tolstoyans, has any great power produced as devoted a group of youngsters as the four hundred or so Negro and white young men and women of the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which held its fourth annual conference here in Washington at Howard University the week-end of Nov. 29.

Non-Violence Their Deepest Faith

I have had the privilege over the past few years of getting to know a few of them. They are an impressive lot. Purity is the only word for their intrinsic quality—the absence of self-seeking or of vanity. They are the stuff of saints. They are determined to change our country, and for them the most fundamental change of all is to win by non-violent means, to answer hate with love. They stand in a line that runs back from Gandhi to Tolstoy to Thoreau to St. Francis to Jesus. I regard them with reverence.

To be with them was a moving experience. They draw sustenance, the whites as well as the blacks, from Negro roots. Most of them are not religious in any conventional sense, but the whole movement is steeped in Negro religiosity at its best. On one side of their nature, they are sophisticated intellectuals; on the other, they feel akin to the Negro racial past. "We have a mandate," said their chairman, John Lewis, "from our forefathers who were slaves." One moment they were talking of the need for a planned economy and the next they were singing, "Like Christ, they died for you and me." They are ragged and ill-fed but their eyes shine. Against just such a consecrated few, powers more formidable than the lily-white South have fallen in the past, Czars and Caesars.

Cattle prods will not help, any more than it once helped to feed them to the lions. The South has a right to be terrified. Robert P. Moses, the director of SNCC's voter registration drive, used an unforgettable metaphor when he spoke of SNCC's work as an "annealing process." This young ex-school teacher from New York, with his round, brown African face, told the conference, "Only when metal has been brought to white heat, can it be shaped and molded; this is the annealing process. This is what we intend to do to the South and the country, bring them to white heat and then remold them."

The vision which provides a pattern for that remolding is beyond race; it seeks the emancipation of Man from his own suicidal divisions. Bob Moses is a sober seer, and does not fool himself. "The problem of the Negro is not the same as that of the European immigrant," he told the conference. "He could be accepted gradually as part of a broader European community. Our country and the world have not yet grappled with the problem of creating a community broad enough to encompass the Negro and the African." When it comes, it will have to be big enough to hold all mankind.

The Mexican, the Puerto Rican, the white unemployed, were not forgotten at this conference. James Baldwin and Bayard Rustin, like Lewis and Moses, saw the Negro's problem in broad human terms; to emancipate himself, he must emancipate the rest of us, from unemployment, from prejudice and from war. Baldwin spoke with the fury of a Hebrew prophet; Rustin with the objectivity of a still youthful Negro elder statesman, who believes as a lifelong pacifist and Socialist that only in a broader movement can the Negro hope to win jobs and freedom, and make a revolution "in a serious sense."

SNCC originated in the Fall of 1960 out of the sit-in student movement which began in Raleigh, N. C., in the spring of that year. Never have so few managed to make a bigger impact in a smaller space of time. They cheered when Lewis in his closing speech said, "We'll march through the heart of the South as Sherman did." Though an unarmed few, they have already set a whole region trembling; the earth shakes again as always under the footsteps of faith.

The Lunacy in the South

Three speakers at the SNCC convention provided vivid glimpses of the lunatic atmosphere in the South. Norman Thomas said, "There was a time when I somewhat romantically thought Eisenhower or Kennedy should have taken children to school personally in the Southern school disputes, but after being in Mississippi I would be afraid to have them do so." Robert Moses said the reaction in Jackson, Miss., to the President's murder was one of "indifference or suppressed joy." Wm. Hansen of Howard University was in jail in Helena, Arkansas, when Kennedy was shot. "A trusty came in with a grin on his face," Hansen related, "and said, 'Hey, boys, the President's been shot.' A few minutes later he came back and shouted, 'Hey, he's dead.' The trusty and the cops were jumping up and down with glee."

Will This Dubious Affair Be Used For More Warlike Action Against Cuba?

We welcome the successful conclusion of Venezuela's election and we can see no sense in its terrorist opposition. But we regard with suspicion the charge by the State Department and the Betancourt regime that an arms cache found on Venezuela's shores was of Cuban origin.

The fullest account we have seen in the U.S. press of this arms cache appeared in the Baltimore Sun Nov. 30. This made clear (1) that the arms were of Belgian manufacture and (2) that they were linked to Cuba by rather obscure means. A State Department spokesman quoted by the Sun said "modern laboratory techniques" now made it "possible to raise serial numbers and seals, even though efforts have been made to erase them." Such evidence should be submitted to an international body more worthy of confidence than the OAS before a verdict is handed down.

Cuba today is a tightly blockaded isle. Our planes and our naval vessels watch all that goes in and comes out. The Castro government, which denies that it sent arms to the Venezuelan terrorists, would be foolish in the extreme to run this blockade with an arms shipment which would give its enemies just the chance they have been looking for. We hope more objective forces at the UN can be mobilized to prevent this charge from being used as an excuse for more warlike action against Cuba.

The Danger in Canonizing Kennedy As An Apostle of Peace

(Continued from Page One)

is that there are hundreds of thousands in the South who had murder in their hearts for the Kennedys, the President and his brother the Attorney General, because they sought in some degree to help the Negro. This potential for murder, which the Negro community has felt for a long time, has become a national problem. But there are deeper realities to be faced.

Wouldn't We Be Happy to Kill Castro?

Let us ask ourselves honest questions. How many Americans have not assumed—with approval—that the CIA was probably trying to find a way to assassinate Castro? How many would not applaud if the CIA succeeded? How many applauded when Lumumba was killed in the Congo, because they assumed that he was dangerously neutralist or perhaps pro-Communist? Have we not become conditioned to the notion that we should have a secret agency of government—the CIA—with secret funds, to wield the dagger beneath the cloak against leaders we dislike? Even some of our best young liberal intellectuals can see nothing wrong in this picture except that the "operational" functions of CIA should be kept separate from its intelligence evaluations! How many of us—on the Left now—did not welcome the assassination of Diem and his brother Nhu in South Vietnam? We all reach for the dagger, or the gun, in our thinking when it suits our political view to do so. We all believe the end justifies the means. We all favor murder, when it reaches our own hated opponents. In this sense we share the guilt with Oswald and Ruby and the rightist crackpots. Where the right to kill is so universally accepted, we should not be surprised if our young President was slain. It is not just the ease in obtaining guns, it is the ease in obtaining excuses, that fosters assassination. This is more urgently in need of examination than who pulled the trigger. In this sense, as in that multi-lateral nuclear monstrosity we are trying to sell Europe, we all had a finger on the trigger.

Murder In Our Way of Life

But if we are to dig out the evil, we must dig deeper yet, into the way we have grown to accept the idea of murder on the widest scale as the arbiter of controversy between nations. In this connection, it would be wise to take a clear-sighted view of the Kennedy administration because it was the first U.S. government in the nuclear age which acted on the belief that it was possible to use war, or the threat of war, as an instrument of politics despite the possibility of annihilation. It was in some ways a warlike administration. It seems to have been ready, soon after taking office, to send troops into Vietnam to crush the rebellion against Diem; fortunately both Diem and our nearest Asian allies, notably the Filipinos, were against our sending combat troops into the area. The Kennedy administration, in violation of our own laws and international law, permitted that invasion from our shores which ended so ingloriously in the Bay of Pigs. It was the Kennedy Administration which met Khrushchev's demands for negotiations on Berlin by a partial mobilization and an alarming invitation to the country to dig backyard shelters against cataclysm.

We Can Easily Bluff Once Too Often

Finally we come to the October crisis of a year ago. This set a bad precedent for his successors, who may not be as skillful as he was in finding a way out. What if the Russians had refused to back down and remove their missiles from Cuba? What if they had called our bluff and war had begun, and escalated? How would the historians of mankind, if a fragment survived, have regarded the events of October? Would they have thought us justified in blowing most of mankind to smithereens rather than negotiate, or appeal to the UN, or even to leave in Cuba the medium range missiles which were no different after all from those we had long aimed at the Russians from Turkey and England? When a whole people is in a state of mind where it is ready to risk extinction—its own and everybody else's—as a means of having its own way in an international dispute, the readiness for murder has become a way of life and a world menace. Since this is the kind of bluff that can easily be played once too often, and that his successors may feel urged to imitate, it would be well to think it over carefully before canonizing Kennedy as an apostle of peace.

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Gunnar Myrdal on Automation and the Negro, P. 3

Castro's Startling New Account in The New Republic of Why He Wanted Nuclear Missiles, See Page 2

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

VOL. XI, NO. 25 DECEMBER 23, 1963 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20 CENTS

A Crisis and A Turning Point Approaches in Vietnam

The war in Vietnam is being lost. Only a few weeks ago, Secretary McNamara and General Taylor reported on their return from Saigon that "the major part" of our military role there could be "completed by the end of 1965." Now Hanson W. Baldwin, our most respected military expert, writes (*New York Times,* Dec. 7) that "unless public support in the U.S. and among its allies can be maintained *during years of frustration,* there is no possibility of victory." The italics are ours. President Johnson at his first meeting with the press that same day announced that Secretary McNamara is going back to Vietnam on another tour of inspection. It begins to look as if the Secretary of Defense has become a commuter between Washington and Saigon.

A Shift in U. S. Policy

It is clear that we are heading for a new crisis in South Vietnam; rebel attacks are mounting in size and frequency; the loss of arms to them is growing. At the same time Cambodia has formally asked Britain and the Soviet Union as co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina to reconvene it. In August of last year, when Cambodia asked the Geneva conferees to reassemble and guarantee its neutrality, President Kennedy shied away from the idea. But this time the attitude of the American government seems to have changed. When the Foreign Minister of Cambodia was here to attend the President's funeral, he spoke with Under Secretary of State Harriman and was assured that we would not place obstacles in the way of reconvening the conference for this purpose. The first Geneva conference met, it will be recalled, to end the Korean war, and then went on to end the first Indochinese war as well. The new session could become a vehicle for the peaceful ending of the war in South Vietnam too. We are approaching a turning point, either to risk widening the conflict by intervening with our own combat troops, or settling the war at the conference table.

Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia indicated these wider possibilities when he called for an independent South Vietnam linked in a neutral confederation with Cambodia. "The reunification of Vietnam is the end to be attained but it is for the moment premature if not impossible, as responsible leaders of North Vietnam have admitted to me," said Prince Sihanouk (Agence France-Presse, *Le Monde,* Dec. 4), adding that he thought "the Communist camp would content itself with a South Vietnam completely neutral, as is Cambodia." An article in the *Peking Review* (Nov. 22) confirms this view. China would like new trade ties with the West to replace the broken trade ties with the Soviet Union. Peace in South Vietnam would remove a major obstacle to such relations. In South Vietnam itself the National Liberation Front has made clear in a clandestine interview (*Le Monde,* Aug. 24) that it did not wish to "exchange one dictatorship for another. A democratic South Vietnam, an honorable and face-saving peace are possible.

How The CIA Makes Us Look Two-Faced

"Many are asking themselves whether America is the liberal "brain trust" which worked alongside President Kennedy or rather the services (still unpurged) of M. McCone, successor of M. Allen Dulles, the man of the Bay of Pigs of sinister memory. President Johnson would render his country an immense service if he ended this ambiguity, if he took steps to make America's government one in whose word foreigners could at last believe.

"Southeast Asia, in particular, is full of not very "quiet" Americans, sometimes camouflaged as diplomats, sometimes simple adventurers one can disavow, who vie with each other in stirring up trouble in countries of which they know little, mistaking for sincere friends mercenaries who make game of them, considering as enemies those who try to talk frankly with them —all persuaded that they are playing a great role and will make their personal idea of 'Americanism' triumph.

"The United States could do well without these imitation Macchiavellis who only exasperate Asian governments and peoples, perfectly aware of their intrigues big and little."

—From an editorial on the "two faces" of the American government in the Nov. 29 issue of Realités Cambodgiennes in Saigon, the first-rate weekly which is the unofficial organ of Cambordia's Prince Sihanouk.

Unfortunately the U.S. public has been conditioned to such oversimplified and fallacious views on Asian foreign policy as to make negotiation difficult. The Cambodian Foreign Minister had a friendly talk with the new President, but if Mr. Johnson were a combination of Macchiavelli and King Solomon he would still have trouble with this one. Three ideas widely held in this country are obstacles to a sensible settlement. One is that problems arising in the areas bordering China can be settled without taking its views into account. We had to negotiate with China to end the Korean war and we will have to sit down at Geneva with China again to end the Vietnamese war. The second is that neutralism is a menace second only to Communism, though the only one of the three Indochinese states which is stable today, free from guerrilla war and any internal Communist threat is neutralist Cambodia.

The third obstacle to peace is public acceptance of the CIA as a proper agency of government. The first thing to be said of the CIA is that in Southeast Asia, at least, it has proven itself politically incompetent. Its favorite Indochinese protegés, Diem in South Vietnam and Phoumi Nosavan in Laos,

(Continued on Page Four)

We Repeat:

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The New Republic Publishes A "Blockbuster" of An Interview by Jean Daniel

Castro's Startling New Account of Why He Asked for Nuclear Missiles

There are three important points to be noted in the sensational "talks with Kennedy and Castro" by Jean Daniel in the Dec. 14 issue of *The New Republic.* The first, of course, is that it offers an entirely new version of the events which led up to last year's missile crisis over Cuba. According to Castro, six months before the missiles were emplaced Cuba was informed that a new invasion under CIA sponsorship was being planned. These reports were discussed with Khrushchev's son-in-law Adzhubei when he was in Havana on his way to Washington. Cuban alarm was increased when Adzhubei reported that President Kennedy informed him that the U.S. had decided it could no longer tolerate the existence of the Castro regime *and reminded the Russians that the U.S. had not intervened when they invaded Hungary.* The missiles, according to Castro, were emplaced to deter a new invasion.

Cuba's Demilitarization Offer

It is a pity the United Nations is not independent enough to investigate this thoroughly in Havana, Moscow and Washington. It throws new light on the formal Cuban offers to the UN in September, 1962, just before the crisis, to accept demilitarization if offered firm international guarantees against aggression. This fits Castro's account, for in effect it would have done peacefully what was soon done under threat of war—removal of the missiles in exchange for a qualified U.S. agreement not to invade.

The second point to be noted is Castro's remark, "for us Cubans it didn't really make so much difference whether we died by conventional bombing or a hydrogen bomb." Here is the key to that proliferation which will soon make this a most dangerous planet unless a new world order can be brought into being. Each country, however tiny, will be ready to risk the future of the planet if its own existence is at stake. Moscow felt that only nuclear arms could deter an American attack. Curiously this is what John Foster Dulles advocated in a *Foreign Affairs* article (Autumn. 1957) when he proposed to abandon massive retaliation for the distribution of nuclear weapons to all our allies on the Sino-Soviet periphery so "as to make military invasion with conventional weapons a hazardous attempt." This was Khrushchev's strategy.

The third point could be a key to peace with Cuba. M. Daniel asked Kennedy if we could tolerate "economic collectivism." The President replied by citing our good relations with Tito and Sekou Touré. When M. Daniel reported this to Castro the latter replied, "Why am I not Tito or Sekou Touré? Because the Russians have never done us any injury such as the Yugoslavians and the Guineans have complained of in the past, and the Americans have never given us any of the benefits for which these two nations congratulate themselves today."

M. Daniel was invited by Kennedy to come back and talk with him after seeing Castro. The distinguished French journalist, an editor of *L'Express,* felt that he could thus play the role of an unofficial emissary. Castro's answer was not that of a puppet but of a man with no alternatives. It is a tragedy that the President's death cut short what might have been a fruitful dialogue. The fact is that Cuba is in the Soviet camp because it has no alternative. It is the only country to emerge from the anti-colonial struggle which has joined the Soviet camp; all the others have been left free by U.S. policy to deal with both East and West. Adzhubei himself in talking informally with reporters at the Soviet Embassy during that visit asked, "You get along with Guinea, why not Cuba?" From all indications the Russians would be relieved if a wiser U.S. policy enabled Cuba to move into a neutralist position. Until then there will always be the danger of a new world crisis over Cuba.

The Right to Travel

The Internal Security Act of 1950 was the first law in U.S. history to make a man's politics the test of his right to travel. It is good news that the Supreme Court has agreed to hear a clear test of these provisions in appeals brought by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Dr. Herbert Aptheker, leading functionaries of the Communist Party. This will probably also decide a related test, that of Milton S. Mayer, who was refused a passport because he declined on principal to state whether or not he was a Communist.

Another type of the new travel restrictions which have grown up since the second World War must wait on disposal of six pending Cuban travel cases. They will test the State Department's right to put little Iron Curtains around countries of which it does not approve, like China and Cuba. The latest of these cases arise from indictment of four of the 59 students who went to Cuba last summer. It is a pleasure to record one minor victory. A Federal judge in New York has rejected an attempt by the U.S. Attorney's office to restrict the four to New York City and its environs so they could not accept invitations from colleges around the country to speak about their trip and their prosecution!

Smathers Who Hates Castro Also Hates Decent Wages for Florida Farm Workers

Senator Smathers of Florida, a leading advocate of action to "liberate" China, is also carrying on a crusade to liberate Florida fruit growers from the need to pay halfway decent wages to the migrants and the miserable foreign workers who pick their crops. In both campaigns he seems to have had too much White House influence.

Just three days before President Kennedy's assassination, a Catholic priest who heads the National Catholic Rural Life Conference protested this influence. Last July the Labor Department set a minimum wage for these workers in Florida of 95 cents an hour. Though this was 20 cents less than the Department of Agriculture (notably sympathetic to growers) had set for unskilled labor in the Florida sugar cane harvest, the growers protested to Senator Smathers. According to this priest, Father James Vizzard, Smathers was turned down by Labor Secretary Wirtz and by Attorney General Kennedy, but persuaded President Kennedy to suspend the rate and order rehearings.

"I am not so unsophisticated as to be shocked when political deals do occur," Father Vizzard testified at the rehearing in Washington. "But I hope I never become so cynical as not to be outraged by a deal like this which sells down the river the poorest of America's poor. It is, to say the very least, demeaning to the office of the President that he should pay a political debt or buy a vote or do a favor with pennies snatched from the hands of the poor."

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From Dr. Gunnar Myrdal's Testimony Dec. 3 Before the Clark Subcommittee on Manpower

Famous Swedish Expert Sees Automation As Blessing If Economy Is Planned

Since May 20 a Senate subcommittee under Senator Clark (D. Pa.) has been holding hearings which may have historic impact. They deal with the problem of retraining and fully utilizing the nation's manpower in the light of the twin crises created by automation and the Negro uprising. Here we give some excerpts from the plea made before the committee Dec. 3 by the famous Swedish economist Dr. Gunnar Myrdal for more economic planning by government to end America's "relative stagnation."

Dr. MYRDAL: I am not using this word "automation" so much, because after all, it is a very old story. It is technological progress. We have just as much automation going on in Sweden. Our agricultural population is shrinking just as rapidly. Our trade unions, differently from yours, are all for automation. But the explanation is very simple, and that is full employment. If demand is kept up, if the economy is expanding, then automation is good for everybody. It is the basis of higher wages for workers, and it is the basis for more production.

Expansion of Demand Needed

The basic problem, more basic than automation, is the fact that there is not enough expansion of demand in this country. There are many people who are not living an affluent life in America, and you have the export markets and everything which is needed in underdeveloped countries. And in addition we in the rich countries should gradually see a change where more and more of the labor force is utilized for services, teaching, nursing, caring for old people, caring for culture, scholarship.

But that is a process which does not go automatically, and particularly if you start out, in America, with a rather high unemployment, I think there is a transitional problem. With this great tremendous stream of young people which you are getting into the labor market now, you must be very careful to give more education, and more vocational education also, to these youngsters so they may fit into the greater America of the future.

You have a very excellent educational system for the great majority of Americans who live in an affluent society, but a rather bad situation for those who live in the slums, the rural slums and the city slums. And in addition to that, since you cannot very rapidly make a nurse out of a half-illiterate Negro, you have transitional employment, i.e. to employ them in reconstruction, where there is a rather simple problem of reeducation. And it is almost a (good) fortune that you have such tremendous amounts to be done in reconstructing your cities and modernizing your transport system.

Q.E.D.

"I am sometimes very surprised when I meet industrialists in this country. I find them tremendously knowledgeable in their particular field, and I find them full of superstitions and idiotic ideas as soon as they start to talk about the country."

—From Dr. Myrdal's plea for more government planning before the Clark subcommittee, Dec. 3.

"Mr. Rubel [head of the Union Oil Company] said profits 'should rank right alongside such hallowed concepts as home and mother and the American flag'."

—From the New York Times account Dec. 5 of the Nat'l Assn of Manufacturers annual meeting.

I am very much against all those radicals who say that you can solve the problem just by giving the unemployed full wages, or nearly full wages, because there is nothing which can cure unemployment except employment.

I am an old Puritan in many ways and I believe that I am speaking for ordinary Americans. It is the dignity of life to be employed somewhere, and to do something for society. Well, what you have to do is of course to have very much greater expenditures for real city renewal, not the city renewal you have had up to now, which has been building houses not for poor people, but rather middle class people, and driving the poor into new slums.

There is a lot of construction work which needs to be done, and the speeding up of educating what I call the under class, where they are dropping out of school. I realize that this is a tremendous thing, because it will cost very much more money of the budget. I believe that this is bound to make the country richer, because here you have a vast amount of unutilized resources in your unemployed and your underemployed. It would make the country richer, and of course also prepare it to carry a very much bigger burden for the public expenditures. Here you cannot rely upon industry, private industry.—*Before the Clark committee, Dec. 3.*

Dr. Gunnar Myrdal Opposes Priority Treatment or Job Quotas for Negroes

"I believe that everything should be done to put the Negroes on the basis of equality, so far as the law is concerned. And I am optimistic enough to believe that (all this can be done) within a period of ten years. However, you will still have many of the problems left. There will continue to be discrimination against Negroes in a society where you do not have full employment, a very important pre-condition for giving reality to legal equality.

"In addition to that, sir, there is also the fact that because of the history of the Negro, he is less efficient in many ways. Perhaps half of the grown-up Negroes are for all practical purposes illiterate.

"I am, however, not for preferential treatment of Negroes, and I will try to explain why. First, because I do not think it is politically wise. Nobody sitting in this room feels responsible for having brought Negroes as slaves to America. That argument that we have a guilt does not work politically. I mean we are responsible for the society as it is now, and not for the whole history.

"But quite aside from that, I think it is wrong, because Negroes are, it is true, perhaps the largest portion of what I would call the under-class in America, but they are by far not alone. You have poor whites all over the place. You have the Puerto Ricans, you have the Mexicans, you have the workers in agriculture in many places. It will be absolutely wrong to give priority to one group, even if it is the biggest group. What you have to do is to make life decent and productive for all these poor people in the under-class. I think it is very unfair and against American principles to discriminate in favor of any group because of color. It is almost as bad as doing the opposite."

—Dr. Myrdal before the Clark committee, Dec. 3.

How Long Are We Going to Support An Assassination Agency?

(Continued from Page One)

have been utterly discredited; the latter only opened the door to Communism, the former had to be "removed" when his failure and instability became too notorious. The one Indochinese ruler the CIA has always regarded with disfavor is the only one who has succeeded. Cambodia under Sihanouk's leadership, Majority Leader Mansfield told the Senate the other day (Nov. 20), "has developed within its borders a remarkable degree of progress and political cohesion and stability and a level of human freedom and political participation in the life of the nation which exceeds most if not all of the other nations of southeast Asia." Yet as the *Washington Post* said in a recent editorial (Nov. 14), the CIA "has for a long time tended to consider the non-aligned Sihanouk as a pernicious fellow."

Does The Right Hand Know?

The second thing to be said of the CIA is that the very existence of a secret agency which boasts of "cloak and dagger" activities in countries with which we are at peace creates suspicions which poison our foreign relations. Both President Johnson and Secretary Harriman denied to the Cambodian Foreign Minister that the CIA had been engaged in plots against its government. But no one can be sure that the right hand of our government really knows what this left hand is doing.

Cambodia's first charges of a CIA plot were made in 1959 when it expelled Victor Matsui, an official of the U.S. Embassy for activities incompatible with diplomacy; Cambodia claimed that rebel groups had been given radio transmitters with which they kept in touch with the U.S. Embassy. The next incident was the capture of an anti-Sihanouk emissary with 270 kilograms of pure gold for the rebels; he confessed that he had been in contact with CIA agents not only in Cambodia but in Washington. Later an elaborate "gift" was presented at the Royal Palace and turned out to be an ingenious bomb intended to kill the King and Queen; three members of the Court lost their lives when it exploded. It had come by ship from Vietnam and its intricacy led the Cambodians to suspect skilled CIA hands at work. Then they learned that the secret rebel radio was operating from a house in Saigon under the very nose of U.S. and Vietnamese authorities, and felt this could not happen without their connivance. Another assassination attempt came last spring, when the President of Communist China visited Cambodia. Conspirators were caught in an attempt to mine the road over which he would pass with Prince Sihanouk on his way from the airport. The latest incident was the confession of a rebel infiltrator from South Vietnam that anti-Sihanouk forces worked out of strategic hamlets near the Cambodian border in close liaison with both Vietnamese and U.S. military authorities. These are the incidents which led Prince Sihanouk to break off American aid, fearing that aid agencies were a means by which hostile American agents penetrated his country.

Again I ask—in the wake of our own President's assassination—how long are we going to maintain what other nation's consider an assassination agency of our own?

Slowly Catching Up

"Under Ngo Din Diem, the hamlet program aroused deep popular resentment . . . tens of thousands of peasants were forced to leave their homes and build new surrounded by barbed-wire barricades. Communist propaganda focussed effectively on the most objectionable aspects of the program calling the hamlets concentration camps.' . . . This charge, according to U.S. officials, was all too accurate in many instances."

—*New York Times from Saigon Dec. 3.*

As long ago as *The Weekly* of April 17, 1961, in calling attention to some dangerously rose-colored views of Diem's regime, we compared the picture drawn of these hamlets by Leo Cherne in the *New York Times* Sunday Magazine, April 9, 1961, with that drawn by Robert Guillian, the Far Eastern expert of *Le Monde* (Paris) three days earlier. Cherne called them Diem's "most imaginative project . . . the most dramatic and fruitful pioneering rural ventures since the Israeli cooperative farm, the kibbutz." M. Guillian said this rural experiment "conducted in haste and in often brutal fashion, has been almost everywhere a political and economic failure." We're glad to see the *Times* catch up.

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Our New "Open Door" to China, P. 2

Only Repeal Can End the Multiple Menace to Political Freedom of the Internal Security Act, See Page 3

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

VOL. XII, NO. 1 JANUARY 6, 1964 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20 CENTS

While We Talk of Ending The Cold War

It is difficult to see what if anything is happening in regard to the problem of peace. Perhaps a good point to begin is with a story in *The Times* of London which indicates that not much of anything really is happening. *The Times* reported from Paris (Dec. 17) that at the opening of the NATO Council meeting Paul Spaak of Belgium had made so angry a speech attacking the "immobilism" of the Western alliance that his remarks were "suppressed by the NATO secretariat." Apparently M. Spaak's speech had to be obtained from other sources. *The Times* said "one diplomatist" had informed it M. Spaak "advocated that the West should get in a few ideas of its own without waiting for Russia to take the initiative." President Johnson's glorified barbecue with Chancellor Erhard deep in the heart of Texas does not seem to have changed this situation. "No new initiatives are immediately planned," Caroll Kilpatrick reported from Austin in the *Washington Post* Dec. 30. "The Chancellor stressed, and the President agreed, that any new agreement depends upon a change of attitude in the Kremlin."

Rusk Took A Hard Line in Paris

What this means, in effect, is that any substantial step toward relaxation of tension depends on a Russian willingness to surrender on Germany. This becomes clearer if one looks at the NATO speeches as reported in *Le Monde* of Paris (Dec. 17-18-19) which gave by far the fullest coverage. It appears from these that the dividing line in NATO is between those who would subordinate all else to the German problem and those who would postpone German unification while solving less difficult questions. According to *Le Monde,* M. Halvard Lange of Norway, in supporting M. Spaak, said NATO ought to "avoid a static attitude." If there was no chance at the moment to solve the German problem, "one could by stages," he proposed, "improve East-West relations by accords on 'peripheral' problems." This point of view was shared by the British, the Canadians and the Danes but opposed by the Germans, French, Dutch and Turks with the support of the Secretary of State. "His language," André Fontaine said of Mr. Rusk (*Le Monde,* Dec. 18) "hardly differed from that of M. Couve de Murville."

The only difference which appeared at the NATO Council between Mr. Rusk's position and that of the German Foreign Minister, Herr Schroeder, was that the Secretary of State expressed the view (somewhat to the dismay, it later appeared, of the State Department) that it was in the West's interest that Khrushchev's policy of co-existence should prevail over Mao Tse-tung's more belligerent stance. The German Foreign Minister, on the other hand, seemed to have reverted to the paranoid politics of the Dulles era; he thought Mao less dangerous and regarded peaceful co-existence as "an instrument that Moscow uses to divide the alliance" (*Le Monde,* Dec. 17). Herr Schroeder claimed to be an advocate of "movement" but not apparently in any peaceful direction. He opposed long term credits to Moscow (as did Mr. Rusk) lest this "permit it to resume its politics of intimidation and tension" and he pictured the Soviet campaign for an agreement against the proliferation of nuclear weapons as a sinister effort to prevent the establishment of a multilateral NATO nuclear force. These positions make it easier to understand the headlines from Texas two weeks later, "Thaw in Cold War Doubtful, Erhard Cautions Johnson" (*Washington Star,* Dec. 29). It certainly is, if the Germans have their way.

Air Force Intelligence at Work

It isn't often that we can get a glimpse of the thinking which goes on in Air Force Intelligence. A rare insight of this kind was unwittingly provided by the Washington Post (Dec. 20) in assigning a new book on national security to review by a Robert A. Kilmarx (what a lovely name for a Pentagon official!) who is special adviser to the assistant chief of staff of Air Force Intelligence.

Mr. Kilmarx wrote that the book came "at a most fortunate time" because the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty had created the danger of a "euphoria about national security" which could be "compounded by apathy toward cold war conflict" especially if the Soviets "continue to avoid precipitating major crises." This is the first mention we have seen of what might be called a crisis gap. Perhaps the CIA can fill it by fabricating some crises of its own.

We were especially fascinated by Mr. Kilmarx's fear that President Kennedy's assassination "may have reinforced this danger, since the forces of intolerance, hatred and extremism which many people apparently believe contributed to his death may be viewed as the product of cold war instability, ideological conflict and economic frustration." In other words the killing may have led the American people to wonder about the effects upon them of that system of perpetual fear and hatred we call the cold war. This Air Force expert seems to think such moments of sober reflection, though rare, are a menace to national security.

It would be a mistake, however, to blame all this on the Germans. Though President Johnson has twice spoken of his desire to end the cold war, first at his December 13 diplomatic reception and again in his Dec. 17 address to the UN, the country, the press, and the government are all geared the other way. This was reflected in the difference between the *New York Times* and the London *Times* in their treatment, on the eve of the NATO Council meeting, of Khrushchev's closing speech to the Central Committee in Moscow Dec. 13.

(Contined on Page Four)

Hilsman's Naive Self-Righteousness Contrasted With De Gaulle's Astute Politics

Still A Long Way to Go Before We Get Back to Reality in the Far East

Three points strike one about the Roger Hilsman speech in San Francisco "opening the door" to improved relations with Communist China. One is its naive self-righteousness. "These," Mr. Hilsman said of Peking's rulers, "are the 'Marxist Puritans:' they see all the world as a conflict between unblemished good and unredeemable evil . . . there are few people on earth as sublimely confident as are the Chinese Communist leaders that they are always right and good." One of the few people this description fits is ourselves, particularly the State Department crowd—their customary view of the world is just such a simple-minded black-and-white. "We are confronted," the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs said, "with a regime which . . . has used hatred as an engine of national policy. The U.S. is the central figure in their demonology." How aptly this applies to our China policy.

Why China Wants The Bomb, Too

The second point is that the State Department does not seem to realize that its emphasis on the differing Russian and Chinese attitudes toward "the realities of the nuclear age" is susceptible of very different interpretation in Peking. Our relations with Russia are better than those with China not just because Moscow is more aware than Peking of the nuclear peril but because Moscow has the H-bomb, too, and its possession forces us to be more sober in our dealings with the Russians. The Chinese may well feel that the "realities of the nuclear age" dictate a tremendous effort to obtain its weapons, too, so that they can, like the Russians, exact a mutual fear and respect in their relations with Washington. From this viewpoint our rude and swift rejection of every offer they have made for a "nuclear free Pacific" may yet prove a serious error on our part since that proposal implied Peking's readiness to give up any attempt to obtain nuclear weapons.

The third point is the width of the gulf which separates the two capitals. In the U.S. political frame of reference, this speech marks an advance toward realism in the Far East, but that is also an indicator of how far from reality we have drifted. In the Chinese frame of reference, this patronizing lecture, with its childish conspiratorial notion of somehow dividing the younger Communist leadership from the elder and its praise of Chiang's regime in Formosa, must make us look as if we are still living in a dream world. De Gaulle's politics by comparison are subtly aware of realities and their possibilities. This is that China is prepared, in return for better relations with France and the West, to see South-East Asia stabilized and neutralized even though in a way which would restore French cultural and economic hegemony in the regime. This is the deal shaping up between Peking and Paris, and it makes sense. We by contrast still oppose a conference on Cambodia lest it open the door also to peace in South Vietnam. In this respect, from China's standpoint, we remain a dangerous Canute in Far Eastern waters.

Unfit to Print?

There were two omissions by the New York Times **(Dec. 11) when it reprinted from the** New Republic **Jean Daniel's account of his interviews with Kennedy and Castro. M. Daniel wrote that he asked the President "Could the U.S. tolerate economic collectivism" and Kennedy replied: "What about Sekou Toure? And Tito? I received Marshal Tito three days ago and our discussions were most positive." This was omitted by the Times. It also omitted Castro's comment, "Why am I not Sekou Toure? Because the Russians have never done us any injury such as the Yugoslavians and the Guineans have complained of in the past, and because the Americans have never given us any of the benefits for which these two nations congratulate themselves today." This indicates that Castro might assume a neutralist position, too, if he met with friendliness. Why did the editors of the** New York Times **consider this unfit to print?**

BITTER PILL FOR EASTLAND: The grounds on which the Court of Appeals has for the second time reversed the contempt conviction of newspaperman Robert Shelton promise trouble for Eastland in the suit brought against him by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. For the raid upon the SCEF, like the subpoena for Shelton, was never authorized by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. . . *We salute in the passing of A. J. Liebling a great reporter and a great critic of the U.S. press.*

One Lone Senate Voice and Indian Protest Against U. S. Navy's Latest Expansion

"I invite attention to the latest maneuver in the Pentagon in connection with foreign aid. This is the expansion of both the military aid program and the presence of American military forces—at one and the same time—into southern Asia.

"Over the years, one of the largest of all U.S. military aid programs has seen billions go to Pakistan on the theory that she was a partner with us against Communist aggression. That theory has already proved fallacious. But the only response the Pentagon is able to come up with in such matters is to throw good money after bad.

"So it is programming a military aid program for India that is on about the same scale as that for Pakistan. I am satisfied that if any use of our aid to these countries ever occurs, it will be against each other and not against any Communist power.

"But the Pentagon is [also] preparing to send American naval forces into the Indian Ocean on a permanent basis for the first time. Expansion of the fleet into the Indian Ocean is described in one press report as achieving what it calls a long-standing ambition of the Navy.

"I do not doubt that the U.S. Navy is anxious to replace the British Navy in international waters. But I remind the Pentagon that the only reason the British Navy is no longer dominant on the seven seas is that the British taxpayer went broke trying to support a worldwide network of naval forces, colonies, enclaves, lifelines, army and navy forces, and puppet governments.

"At the rate the Pentagon is going, we Americans have the same fate in store."

—Morse (D. Ore.) in the Senate Dec. 16 (abridged).

"By what right except that of sheer military power does the U.S. propose to police the Indian Ocean?"

—Times of India quoted in London Times Dec. 17.

Only Repeal Can End The Multiple Threat of This Thought Control Ruling

Menace of the Internal Security Act Not Ended by Registration Ruling

We predicted many months ago that the Supreme Court would eventually throw out the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act as unenforceable under the Fifth Amendment, since anyone signing a registration statement would incriminate himself. Such a final decision is brought closer by the unanimous opinion with which Judges Bazelon, Washington and McGowan on the Court of Appeals ruled against the government's move to punish the Communist Party for failure to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board under the Act. But this decision, even when upheld by the Supreme Court, as we believe it will be, will not finish off this sinister piece of thought control legislation which Congress passed 13 years ago over Harry Truman's veto, itself a message in the best Jeffersonian tradition.

Many Issues Still Pending

The Court will still have to decide (in the Gus Hall and Ben Davis cases) whether known officials of the Party can use the 5th amendment to evade orders to register the Party, and whether (in the Albertson and Proctor cases) known members of the Party can use the 5th amendment to defy orders to register personally as member of the Party, or face the fantastic penalties of 5 years in jail, a $10,000 fine for every single day in which they fail to register. Still to be decided (in the Flynn and Aptheker cases) is whether passports can be denied to members of organizations ordered to register, and whether organizations ordered to register can be forced to label their publications as subversive.

The Court will have to decide (as in the Robles case in Seattle) whether a member of an organization ordered to register can be punished as a criminal for working in a defense plant. It will also have to decide (in the Mine, Mill case) whether a trade union can be adjudged "Communist infiltrated" because elected officers, whether or not Communist party members, acted to support Communist causes, even though these causes were in themselves lawful.

Most important of all there will be appeals from two of the Communist "front" cases handed down by the Court of Appeals the same day. The order against the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was based on evidence so stale and dubious (see the Bazelon dissent at the top of col. 2) that the Court itself invited a petition for reconsideration, an almost unprecedented gesture. The other order, against the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, raises the question (see the Bazelon dissent below) of whether people can be punished as "fronters" for carrying on activities in themselves entirely lawful. We believe that the Supreme Court will uphold Judge Bazelon's view that this cannot be done under the First Amendment.

But even if all these cases are won, the Subversive Activities Control Board could still live on as an administrative agency empowered to put radical organizations and publications out of business by branding them with a scarlet letter. Only the repeal of the Act can end its multiple threat to free political discussion.

Once A Communist, Alawys A Communist?

"The hearings were held in 1954 and much of the evidence dates back to the late 1930s and early 1940s. As the court points out, our relations with the Soviet Union have shifted radically in the meantime. The Republican cause in the Spanish Civil War engaged the loyalties of sincere democrats as well as Communists.

"The evidence about Harold Smith goes back to 1946, when Earl Browder was expelled from the Party and Smith, his bodyguard, remained loyal to him. Continued loyalty to a man who was expelled in 1946 does not support an inference that Smith was a party functionary in 1952.

"The record was stale when the Board made its findings. In the 8 years since then there have been turbulent changes in world affairs . . . the views of many who were sympathetic to the Communist cause have undergone profound change, particularly after the brutal suppression of the Hungarian revolt in 1956."

—Judge Bazelon dissenting in the Court of Appeals from the order requiring the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to register as a Communist front.

The Majority's Tortured Reasoning and Bazelon's Dissent in the Foreign Born Case

"The Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born undoubtedly devoted the major portion of its efforts to contesting the deportation of aliens. . . . But the protection of the rights of the foreign-born is not only a laudable objective; it is a basic one in this country. . . . What, then, of an organization which vigorously devotes itself to the protection of the rights of all and any foreign born who seek its help? Is it to be held a Communist front because the ends sought are Communist aims? Of course not. But . . . the Congress . . . found as a fact that these [Communist] action organizations operate to a substantial extent through 'fronts,' which in most instances are used, created or used in such manner as to conceal their true character and purposes, and that a result of this method is to obtain support from persons who would not extend such support if they knew the true purposes."

—Judge Prettyman with Danaher in a 2-to-1 Court of Appeals opinion upholding the Subversive Activities Control Board order to register the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born as a Communist front under the Internal Security Act.

"Congress chose not to outlaw the Communist Party or prohibit all its activities. Besides the objectives of overthrowing the government and establishing a dictatorship, the Party has innocent objectives and activities . . . e.g., promoting school integration . . . contesting the deportation of aliens. . . . Most of the severe penalties of the Act apply not only to members of Communist-action organizations but to members of Communist fronts also. These sections . . . make it unlawful for members of either sort of organization to hold any non-elective office or employment under the United States, or to be employed by any labor organization, or to use a passport, or even to apply for a passport . . . their severity shows that Congress had no intention of inflicting them on otherwise innocent people merely because of membership in otherwise innocent organizations that the Communist Party uses to advance an innocent aim. . . .

"Activities protected by the First Amendment cannot be restrained because of association with an organization some of whose activities are not so protected."

—Judge Bazelon dissenting.

K's Troop Cut Offer Buried or Belittled in U.S. Press

(Continued from Page One)

From the standpoint of arms reduction the most important point in the Khrushchev speech was his reaction to Secretary McNamara's speech of Nov. 18 to the Economic Club of New York. In that speech the Defense Secretary disclosed that the supposed gap between the conventional forces of East and West was as fictional as the earlier bomber and missile gaps, that NATO now had bigger ground forces than the Warsaw Pact and more men on the ground in Central Europe than does the bloc. Khrushchev in reply pointed out that the West had hitherto rejected proposals for reductions in conventional forces on the ground that the Soviets had so many more men under arms. Since McNamara now believed that the West had a clear superiority, "why don't you proceed now," Khrushchev asked, "toward an agreement on the reduction of armed forces and armaments?" This was coupled with an announcement of some reduction in the Soviet military budget for 1964.

Johnson Encouraged Arms Agency

The Times in London (Dec. 16) headlined this, "Mr. K's Hint Opens New Prospects" and accompanied it with an optimistic story from its Washington correspondent. The latter reported the announcement was greeted hopefully in Washington where it was felt that "a reduction or levelling off of defense expenditures could be the beginning of a new chapter of negotiations." The Khrushchev speech had coincided with a White House meeting to discuss the new Geneva talks and Disarmament Agency officials, according to the London *Times* man, had emerged from these talks encouraged by Johnson's "strong support. He (Johnson) said . . . he would prefer to solve the peace question more than any other." But State Dept. officials seem to talk differently for home consumption. The Khrushchev speech had hardly come off the ticker before U.S. correspondents were summoned in for a private briefing designed to bury or belittle it. The *New York Times* like the rest of our press accompanied the story from Moscow with disparaging comment from Washington.

There is more involved here than a press and a bureaucracy brainwashed by years of cold war. Secretary McNamara's speech was not intended to ease the way for arms reduction talks but to get rid of "misleading or obsolete notions" which (as he said) "produce an attitude of hopelessness toward any attempt to prepare to meet Communist forces in ground combat." The purpose in other words was to encourage NATO to build up its conventional forces. The very day the President was talking to the UN in such inspiring terms of the need to end the cold war and divert arms spending to a global attack on poverty, the Secretary of Defense was urging NATO members to spend more on arms, both on bigger conventional forces and on the multilateral nuclear NATO force. We continue to press for this even while assuring the world, as Johnson did the UN that we want "to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons to nations not now possessing them." Rarely have words and deeds been so beautifully mismatched. *Dec. 30*

Truman Warns Against The CIA

Too little attention has been paid the syndicated article (Washington Post, Dec. 22) in which former President Truman, who set up the Central Intelligence Agency, declared the time has come to "take another look" at its operations. Mr. Truman wrote that he never intended its use in "peacetime cloak and dagger operations" and that he now feels "there is something about the way the CIA has been functioning that is casting a shadow" over our institutions. We hope that Senators like Mansfield, who have long advocated the setting up of a joint committee to exercise some check on CIA, will arrange for hearings on several such pending bills and ask Mr. Truman to testify. Present supervision is negligible. When Lindsay of New York delivered a comprehensive speech on this in the House last August 16, Norblad of Oregon interrupted to say that the Armed Services subcommittee which is supposed to keep an eye on the CIA and of which he was a member "met annually one time a year for a period of two hours in which we accomplished virtually nothing." The U.S. today has the sinister distinction of being the only government in the world with a cloak-and-dagger agency which overthrows and sometimes has a hand in killing the rulers of countries with which we are at peace. One of these days, unless stopped, they may try to do at home what they have been accustomed to doing abroad.

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I. F. Stone's Weekly

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Why Moscow's Peace Proposal Was Labelled "Disappointing"

In a message to Premier Khrushchev on New Year's Day, President Johnson called on the Soviet leader to make 1964 a year in which we take further steps "toward peace." Next day the Soviet Premier sent a note to all world capitals urging renunciation of force in the settlement of territorial disputes. This has brought the standard cold war reaction from the State Department, which describes the note as "disappointing." As usual American public opinion is being formed, not by a study of the document itself, but by the headlines generated in hasty briefings at the State Department. "U.S. Finds Little New in K's Note," said a typical headline in the *Washington Post* Jan. 4, "Officials Suspect 'Booby-Traps' in Moscow Proposal." This was followed Jan. 6 with an unusually inane "backgrounder" in which its diplomatic correspondent, after smoking hashish in the public relations dens of the Department, emerged with the self-congratulatory view that the Department has shrewdly changed its style, that it was now saying "no, but" instead of "no" in a devilishly clever maneuver "to avoid being cast in a negative anti-peace position." The State Department, the *Washington Post* reports, is determined "never to let the Soviet Union corner the issue of peace." The anxiety is not about peace, but the fear of losing a propaganda battle.

Why Is Bonn So Nervous?

The Soviet note was "disappointing" because Moscow got in ahead of Washington with the first concrete proposal of the New Year. It was "non-objective" because it did not look at the world the State Department's way. A better test of its objectivity may be obtained by freeing our minds from the barrage of propaganda let loose by State Department briefings and taking a fresh look for ourselves. The Soviet note is ably written and moderately phrased and it puts its finger on a major problem, that of territorial disputes. The first observation to be made is that the Soviet proposal is no different in principle from the proposal we have ourselves made the prime condition of negotiation with Communist China, that it renounce the use of force to recover Formosa. Renunciation of force, we have been telling Peking for several years, does not mean renunciation of claims, but only their peaceful negotiation. We like this in the Far East where our nuclear armed 7th fleet commands the Formosa straits. But we and our principal allies the Germans don't like it in Europe where the latter still hope that a nuclear armed Germany by threat of force will yet be able to recover the Eastern territories lost to Russia and Poland in the last war. Indeed the immediate reaction from Bonn was that the Soviet note was intended to block its declared ambition to recover the boundaries of 1937. But if, as the Germans have said, they intend only to do this peacefully by negotiation, why do they respond so nervously to a proposal that force be renounced?

De Gaulle as Peace Maker

Both big powers talk peace, but if you look closely you will see that France really practices it. An independent world peace policy as well as an independent nuclear deterrent is being created by de Gaulle. We note some significant year-end items.

For all practical purposes Moscow and Washington are united in a policy of isolating China. But an interview with Prime Minister Chou En-lai was telecast over the government owned TV station in France (text in Le Monde, Jan. 1) as part of a growing entente between Paris and Peking. This could lead to China's admission to the UN, since the French African states under de Gaulle's influence have enough votes to swing the balance in China's favor. Chou En-lai used the interview to deny that China was against peaceful coexistence and to state his complaints against the U.S.

A second item concerns Cuba. Last Dec. 4, Senator Keating protested offers of French economic aid to Castro; now Havana radio (New York Times, Jan. 4, Late City ed.) reports de Gaulle singled out the Cuban Ambassador at a New York reception in Paris for a talk in which he expressed sympathy for Cuba.

A third and well known item concerns the Far East, where both big powers are at a loss; there French diplomacy maintains Western influence in Cambodia and alone offers the hope of a healing peace in Vietnam.

The fourth item, which passed unnoticed in the press but not in governmental circles, was subtle and startling. In his New Year broadcast, in expressing the hope for a truly united Europe, which might include the Soviet States as their internal regimes liberalized, General de Gaulle mentioned among the Communist capitals the two black sheep, Moscow's outcast Tirana (capital of Albania) and the West's outcast Pankow (capital of East Germany). This unexpected and unusual courtesy to Ulbricht, coming from de Gaulle, the alley of West Germany, seemed almost a form of recognition. Since de Gaulle is also the only Western leader publicly to accept the Oder-Neisse line as final, this friendly reference to Pankow indicates that maverick initiatives on the German question by France are also possible. Perhaps de Gaulle can rescue this one, too, from the cold war's deep freeze.

Of course the Communist like the capitalist world is inconsistent. Each side likes renunciation of force where it suits its purpose, as each side likes free elections where it can win. They're for free elections in Vietnam and we're for free elections in Germany, just as we're for renunciation of force over Formosa but not over Germany. They would make Formosa an exception to their general formula, as historically a part

(Continued on Page Four)

Sen. McCarthy in Satevepost Discloses That Assassins Are on the CIA's Payroll

A Congressional Watchdog Committee Will Not End Cloak-and-Dagger Evils

The unintended are as important as the intended revelation in Senator Eugene McCarthy's "The CIA Is Getting Out of Hand" in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Jan. 4-11). He hints (see adjoining box) that the missile threat from Cuba was exaggerated. He puts the Bay of Pigs in perspective as an invasion by a secret agency of Congressional power to organize armies and to make war. He pictures the U-2 affair not as a blunder but as an incident by which the CIA, in upsetting the summit conference, made foreign policy. He protests the sinister process by which a supposed information gathering agency has been "taking over the roles of the State Department, Defense Department and Congress as well as carrying the nation to the edge of war." Most important of all, in discussing the growth of the CIA to the point where it employs 14,000 men and is one of the most powerful agencies in Washington, he reveals that hired killers are among its agents. It has on its payroll, he writes, "specialists in intelligence analysis and espionage, U-2 pilots *and assassins*" (our italics).

Any Means to Reach Our Ends?

But neither Senator McCarthy, nor the *Saturday Evening Post* in an editorial that same week on the President's assassination, seems to see that the employment of assassins by our own government is morally monstrous. Even that tragedy has not been enough to free them from the evil notion fostered by the cold war that our ends are so righteous that somehow any means to achieve them are justified. The Senator makes the conventional plea that the Cold War requires tactics the authors of the Constitution could hardly have imagined. It is time this stereotype were challenged. Assassination as a political weapon is as old as history; the enemy of the moment has always been the embodiment of Satan. The struggle for a civilized world, which had been going on long before 1789 much less 1947, was to impose law on international relations and bounds even on warfare, much less hostility in time of peace. The fact is that no other government but ours boasts of such an agency, and there is no evidence that any other government today employs assassins in carrying out its policies.

Cuban Missile Threat Exaggerated?

"A watchdog committee [to supervise the CIA] would also stop some irresponsible talk concerning U.S. activities abroad. The presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba 18 months after the Bay of Pigs invasion, for example, loosed a torrent of oratory on the magnitude of the Soviet threat in Cuba. If the CIA had briefed a watchdog committee certain inaccurate statements which stemmed from ignorance of the facts would never have been uttered."

—Sen. McCarthy on the CIA in Satevepost Jan. 4.

The remedy Senator McCarthy proposes is too mild for the disease. The CIA's director, John McCone, demonstrated when head of the AEC how easily he could twist a supposed watchdog, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to his purposes. In any case, to set up a Congressional committee to pass on requests for funds and permission to kill foreign leaders we dislike and overthrow foreign governments of which we disapprove would only be to institutionalize the evil and spread the corruption. Only by ending all cloak and dagger activities and reducing the CIA to normal intelligence tasks, as former President Truman suggests, can this cancerous growth be excised from a free society.

When Senator McCarthy discusses the Guatemala affair (see box below) he inadvertently discloses how dangerous it is to let a agency of our government, even if supervised, carry on secret war against other governments. Ignorance and unconscious arrogance are revealed in his easy assumption that the U.S. "undoubtedly benefitted" from the CIA's overthrow of Arbenz. The United Fruit Company, yes. But the USA? And even if we did benefit, have we the right to impose our views by force and stealth upon our neighbors against their wishes, to decide what is best for them, or if not for them, then at least for us?

A Liberal Senator But On Guatemala Far to The Right of Britain's Tories

"The CIA also claims to have masterminded the overthrow of the Communist-influenced government of Jacobo' Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala in 1954. In this instance the result undoubtedly benefitted the United States, but the question remains as to whether the CIA is the proper tool for such endeavors."

—Sen. McCarthy (D. Minn.) in Sat. Eve. Post, Jan.4-11.

"A special problem was created [in Guatemala] by the extensive estates of the United Fruit Company . . . the parts of the Company's holdings lying fallow could, under the provisions of the [Arbenz Agrarian reform] law be legally forfeit. The Company argued that such unused reserves were temporarily necessitated by the technical considerations of banana production. Large tracts of its property, including some areas under cultivation, were nevertheless expropriated. Sharp diplomatic protests followed from the U.S., and the whole reform came to be regarded as an anti-U.S. act and a means of turning Guatemala into a Communist state. . . . Nearly one million hectares, including a large tract of United Fruit Company territory, were expropriated and divided up among 100,000 rural workers. . . . One of the first acts of the Government of Col. Castillo Armas, in 1954 [after Arbenz' overthrow], was to cancel the Agrarian Reform law and restore the status quo.

"In considering the abortive Arbenz reform, it may be asked to what extent its denunciation as a Communist menace was justified. The provisions of the law were by no means of an extreme revolutionary nature. The application of these measures was, however, in some cases revolutionary. The Communists clearly spared no effort to turn the situation to their advantage. Yet few cases of violence against landowners was reported, and no attempt seems to have been made to set up peasant collectives. . . . It is at least arguable that, if left to take its course, the reform would have worked out in much the same way as in Mexico and Bolivia."

—Agrarian Reform in Latin America, a pamphlet by Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the citadel of the Tory point of view toward colonial problems), Oxford Univ. Press (London and Fair Lawn, N.J.) Nov. 1962.

Summing Up Fallacies That Lead Us to Waste Billions in Foreign Aid

Morse Warns Against Plan to Hide Military Aid in Pentagon Budget

The recipients of our military aid cannot maintain large military establishments out of their own economic resources. If they could, they would not need the military aid from us. In that sense we are leaning on weak reeds wherever we send military aid, because a country that is militarily dependent on others in time of peace is hopelessly dependent upon others in time of war.

Take Iran. There is a country on the border of the Soviet Union to which we have sent $633 million in military aid between 1946 and 1963. We sent Iran $789 million in economic aid in the same period. But suppose some Soviet aggression occurred against Iran. Ignoring for the moment the purely military value—if any—of the Iranian forces, the U.S. would have to pour still more American wealth into Iran itself to keep it going under war conditions.

This Applies to Most of the Program

Exactly the same is true of Turkey, Taiwan, Pakistan, Greece, Korea, the Philippines, Thailand and South Vietnam, all of which account for the great bulk of foreign aid outside the Alliance for Progress.

We have heard repeated over and over again that it is cheaper to maintain in uniform a South Korean, a Formosan, a Pakistani, a Turk, when the fact is that we maintain them and our own forces as well; and it is our own forces, and not their military defense, that give them the security.

There is the ugly fact, which the world needs to face, that if war were to break out with Russia, it would not be a conventional war. All the billions of dollars of military aid that we have poured into these countries would be recognized as having been wasted. It would be a nuclear war of short duration and the probabilities are that both of the major combatants would destroy themselves.

The time has come for a hard, long look at military aid. I warn the American people what the next move will be. The next move will be a move of partial concealment, by taking military aid out of the general aid bill, and having it considered in connection with the U.S. defense budget. It does not belong there because it is a foreign policy issue.

Why, Then, An Alliance for Progress?

"It is said both in Latin America and in the U.S. that if we expect these countries to move too fast and do very much to help themselves, they will become unsettled politically and that might lead to unsettled military consequences. This is why the apologies are made for the juntas in Latin America. The apology makes the case that reform upsets the ruling classes and causes them to seize the government. But if the same old system is to remain entrenched in Latin America, then I see no reason for the Alliance for Progress. If the juntas take over to prevent reform, and if the juntas are desirable because they keep the Communists down, then there is really no reason for any further American investment in the nations to the south."

—Morse of Oregon to the Senate, Dec. 30.

Plans to separate economic aid from military aid will, if carried out, lead to increases in both. It has been commonly said for many years that Congress would approve just about any amount of military aid if it were hidden away in the budget of the Defense Department. There is a wide body of opinion in the administration that economic aid should be sacrificed, if need be, to the objections made to foreign aid in general, but that military aid should be put in the Defense Department budget where it will be rubber-stamped by Congress. But even if it is carried out, its proponents will find out eventually that the nations favored for even more military aid cannot make use of it without large sums of economic aid.

I am opposed to such separation for another reason. Putting military aid into the Defense Department budget in a effort to remove it from true Congressional scrutiny would be a final step in the direction of military diplomacy.

—Morse to the Senate Dec. 30 (abridged).

Three American Eye-Witnesses Protest The New Dictatorship in Dominican Republic

"Senator Morse, in the almost 2 months I spent in the Dominican Republic after the new dictatorship took over from Juan Bosch, I have seen with my own eyes thousands of people, on many occasions, tear- and nausea-gassed by the police. Students kicked and beaten, for trying to march or demonstrate, and in one case I watched a night high school student die with a bullet hole through his abdomen. The 'civilian junta' or triumvirate, as it is called in the now controlled news, is a military dictatorship, trying to impose control through terror."

"Last month I returned to the U.S. after two years in the Dominican Republic. Because I love the Dominican Republic and of course our country, I don't want to see either of them go wrong.

"1. Under the government of Juan Bosch there was complete freedom of movement, opinion, publication, expression. Law was enforced, and there was no cause for, nor interest in, rebellion.

"2. The leftover Trujillo military, in combination with the great hereditary rich, seized power on Sept. 25, 1963, and have enforced a new dictatorship.

"3. Pacific resistance by the people has failed. It appears that now on about 11 fronts there is fighting in the mountains and countryside. The triumvirate claims this is a Communist movement. Naturally they must, to excuse their suppression of it. One of the leaders of one of the fronts is 'Manolo' Tavarez, leader of the leftist '14th of June' party [since killed by the military—IFS].

"4. But the resistance is in truth universal and is being joined by upper and middle class and urban youth of the lower class, [who] represent all shades of political opinion."

"Last December [1962] hope had a beginning—for the first time in their lives, the campesinos' voice had some meaning, and their votes put a man in office. But the recent 'golpe de estado' [military coup] proved once again that the wealth and power groups will run the country the way they want to. We Peace Corps volunteers are sick at heart."

—From three letters from Americans who saw what happened in the Dominican Republic, as put into the Congressional Record by Senator Morse Dec. 30 pps. 24398-399, along with equally painful letters from Honduras where we also have recognized a new military dictatorship.

Soviet Pact Should Be Supplemented by An Arms Embargo to Disputants

(Continued from Page One)

of China. But if you leave Germany and China out of the picture, if you get the two great Powers to put aside the disputes in which their own allies are involved, it is not hard to see how useful a contribution this new Soviet proposal could make to world peace.

One-Third The Human Race

The two biggest nations on earth, with more than one billion people between them, more than one-third the human race, India and China, have been involved in a bitter and nonsensical border dispute that takes bread from the mouths of their hungry peoples. On the other side of India, its border quarrel with Pakistan over Kashmir keeps more than a half billion human beings in constant hostility. Another hundred million people are involved in the smoldering quarrel among Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia over the latter's borders. There may be new trouble this spring between the Arab States and Israel. Africa, from Somalia in the East to Morocco in the West, is girding for war over border troubles. A world agreement to negotiate such disputes, *buttressed by an agreement between Moscow and Washington not to supply arms to either side*—would this not immeasurably contribute to world peace?

A creative diplomacy on our side, really concerned to win battles for peace, could easily take the initiative from the Russians by extending and completing this proposal, first of all in the field of an arms embargo to these quarrelling powers. Russian arms to Egypt and Iraq have greatly increased the danger of war in the explosive Middle East; why not challenge Moscow to a joint agreement which would help to prevent war and force negotiation with Israel in that area? Russian arms to Somalia in its conflict with Kenya and Ethiopia, Russian arms to Indonesia in its quarrel with Malaysia, increase the dangers of new wars spreading out of East Africa and Southeast Asia. But would we be willing to give up the similar leverage for expansion which the Sino-Indian border dispute has given us in India and the Indian Ocean, where Western arms are ending Indian non-alignment, though at the cost of diverting precious resources from the war against India's immemorial hunger to military preparations for war over bleak uninhabitable and never clearly marked borders with Tibet? If we feel this proposal is "non-objective" on Formosa, why not propose that Formosa be included? But are we, then, willing to be objective about Germany? The Oder-Neisse border is not worth a world holocaust. On the other hand, within the terms of the Soviet note, why not negotiate firm access rights to Berlin as a safeguard against indirect border aggression against that free city? There is much that can be done with that note if we really mean business about peace.

Why They Turn to Moscow

"'While paying lip service to self-determination, the U.S. supplies its ally, Portugal, with arms that are used to kill us.' Another example of 'American hypocrisy', Mr. Roberto said, is that G. Mennen Williams, Ass't Secretary of State for African Affairs, tried to convince the Congolese Premier, Cyrille Adoula, not to recognize the Angolan exile government."

—"Angolan Rebels to Take Red Aid", New York Times from Leopoldville, Jan. 4.

One stale State Department objective needs to be nailed down hard. This is its rejoinder that this proposal would still leave the Communists free to wage colonial "wars of liberation." The mythical view that colonial revolts are generated by Moscow has died everywhere else but here. Most of Asia and Africa have been liberated in response to irresistable pressure from its peoples, and only where the Western powers in their folly have tried to hold back the tide have the Communists taken over. Right in the midst of State Department inspired stories on this theme comes the news, for example, that Holden Roberto, the leader of the pro-western faction among the Angolan rebels against Portugal, has turned to Moscow for help in despair over undercover U.S. aid to Portugal (see box above). The way to keep these peoples from falling into Moscow or Peking's sphere of influence is not to force them into it.

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James Baldwin on A Kidnapping Which Never Happened, P. 2

Dallas Police Wonder Whether Oswald Was FBI Informer, Houston (Tex.) Paper Reports

"DALLAS—Was Lee Harvey Oswald a stool pigeon for a federal government agency? That's the question being asked by many people in responsible positions here. . . . Oswald did know of Joe Hosty, the FBI agent who handles subversive matters in the Dallas FBI office. 'He had Hosty's phone number, office phone and car license numbers,' said Bill Alexander, assistant district attorney to Henry Wade and one of the state's most able prosecutors. . . .

"Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, mother of Oswald, had a terse 'no comment' when asked if her son had told her he was or had at least been asked to be an informant in anti-subversive work. She did not deny it. However she was quoted in the Philadelphia Inquirer as saying her son had been approached by a government agent to be an informer.

"Inasmuch as she had no direct contact with her son after Sept. of 1962, the contact, if made, would have been before she went to work for a Fort Worth matron in the same month and indicated to her employer that 'Lee was doing important work.' The social matron said she got the impression from Mrs. Oswald that Lee Oswald was doing some sort of work for the Federal government. . . .

"Informed sources in Dallas tell of seeing a report forwarded to the commission investigating President Kennedy's death that states that 'at 2:30 p.m. Friday, Nov. 22' an FBI agent told Dallas police the FBI knew of Oswald and had conducted some surveillance of him. If this is true, veteran police and sheriff's investigators ask, their watch on Oswald must not have been too good or they would have noticed the possible significance of his working in a building on the route of the motorcade.

"It is this point that has led to speculation by police and sheriff's deputies in Dallas that Oswald might have been an informant because, as one put it, 'you just wouldn't think to check out one of your own stoolies'."

—Houston, Texas, Post, Jan. 1, 1964.

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Only One Place to Build A New Canal and Run It That Way

Where a people's interest and pride is concerned, as ours is in the Panama Canal, nothing is harder to see than the obvious. In 1956 we made it possible, by our intervention, for the Egyptians to seize and keep the Suez Canal. We forced Britain, France and Israel to withdraw their troops, in large part because our big oil companies didn't want the Arabs "upset." Panamanians naturally find this bit of history interesting.

The Rare Assets of The Poor

Both Egypt and Panama regard the canals across their territory as national assets, on which they should be able to cash in; they have too little else. The Egyptians drew revenues of $115 million from their Canal in 1961 and almost $120 million in 1962. From 1936 to 1955 the Panamanians got only $430,000 a year for their Canal rights; since 1955, this has been $1,930,000 a year. This looks pretty paltry as their share of the $58 million in tolls we collected last fiscal year. What makes it look worse is that the tolls are still, thanks to the U.S. shipping lobby, what they were before World War I. The Panamanians feel, as their Ambassador said on CBS *Face The Nation* (Jan. 19), that they are indirectly subsidizing "the Merchant Marine of the U.S. and of the world by permitting those low tolls to be in force today as they were 50 years ago."

No country in Central America, whether Colombia, or Nicaragua, or Mexico, is going to let us build a canal across its territory, and run it the way we have run the Panama Canal. Nobody is going to give us a grant in perpetuity. Nobody is going to give us sovereignty over the land around a Canal and let us put up a fence to keep its citizens out. Nobody is going to let us fix rates without asking them, and juggle the accounts any way we please, charging off against revenues many items which have only a remote connection with running the Canal. There is only one place we could build and run a canal that way and that would be straight across the USA from New York to Los Angeles. Short of that, we ought to stop talking nationalistic nonsense and negotiate a revision of the treaty to give Panama a break, establishing conditions of joint operation which would restore Panama's self-respect and good neighbor relations. *Jan. 20*

Before Castro Was Born

Mr. [Paul] NIVEN (CBS News): Mr. Boyd, our Secretary of State and Secretary of the Army have said that while the dispute originally broke out between U.S. students in the Canal Zone and Panamanian students, it was quickly exacerbated by Communist agents, some of whom had only recently arrived in Panama. . . . Secretary of the Army Vance said that ten persons suspected of being agents, including one sniper, had been taken into custody by Panamanian authorities at the request of the U.S. Army. Is this not correct?

Ambassador BOYD: My government has instructed me to deny emphatically that there was any participation of Communists in Panama.

Mr. NIVEN: In other words, you are taking the position that Castroite agents or Communists have had no part in this from beginning to end.

Ambassador BOYD: Sir, we are taking the strong position that this is a nationalistic movement and that it would be a terrible mistake if we mislead the public opinion of this country by saying that Castro or Khrushchev had something to do with it. This is a problem that we have been living with before the Bolshevik Revolution or before Castro was born.

—CBS Face The Nation, Jan. 19.

We're Glad to be *Weekly* Again (Did You Notice?) And Hope You Are, Too

Our thanks to you for your patience in the Bi-Weekly period and for The Warming Response On Our Book, "The Haunted Fifties." . . . It's still available at the reduced rate. It's one way to bring your children up to date on the McCarthy period. You can use the blank on the reverse side to send it as a gift. . . . Why not keep your friends informed, by using the other blank to send them a subscription, too, at the special gift rate.

I. F. Stone

New Government Discoveries in Products and Planning Methods Could Enrich Civilian Life

Humphrey Proposal for Special Jobs Commission Opens Creative Prospects

Labor, civil rights and peace groups can find a useful vehicle for common action in supporting the bill introduced by Senator Humphrey (with the support of Senators Hart and Clark) for a 32-man Commission on Automation, Technology and Employment. Its authority would be broad enough to deal with the problem of jobs in every respect, from improved technology to armament cutbacks. It would have to report within two years and this report could have historic impact. Among other things, the Commission would be instructed to study and report on the incidence of automation "upon particular occupations and groups of workers" and to examine new technical developments resulting from Federal research in the arms and other programs "with a view to discovering those areas potentially most promising for civilian and industrial exploitation."

Whole New Industries Possible

Industry has been slow to tap promising civilian applications of weapons and space research. Humphrey told the Senate (Jan. 15) "whole new industries could be created in this way." Humphrey said cutbacks in bases, military personnel and uranium output "must not be permitted to result in reduced gross national product or increased unemployment." He called attention again to the insistence of the Pentagon on classifying as secret the survey made by his disarmament subcommittee of some 360 defense contractors to learn their attitude toward the impact of arms cuts on the economy. The survey turned up unexpectedly optimistic results.

One passage in Humphrey's speech was of special interest to those who believe large-scale economic and social planning necessary to handle the problems of automation and disarmament. "A whole new 'systems approach' to large-scale problems," Humphrey said, has been developed in government-sponsored research. This involves highly expert people and disciplines working together. We must plan to translate this skill and this method to large-scale problems of the Nation, in regional development, city planning, transportation, air and water pollution, and more."

Better Lung Cancer than Psychosis?

"As the poet has said, there is good and bad in everything. The history of America and the history of tobacco run parallel. Tobacco was once used here as money. And it has been smoked here for over 350 years—with satisfaction. And that, in itself, is a commentary. Who can say with assurance that we would have been better off without tobacco? I want to make it clear that I am not a tobacco raiser, though in our State much tobacco is grown—and Maryland is noted for its high-quality tobacco.

"I am not a scientist. I cannot discuss this issue on a scientific basis. However, let me interject one idea of a layman on the subject of health. Mental health is a subject much in the public mind. Psychiatry has come into its own because of the stress and strain of the present day. Most doctors will tell us, I believe, that this stress and strain accounts for much of the disability of today. Possibly we need more relaxing, more contemplation. And may I ask, what better tool for relaxing, for contemplation, than a good smoke? Let us be sure that we do not kill one evil with perhaps a bigger one."

—Beall (R. Md.) to the Senate, Jan. 14.

Humphrey saw jobs enough to absorb all the country's manpower if we were to learn to cope with "the sheer logistical problems of living" in urban areas. "The possibilities now opening up to release some money from the requirements of defense and the prospect of more to come," he said, "project us both into the possibility of planning ahead and make that planning a necessity." The Commission would be empowered to initiate disarmament reconversion planning by principal defense contractors and it could become a means for launching the kind of pragmatic joint action by public and private enterprise which has proven so fruitful in countries like France and Sweden. Industry and labor would each have three representatives on the Commission.

James Baldwin Appeals for Justice in A Kidnapping Case Where No One Was Kidnapped

"I want to call your attention to a case which is crucial for the civil rights movement and for justice in America.

"This is the so-called kidnap case in Monroe, N.C. This is a 'kidnap' case in which there was no kidnapping; in which a white couple took refuge in a Negro leader's home during the disturbances following a police-encouraged riot against Freedom Riders and local Negro pickets. After a brief stay the white couple went their way unharmed. Yet this incident has been made the basis for legal charges carrying a mandatory sentence of 20 years and maximum of life imprisonment.

"Three young men—two Negro teenagers from Monroe and a white Freedom Rider from New York—were arrested several days later and held for 64 days in the medieval conditions of the local jail before this committee was able to secure their release on heavy bail. A fourth defendant, a Negro mother, who had been in Monroe helping in the civil rights effort there, has just been extradited from Ohio after a two-year legal battle to Monroe, N.C.

"Monroe's Negro leader, Robert F. Williams, informed that he 'would soon be hanging' from a tree in the courthouse square, fled with his family and found safety in exile. After his flight, he, too, was included in the indictment which serves as an effective bar to his return since no one questions that the racially discriminatory and prejudiced juries of the area would unhesitatingly and regardless of evidence give him a life sentence.

"For almost two and a half years now the prosecution has refused to bring the three young men defendants to trial. This is not only a denial of their constitutional right of speedy trial but constitutes a refined form of torture. The deliberate prolongation of the case also exhausted the financial resources of this defense committee and served to dim the case in the public consciousness.

"Now, however, we expect the case to come to trial in February. It is vital that we prevent innocent people from being victimized because they fought for racial justice in America. The defendants must be afforded the best legal defense possible and the facts of the case must be brought to the conscience of the American people."

—James Baldwin, on behalf of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, 168 W. 23rd St., N.Y.C., 11.

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Carey Exposes Plan to Let U. S. Chamber of Commerce Pick Oil Man's Successor on AEC

Time Labor and the Consumer Had A Voice on the Atomic Energy Commission

The day labor leaders met with President Johnson for lunch at the White House, James Carey of the UERMWA sent him a letter protesting that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce was being allowed to pick the successor to Robert E. Wilson on the Atomic Energy Commission. This was confirmed in *Nucleonics Week* (Jan. 9) which said the U.S. Chamber "presumably at Wilson's suggestion, has submitted a recommended list of candidates to Chairman Seaborg" and that "President Johnson will be counselled to recruit a successor from industry."

Leo Goodman A Labor Candidate

Carey, James Patton of the Farmers Union and Dr. Russell H. Morgan of Johns Hopkins, one of the country's most eminent radioologists, are supporting a labor candidate for the vacancy. He is Leo Goodman, secretary of the Atomic Energy Technical Committee in the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. In the past 10 years the indefatigable Mr. Goodman has made an international reputation as an authority on atomic problems.

There has never been a labor representative on the Atomic Energy Commission in all its history. Though a number of independent-minded scientists and public officials have served on it, the AEC has tended to be pretty firmly under the control of the military-industrial complex. Under the chairmanships of Strauss and McCone, it shared military hostility to any cessation of testing and the reluctant industrial point of view toward peaceful development of the atom. It has been industry-minded in dealing with worker health and safety problems. The lack of candor which marks its record on fallout also marks its record in this field. Wilson himself, a retired chairman of Standard Oil of Indiana, was several times attacked by Senator Anderson on the ground that he represented an industry which produced a competing fuel and wanted to block atomic power for civilian uses.

Carey's letter seems to have blocked the plan swiftly and quietly to provide a like-minded successor from industry. Mr. Goodman was a labor candidate for the AEC in 1962 when there were two vacancies. He would give a voice not just to labor but to the consumer. Most important of all he would provide a creative influence in dealing with the problem of converting atomic industry to peaceful uses as military stockpiles grow beyond any possible need and more progress is made toward disarmament. Carey spoke with vision of this problem in his testimony on the test ban treaty before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last Fall. He listed a series of atomic projects for underdeveloped areas which would open up the enormous potential of the atom and "wash away the terrible image of the mushroom cloud." A labor man on the AEC could help make these ideas a reality.

A Double Danger We Should Not Ignore

That underground test in Nevada January 16 was the 100th announced underground test since testing resumed Sept. 1961 and the 15th since the nuclear test ban treaty was signed last Fall. It was a large one—somewhere between 20 and 200 kilotons. No venting was reported by the AEC next day, but underground tests often do vent, discharging radioactivity into the atmosphere. This has a double significance. E. A. Martell claims in the Jan. 10 issue of Science that venting from underground tests is a major source of radioactive iodine. Venting is also important because Article I of the nuclear test ban treaty pledges the signers not to test underground if such explosion spreads radioactive debris outside its territory. The heavy volume of U.S. underground testing may provoke the Soviet military to press for resumption; radioactive debris from such tests might provide the excuse. Are these tests really necessary?

Somebody Ought to See Whether That Little Man in the Soviet Bank Is Still There

"Constructive Step in the Cold War. More Public Disclosures By the CIA Held Valuable Service to the Nation."

—David Lawrence's column Washington Star, Jan. 16.

"Several authorities on the Soviet economy are questioning a recent Central Intelligence Agency estimate that Russia's gold holdings have fallen to less than $2 billion. . . . Leon Herman, the Library of Congress senior specialist on Soviet affairs, says the CIA's estimate was speculative and that 'common sense points in the other direction.'

"Mr. Herman and other economists who did not wish to be named said that if Russia were facing a gold squeeze it most likely would have sought credits for its multi-million dollar wheat imports instead of paying in cash. . . . A recent memorandum on Soviet gold prepared within the Government has become available. This memo puts Soviet annual production at between $182 and $206.5 million a year, higher than the CIA's estimate."

—Washington Star, same day, same page.

"The new estimates on Soviet gold production and reserves, published in Washington this week by the CIA have caused considerable surprise among experts in London. They [the CIA estimates] place Soviet gold output at $150m a year, which would correspond to 4,300,000 oz., compared with the estimates of the U.S. Bureau of Mines—an official Government Bureau of the highest technical qualifications—of 12,200,000 oz. for 1962 and 11,800,000 oz. for 1961. . . .

"With production estimates coming up against insurmountable difficulties, any guesses on the prevailing Soviet gold reserves appear to experts completely useless unless their source could claim the confidence of the leaders of the Government or at least of the President of the Soviet State Bank.* The question which the publication of these new estimates has raised on this side of the Atlantic, indeed, is not so much the accuracy, or otherwise, of the figures but the CIA's purpose in publishing them at all. It might have served the agency's reputation better if it had kept its estimates to itself.

"Meanwhile the Soviet authorities do not appear to be particularly worried about the reported 'smallness' of their gold reserve. They, at any rate, continue to pay cash for their wheat purchases right up to the present time, even where credit facilities are available."

—Financial ("City") Editor of the London Times, Jan. 10.

* The CIA in rebuttal seems now to be claiming that its estimates are based in part on a new defector. Some U.S. newsman in Moscow ought to drop by and see whether that little man behind the cash register in the Soviet State Bank (and the cash register) are still there.

Voluntary Methods Fail to End Skilled Union Labor's Traditional Hostility to The Negro

Negro Squeezed Between Automation and Lily-White Apprenticeships

While automation dries up unskilled and semi-skilled jobs for Negroes, pushing unemployment among them to depression proportions, it does create new opportunities at the skilled levels, where openings are plentiful. But here Negroes are denied "the opportunity for training." In effect, therefore, the Maryland Advisory Committee reports to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Negroes are squeezed out at both ends of the job spectrum." This Maryland report was one of nine "Reports on Apprenticeship" from advisory units in eight States and the District of Columbia just released by the Commission.

Poorly printed by offset from hard-to-read typewriter copy (for lack of funds) this volume deserves more attention than it is likely to get. It shows that the apprenticeship system, as operated by U.S. trade unions, remains a basic obstacle to real equality of opportunity. The apprenticeship program has a medieval guild flavor; its main aim is to maintain scarcity of skilled help and it tends to create an almost hereditary privileged class in the ranks of labor.

North Differs Little From South

The Negro is the main victim. In Washington, D.C. where 55 percent of the population is non-white, only 5.5 percent of the apprentices in the building trades are Negroes. The North's record is not substantially different from the South's in this respect. In Connecticut Negroes constituted only seven-tenths of one percent of the apprentices. In New Jersey, they were less than half of one percent—15 Negroes out of 3,980 apprentices. The Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training after 25 years of existence is only now and reluctantly being pushed into action in this field. Even so, of 15 Maryland programs approved by the Bureau, 10 had no Negroes at all and five had three or fewer Negroes enrolled. Of the 50 crafts and trades in Tennessee's apprenticeship programs, only eight included Negro apprentices—and four of these were connected with all-Negro unions. In 1960, Negroes were 22 percent of New York City's population but only 2 percent of the apprentices were Negroes.

After A Quarter of A Century

"The [Commission on Civil Rights] hearings of 1961 focused public attention on the [Federal] Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training for the first time in its quarter century of operation. Negro exclusion from the programs was debated vigorously. . . . Questioning by the subcommittee chairman established that the Bureau itself did not employ Negroes as field representatives or in positions above GS-5, and that the Director of the District of Columbia Apprenticeship Council, a Bureau staff person, followed the practice of marking the application forms of Negroes for apprenticeship with a '2 or N' as an identification of the applicant's race. The racial designations were ordered stopped by the Secretary of Labor before the hearings had adjourned, but it was not until March 4, 1963, that the Dept. of Labor could announce the hiring of the Bureau's first Negro field representative."

—Report on Apprenticeship, U.S. Civil Rights Commission, January 20. A footnote indicates that the Bureau was itself found guilty by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity of anti-Semitic attitudes toward a militant State supervisor.

Some figures supplied by the D. of C. committee are of special importance. The proportion of Negro apprentices where apprenticeship committees were run jointly by labor and management showed 8.9 percent Negro. Where the training was by managment alone, the proportion of Negroes was 29.2 percent. The figures speak eloquently of the racism in the working class itself. The Commission's staff editors note with quiet despair, "As long as the Federal government depends on such voluntary relationships with management and the unions, perhaps little real progress can be expected." The New York advisory unit recommends as a final resort that Congress "enact legislation declaring that admission to apprenticeship in the construction trades is a matter affecting interstate commerce" and that such admission be regulated by an agency analogous to the Civil Service Commission. Agitation for law of this type would at least help to put more heat on our lagging trade union movement.

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Fidel Says Those Missiles Were His Own Idea, See P. 2

Canada's Leading Paper Satirizes U.S. Devotion to International Law in Cuban Crisis

"It (seizure of the Cuban fishing boats) presents a ludicrous picture—the U.S. protesting a violation of international law, as represented by 38 men and boys fishing in Florida waters without a license, to the country over which it has been flying regular surveillance missions in violation of international law. . . .

"The Secretary of State did not say it, but the State Department has been encouraging speculation that the Cuban government sent the boats into Florida waters as a matter of deliberate provocation. Its alleged purpose was to bring Cuba's demand for the evacuation of Guantanamo to world attention once more. This is to attribute prescient cleverness to the Cubans or at worst a stroke of blind luck. It was impossible for the Cuban government to assume the imprisonment of the crews by the U.S. Government, since the federal statute dealing with encroachments on territorial waters contains no penalties.

"Havana could hardly have proceeded on so preposterous an assumption as that the U.S. would turn over the crews to the State of Florida to be tried for, of all things, fishing without a license. That is what was done, however."

—Toronto Globe and Mail from Washington, Feb. 8.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XII, NO. 7 FEBRUARY 17, 1964 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Report on Cuba The *New York Times* Was Afraid to Print

This issue is edited as much for editors abroad as for readers at home. It illustrates the extent to which independent reporting and thinking about Cuba in this country have been restricted by intimidation. The report on Cuba to which we give over this week's issue is by no obscure journalist, with access only to the small publications on the fringes of our society. He is Herbert L. Matthews and an editor of America's greatest newspaper, the *New York Times.* His paper only a few weeks ago reprinted from *The New Republic* a sensational and friendly report on Cuba by the French journalist, Jean Daniel. Yet when Matthews visited Cuba and came back with an equally sensational report, not a line appeared in his own paper. Apparently a Frenchman or some other foreign journalist can be allowed wide publication about Cuba in the United States even if he transgresses American "party line" on this, our most controversial, subject. But when an American does it, the report seems to be unfit—or at least too hazardous—to print in the *New York Times.* It was left to the Hispanic American Institute at Stanford University, whose scholarly monthly report on Latin American affairs has a total circulation of 2500, to bring out the Matthews report in a special pamphlet from which we present salient excerpts in our pages.

Our Iron Curtain Around Cuba

"It is axiomatic in journalism that it is not possible to know what is happening anywhere unless you go there. In my own case, I had not been to Cuba since August 1960. The intensely hostile climate of opinion in the United States, some of which is directed towards me and the New York Times, and the difficulties placed in the way of all visitors by the U.S. and Mexican Governments, made an earlier trip unwise.

"The freedom for Americans to know and to travel has been curtailed, so far as Cuba is concerned. For teachers and students this is frightening. As scholars they are not allowed by the U.S. Government to go to Cuba to study one of the most important political and social phenomena of modern times. As a result none of our leading Latin Americanists knows what is happening in Cuba; they cannot teach with authority on the subject; they cannot even read the many articles and books on the Cuban Revolution now being published, with the ability to judge whether they are right or wrong, good or bad.

"All they can do (and Theodore Draper does it brilliantly and effectively, as always, in the January 1964 issue of Commentary) is to try to construct a plausible picture by piecing together speeches, decrees and reports, and interpreting them by applying Marxist and American liberal democratic yardsticks. Tree after tree is accurately described, but the forest is missed."

—Herbert L. Matthews: Return to Cuba.

No Subject More Important to Our Future

We do not say this to hurt the *New York Times.* In our lifetime it has never been a better or a more liberal newspaper. Its editorials on the silly and mendacious crisis whipped up by the State Department over the Cuban fishing boats in the past week deserve applause. It is the first U.S. daily to re-establish a bureau in Havana, a major result of the visit made there last Fall by Mr. Matthews. But considering the paucity of news from Cuba, the sensational character of one story Mr. Matthews brought back (see page 2), and the weight attached to his opinions, it is striking that these were not published by the *New York Times* itself. Mr. Matthews knows Spanish well. He distinguished himself by his courageous and sympathetic reporting of the Spanish Civil War in the *New York Times* in the 30's under circumstances almost as difficult as those which surround the Cuban revolution today. He knows Latin America and Cuba. His interview with Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra in 1957 was a journalistic feat, disproving the claim of the Batista government that Fidel's little band of guerrillas had been wiped out. No U.S. reporter is better equipped to provide a thorough, an informed and an objective report on Cuba today. On no subject is it more important to develop a balanced public opinion in this country. It is no exaggeration to say—as the missile crisis demonstrated—that our future and the world's may be placed in jeopardy by the mishandling of our Cuban relations. Yet only a relative handful of Americans will ever read this Matthews report.

(Continued on Page Four)

Castro Insists It Was His Idea, Not Moscow's To Put Missiles in Cuba . . .

The excerpts on these two pages were taken from a special report just issued by the Institute of Hispanic American and Luso-Brazilian Studies, Bolivar House, Stanford University, California. This report was written by Herbert L. Matthews of the New York Times, who is on the Board of the Institute. It is called "Return to Cuba." Twice before, in 1959 and 1960, Mr. Matthews issued outstanding reports on the Cuban problem through the Institute. Its director, Ronald Hilton, has the distinction of being the first man in the U.S. to expose the existence of the CIA's training camps in Guatemala for the April, 1961, Cuban invasion. The monthly Hispanic American Report published by the Institute is invaluable for Latin American affairs. If you wish to read the full report from which these few excerpts were taken, you can obtain it by sending $1 to the Institute at the address given below. Please mention the Weekly. What follows is from the Matthews report:

Cuba's Dependence on the Soviets

"The Cuban leaders . . . do not see their economic dependence on the Soviet bloc as comparable to the previous economic domination by the U.S. For instance, the Russians buy Cuban sugar, but they do not own any Cubar sugar plantations or mills and do not want to. The Cubans assert that they will take no dictation from the Russians and—for anyone who knows Cubans—this is plausible.

"The cost of the Soviet bloc of sustaining the Cuban revolution, I was told in Havana, has been greatly exaggerated by Washington and the American press. Cubans say it is nothing like the $1,000,000 a day figure generally given in the U.S. I could not get a valid figure, although one good authority ventured an estimate of $100,000,000 a year."

—Herbert L. Matthews: Return to Cuba.

By Herbert L. Matthews

He [Castro] talked a good deal about the nuclear missile crisis of October 1962 (which Cubans always refer to as 'the crisis of the Caribbean'). It was in most respects, the same story that he told three and a half weeks later to Jean Daniel of *L'Express* of Paris, and which was widely reproduced. However, in one crucial detail of historic importance it was the opposite of what Jean Daniel had understood.

The essence of Fidel's account was that the Cubans, on the basis of information they were getting early in 1962 from a number of sources, felt almost sure that the U.S. was preparing a military invasion of Cuba. They were strengthened in this belief after Aleksei I. Adzhubei, Premier Khruschev's son-in-law and editor of Izvestia, had an interview with President Kennedy early that year. The official report of the interview was conveyed to the Cubans who interpreted some of the things that President Kennedy said as confirmation of their belief in a planned invasion. (The State Department denied that President Kennedy was so threatening, or that the U.S. was planning an invasion.)

Castro Says The Missiles Were "Defensive"

The Russians, Fidel Castro argued, were also persuaded that Cuba was going to be attacked. In these circumstances, he asserted, the nuclear weapons were 'defensive'; they were intended to discourage the U.S. from going ahead with its plans.

"In the world today," he went on, "there are two war phobias, one of a nuclear war which can be ruled out because nobody wants it, and the other of local wars. The U.S. and Russia, in the crisis of the Caribbean, were facing a world war but Cuba was facing a local war. She was going to be attacked by the U.S."

The Food Situation In Cuba

"There is enough to eat on the whole, but it is dull, with not much variety, and with constant distribution bottlenecks in Havana and other cities. There is no starvation or even serious malnutrition, but getting enough food is often extremely difficult and tiring for housewives. There is also enough fish in quantity, thanks to the high seas vessels bought from Japan and the ones the Russians gave Cuba, but it is fish that Cubans never ate and do not like—tuna, hake, and soon-to-be-marketed herring and cod.

"Children are especially well fed. Every child to the age of seven gets a quart of milk a day without fail. As a result of the hurricane the egg ration for adults in Havana was suspended while we were there, but not for the children."

—Herbert L. Matthews: Return to Cuba.

If Cuba were attacked, Fidel continued, the Russians would have been drawn in because of their commitment to the Castro government.

At this point he said to us flatly, in response to my question, that the idea of installing the nuclear weapons was his, not the Russians. Jean Daniel, in his account, published in the *New York Times* and *New Republic,* on the contrary wrote: "Castro confirmed that the initial idea originated with the Russians, and with them alone: 'The only thing we asked the Russians to do was to make it clear to the U.S. that any attack on us was an attack on the Soviet Union. We had extensive discussion before arriving at the proposal of installing guided missiles, a proposal which surprised us at first and gave us great pause. We finally went along with the Soviet proposal because, on the one hand, the Russians convinced us that the U.S. would not let itself be intimidated by conventional weapons, and secondly because it was impossible for us not to share the risks which the Soviet Union was taking to save us'."

In order to get this important point straight, once and for all, I spoke to Premier Castro over the telephone on the night of Jan. 7, 1964. He confirmed what he had said to us in Havana and in no uncertain terms. In fact, he clearly wanted the Daniel version of what he said (I regret to say, for my profession, that he called it "a journalistic version") to be corrected for the historic record.

He also said that Daniel was wrong in putting the entire emphasis on Adzhubei's talk with President Kennedy. This, said Fidel, was only one element (*"un elemento en el juicio"*) among a great many that were taken into consideration.

Then he said, and during our 15-minute conversation he repeated it emphatically at least four times: *"Fuimos nosotros que hemos planteado la idea de los misiles"* ("We were the ones who put forward the idea of the missiles.")

At another point he said it was not for the Russians to make such a suggestion: "It was for us to do so. We showed them in an incontrovertible way that an invasion was being planned." His conclusion in discussing the whole *crisis del Caribe* with us was this: "War was avoided but peace was not gained."

. . . Communists Take A Back Seat in "Marxist-Leninist" State He Set Up

(More From the Matthews Report on Cuba)

To concentrate on Cuban Communism is to miss the forest for the trees. The Cuban Revolution is a very complicated phenomenon. It is bad and good, depending on what one looks at, what classes of people one considers.

It is also worse or better depending on how moral judgments are applied. If Communism is a sin, a heresy, a morally evil system, then Cuba has to be—as it is in the United States—condemned as if it were a hell on earth. If moral judgments are used to say, for instance, that is better for the children of the poor to be well fed, well taken care of, well clothed, educated, taught trades—as the greater part of them are in Cuba today for the first time in history, even if they are indoctrinated with Marxism-Leninism—then one reaches another result.

One can say that liberty is what we have under the U.S. Constitution, and since the Cubans do not have these liberties they are not free. Fidel Castro asks: "Can you really say to a Cuban Negro who now, for the first time has full equal rights and no discrimination that he is not free, and say to a Negro in Alabama or Mississippi that he is free?" There is a valid answer to this question, but it is not a simple answer.

Fidel and the Cuban CP

. . . the Cuban Communist steadily gained influence in that early period; the old political parties disappeared; the 26th of July Movement split into Left and Right and faded into the background. The links to Russia, the break with the United States, the embrace of Marxism-Leninism all pointed in one direction. Then came Fidel Castro's stunning attack on "sectarianism" and the old-line Cuban Communists of the PSP in March 1962. It was directed specifically at the Organizing Secretary, Anibal Escalante, who was trying to put party men into all key positions.

Fidel saw *his* revolution, his *Cuban* revolution, threatened and broke the power of the PSP so effectively that it has never come back. The problem of giving Cuba a hopefully permanent "Marxist-Leninist" political structure was already under way. A preliminary, tentative political setup, the Organizaciones Revolucionarias Integradas (ORI) was loosely thrown together in mid-1961 with the understanding that it was to be supplanted by a formal, permanent institution called the Partido Unificado de la Revolución Socialista de Cuba (PURSC).

The important feature to report today is that the PURSC is approaching its completed form . . . the idea is to bring together all the elements that will serve the Revolution loyally and efficiently. The PSP—the Cuban Communists—are merely one element; they do not control the PURSC or even play the most important role in it. The baffling distinction between Cuban Communism and Cuban Marxism-Leninism has to be made here as elsewhere. The remnants of the July 26 Movement and the old political and trade union groups are included, plus the very important element of the young men and women who are coming into the economic structure and political life without any previous connection with politics.

Fidel Not A Puppet of The Reds

"The belief fostered by Washington and the Cuban exiles that Fidel Castro is a prisoner of the Cuban Communist apparatus or a puppet of Moscow is a myth. He is, by character, incapable of accepting orders or even advice. The path he has chosen forces him into a conformity to most of the needs and desires of the Soviet bloc, but that is a different matter.

"Now that five years have passed, it is surely time for American officials and the American public to realize that whatever they want to think of Fidel Castro, he is one of the most extraordinary men of our age. The U.S. has paid heavily for a shocking underestimation of Fidel Castro's intelligence and abilities."

—Herbert L. Matthews: Return to Cuba.

Construction of the PURSC started at the grass roots. Each farm, factory, public utility or working group of any type selected what were supposed to be their best men and women. . . . The PURSC is therefore a carefully chosen elite, dedicated to the Revolution. I asked Fidel if it was not similar in conception to the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, the Fascist Party in Italy and the Nazi Party in Germany, and he said that roughly it was. It does not govern; it has no administrative powers. Its function is to carry out the economic and political policies of the Government at every level. . . .

The Government, as now constituted is headed by an executive committee, or directorate, of six: Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, Che Guevara, President Dorticos, Blas Roca (the old line, PSP, trade union leader who was a Cabinet Minister under Batista in the 1940s) and Emilio Aragones Navarro (former head of the Federation of Bank Workers, ex-26th of July Movement, an accountant from the middle class). Of the group, only Blas Roca is an old-style PSP Communist.

Castro Less Friendly in Talking to Matthews About Kennedy (Then Alive) Than to Daniel

"President Kennedy was still alive when we saw Premier Castro, and his comments on President Kennedy were less friendly than they were more than three weeks later when he saw Jean Daniel, the French correspondent, just at the time President Kennedy was assassinated. President Kennedy, Fidel said, was doing more harm to the U.S. than to Cuba in the long run by policies aiming to destroy the Castro regime through isolation, trade embargoes and CIA support for counter-revolutionaries, saboteurs and guerrillas. 'The U.S. is essentially in a more dangerous position internationally than Cuba, and the U.S. will lose,' he said. 'Kennedy makes a fine speech to the American University, with its emphasis on peace, understanding, coexistence—and then he goes off to Berlin and makes a bellicose speech. How can you figure him out?'

"Fidel still has the primitive ideas one often finds in Latin American leftists of the U.S. as a rapacious, imperialistic, aggressive country. Like his associates, he is sure that there are going to be other revolutions in Latin America, although no one predicts where. However, Castro did inquire several times what the United States would do about Brazil when, as he seemed to expect, there is a revolution there.

"When we asked him about the subversion that Cubans are accused of in Latin America, he replied: 'Of course we engage in subversion, the training of guerrillas, propaganda! Why not? This is exactly what you are doing to us."

—Herbert L. Matthews: Return to Cuba.

Secretary Rusk's Unctuous Concern for A World Common Law

(Continued from Page One)

Frankly we hope by giving the Matthews report wider circulation in our own pages to elicit comment in Western Europe which may shame the American government, press and public into an awareness of what a ludicrous figure we cut in the world by our state of mind on Cuba. We do not set outselves up in judgment over the *New York Times* but we do think it important to call attention to its timidity and the causes for it. The *New York Times* was the No. 1 target of Senator Eastland's Internal Security subcommittee in its 1955 attempt to "investigate", i.e. to smear and intimidate the press. Then the same committee in 1960 seized on the 1957 Matthews interview with Castro to draw a paranoid picture of Batista's downfall as due to a conspiracy between liberal newspapermen and certain officials in the State Department. These Congressional witch hunts added to other factors have created an arrogance, an ignorance, and a frustration over Cuba that make the U.S. a kind of "sick man" on the subject. There is no topic on which it is more dangerous to be objective in the United States today. Since such attitudes may again endanger world peace, this American sickness is a world problem.

Biggest Bargain Since Manhattan

We believe the observations we have culled from the Stanford Institute pamphlet by Mr. Matthews may help to develop a more adult and sober opinion in our own country. We believe the incident itself may help Western Europeans and neutrals to understand how the U.S. government is locked into rigid, inhumane and self-defeating attitudes toward Castro. We think this important at a time when our own government is trying to coerce its allies and friends into a blockade designed to strangle the Cuban revolution. It does not make our country look better to have this effort coupled, as Secretary of State Rusk coupled it at his last press conference, with unctuous asurances about our concern for developing what he calls a "world common law." If anything has been accepted as world common law, it is that an economic war like ours against Cuba is a violation of freedom of the seas and in direct conflict with the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States. Mr. Rusk demonstrated his own ideas of proper conduct in his Feb. 7 statement on Cuba by withholding the information that as early as Dec. 9 the Cuban government, through the Swiss government, notified us that its vessels would be fishing in the Gulf of Mexico near the Dry Tortugas. To have disclosed this would have exploded the idea the State Department fostered that the fishing boats were engaged in a provocation to get us out of Guantanamo. This is a question we are foolish to raise; no other country would dare claim that a treaty imposed by force on Cuba more than 60 years ago, under which we pay only $3,000 a year for 31 square miles of land and 14 square miles of harbor is somehow so sacrosanct that any move to question it calls for united action by all Christendom. Not since we bought Manhattan from the Indians did we pull off so fraudulent a deal and get so big a bargain as Guantanomo.

Castro and Religion

"Fidel Castro is a maverick among men, and it could be said that Marxist-Leninist Cuba is a maverick in the Communist fold. Religion is an example. The Roman Catholic Church (Cuba is perhaps 90% Catholic) naturally took a stand against Communism. For Fidel this was 'counter-revolution', and in 1960-61 there was a period of conflict during which he expelled most of the Spaniards who made up a large proportion of the clergy.

"However it was significant that Pope John XXIII and the Vatican never broke diplomatic relations with Havana. The controversy died down. Today, there is not only an Inter-Nuncio in Havana and a Cuban Ambassador at the Holy See, but there is complete freedom of religion. In speaking to one of the highest Catholic prelates in Cuba, I was told that freedom of worship was 'total'. One of the most important U.S. Protestant churchmen happened to be in Cuba when we were there and he said the same for the Protestant community.

"As Marxism-Leninism takes a stronger hold, religiosity will no doubt weaken, especially with the young, but that is for the future to determine. For the present, the attitude was doubtless well expressed by Fidel in speaking to us. 'I don't care whether a person is religious or not,' he said, 'or what his religion is'." —***Herbert L. Matthews: Return to Cuba.***

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Morse on The Crisis Over Cyprus, P. 3

A Warning Signal The Peace Movement Ought to Heed While There's Still Time

"There is no doubt that the stakes are high in Vietnam. They are considerably more important than the economic, political and strategic value of the country. For in Vietnam the U.S. has fielded for the first time its concept of 'counter-insurgency'. . . . Because the U.S. has been morally, militarily and politically committed in South Vietnam, because its prestige is involved and because the consequences of failure would have world-wide repercussions, most, but not all, Washington officials believe the price of victory must be paid even if the price includes some limited commitment of U.S. combat forces. . . . Victory, no matter what is done, is far away."

—Hanson W. Baldwin, No. 1 U.S. military writer and trusted Pentagon confidant, in the New York Times Feb. 16.

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The Outlook for Civil Rights in The Senate

A most hopeful augury the day the Civil Rights bill made its debut in the Senate was the remark by Republican Leader Dirksen that the accommodations section was "much more acceptable" to him than the original version. This looks like the beginning of a climb-down which would put the GOP leadership in the Senate as solidly behind the bill as it was in the House. There is hope in the air. The civil rights forces emerged from the fight in the House with increased confidence in themselves and a new respect for President Johnson. The Leadership Conference, with the help of the labor movement, probably did the best organized job of lobbying ever seen on Capitol Hill. There was a system of "spotters" in the gallery to watch the teller votes closely and to bring up votes quickly from a network of whips organized by the Democratic Study Group. There was an informal whip system by the civil rights forces themselves on each floor of the House office buildings to notify members of the votes coming up. One Congressman was even hailed, protesting, out of a "hot" poker game to do his bit in history. In place of indiscriminate "marches", hundreds of selected people with influence were brought in, including one Negro oil millionaire from the Southwest. The AFL-CIO itself marshalled a hundred or more key labor people.

A New Faith In LBJ

The most extraordinary part of the whole affair is the trust President Johnson has won in a few short months from Negro, labor and liberal leaders strongly opposed to him in the past. Leadership Conference spokesmen, in discussing the atmosphere in the House, said the Democrats "knew he meant business." They praise the quality of the White House liaison with the Hill during the fight, and the close and effective support given by the Justice Department. Mr. Johnson's hand was credited when ten Texans signed the discharge petition. Four—Brooks, Gonzales, Pickele, and Thomas—even voted for the bill. Chairman Emanuel Celler of House Judiciary piloted the bill with a patience, skill and fortitude that added another wonderful chapter to this old Gibraltar's record in the House. McCulloch of Ohio, the ranking Republican on Judiciary, from a district with few Negroes, won the gratitude of the civil rights forces by the way he led the Republican wing of the victorious coalition. Corman (*Cal*) and Rodino (*NJ*) on the Democratic and Lindsay (*NY*) and Mathias (*Md*) on the Republican side were able and devoted lieutenants. In the fight over amendments designed to weaken by widening the bill, Mrs. Green of Oregon stood alone among the women members in opposing a spurious "women's rights" amendment and that grand old man, Barrett O'Hara, fought off an equally spurious amendment to protect the aged. Best of all was the fact that so little racism appeared in the debate; Jones of Missouri was the worst in this respect. "The day of the old Southern demogogue," said one Leadership spokesman, "seems to be over."

A Christian View of Cuba

"The American blockade of Cuba is morally reprehensible, pragmatically futile and politically disastrous. . . . The time has come to abandon the un-American, unChristian and anti-human doctrine that what is ultimate in international relations and the shaping of history is physical power, material wealth and the relentless pursuit of self-interest. . . . The hour has arrived when Fidel Castro should be afforded the opportunity, hitherto denied him, to expound his position and to negotiate the issues that vitiate relations between Cuba and the United States. Failure to achieve such encounter will darken the horizons of the western hemisphere and of the world. On the matter of our relations with Cuba, Christians and Christian churches dare no longer remain silent."

—The Christian Century: Return to Cuba by Dr. John A. Mackay, president emeritus, Princeton Theological Seminary, Feb. 12.

The Senate is, of course, a far grimmer obstacle than the House, but the civil rights forces go into the fight there with a strange feeling which might best be described as a lingering distrust of their own optimism. The Southerners undoubtedly have some tricks up their sleeves; but so do the civil rights forces. Even as the House bill reached the Senate floor, a draft was circulating among friendly Senators which would add two new titles to the bill. These, if sponsored by liberal Republicans, would raise the ante with the Democrats and provide new pressure on the leadership. They offer, at the least, something to swap in a bargain and at the most the threat to the South of a much stronger bill should some new outrage suddenly change the picture as the Birmingham

(Continued on Page Four)

Gore Tried to Raise Exemptions at the Bottom Instead of Profits at The Top

The War on Poverty Starts Off With A Tax Bill "To Make the Rich Richer"

The tax bill is a measure of the Administration's "unconditional war on poverty." The Senate tax debate was the logical place to begin the battle, but became the scene instead of an unconditional surrender to the rich. "The majority of our people," Gruening (*D. Ala*) told the Senate in the finishing stages Feb. 5, "having heard so long of, and waited so long for, tax relief, will wonder where it is. To paraphrase Winston Churchill, it might be said that never will so many have waited so long for so much and received so little. This will not be true of the affluent minority."

The day he spoke the *New York Times* reported that more American corporations made more money in 1963 than in any year in business history. The combined net income of 150 companies was up 11.0% from 1962; General Motors reported the largest profit ever made by a U.S. company, more than $1.5 billions. To pass a tax bill cutting corporate and high bracket income taxes in the face of such a record was a steal. That the labor movement went along only demonstrates the feeble fat in its leadership. Gruening called this a bill "to make the rich richer."

False Forecast and Fallacious Theory

The tax bill was predicated upon a false prediction and a fallacious theory. The prediction, 18 months ago, when the tax bill was launched, foresaw a recession in 1964. The bill was supposed to insure against this. But as Gore (*D. Tenn*) told the Senate Feb. 4, employment, production, profits and dividends are at an all-time high. The theory is that the way to deal with a recession and with the problem of the impoverished "lower fifth" of our society is to make business more profitable by tax cuts and special tax privileges. These are the remedies which have been applied since the tax revision of 1954. The result has been to speed up investment at public expense in labor saving devices—and add to unemployment. "Almost 1 million more people were employed in our factories 7 years ago," Gore told the Senate, "than are employed today."

The tax structure could be used in one of two ways to fight poverty. One would be not only to retain high tax rates on the record profits of U.S. industry but close the loopholes which make these rates illusory—and then spend the extra revenue on the special measures required to deal with the "lower fifth"—education, housing, slum clearance, better hospitals, retraining, and large scale public development of national slums like Appallachia.

Poets Need It More Than Oil Men

PROXMIRE (D. Wis.): The argument is made that the depletion allowance is necessary because this is a high risk industry. Is it not correct that Dun's Review shows that the construction industry has failures in the neighborhood of 86 per 10,000, the retail industry has failures of 400 per 10,000. . . . How many failures are there in the petroleum industry?

DOUGLAS (D., Ill.): Four out of every 10,000.

PROXMIRE: Four out of every ten thousand?

DOUGLAS: Yes. It is the lowest of any industrial group. It is one of the safest industries to go into. The ratio is 20 in food and 86 in construction, but only 4 in oil, gas, and mining. If these people claim we must give them a tax break, what are we going to do for the corner grocer? What about poets? Should not poetic genius have a depletion allowance? Should not there be a depletion allowance for defeated politicians? *—In the Senate tax debate, Feb. 6.*

The other way would be to raise individual income tax exemptions to end what Senator Gore called "the taxation of poverty." These exemptions are unfairly low. In 1940 a man and his wife had a personal exemption of $2,000. "Now the cost of living is more than twice as much as it was in 1940," Gore protested, "and the exemption is down to $1,200." He proposed to restore the $1,000 per person exemption as a substitute for the corporate and individual rate reductions in the tax bill. This would give real relief to the "lower fifth"—how do you raise a child nowadays on $600 a year?—and stimulate consumer buying.

This would raise the standard of living at the bottom of society instead of raising the rate of profit at the top. But Henry Ford 2nd and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce have not been campaigning for *that* kind of a tax cut. Gore's proposal was rejected on a voice vote. Then he suggested raising the tax exemption from $600 a year to $800. This was defeated 61-to-33 on a motion to table. But the idea of not taxing poverty should reverberate. Higher exemptions at the bottom plus repeal of excise taxes should be the target of labor and the progressives. This tax bill is a scandal, likely only to set off stock market speculation and inflation. Inflation in its turn will again tax the poor and fixed incomes for the benefit of great wealth. They get the poor coming and going.

From Medicine Hat to Dar-es-Salaam, When Anything Goes Wrong

"I had thought that the classic manifestation of humbug, the effort to merchandise our errors and omissions as the machinations of the Communists went out approximately with Harold Talbot. But . . . in the last few days, in the person of Castro, Communists have became responsible for everything that has gone wrong from Medicine Hat to Dar-es-Salaam.

"For years, diligent public servants have tried to do something about Panama. There they have encountered a backward social structure and the revelation of some American residents that they were another chosen people. Here at home, they have encountered the conviction that, unlike the repressive colonialism of the British or the French, our needs in other countries are sanctified both by high strategy and the peculiar charity of our hearts.

"Given these difficulties, there was much to forgive in the recent crisis. But the prompt and wonderfully reminiscent statement from the foreign policy establishment that it was mostly the fault of the Communists should have been greeted with public hilarity.

"We can all be persuaded that Fidelistas were around. We might even be willing to assume that there was a certified, registered, insured, prepaid, cooperative (and remarkably foresighted) plot. Even then the first thought of an American official should have been: 'Won't the American people ask who gave them their chance'?"

—Former Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith at a Washington Post Book lunch, Con. Record, Feb. 4, p. 1744.

A Speech The Press Ignored: Warning Against Becoming "Policeman to The World"

Morse Declares That the Place for the Cyprus Issue Is In the UN

By Senator Wayne Morse *

The official American position that Cyprus is a NATO problem does not, in my opinion, withstand analysis. Cyprus is not a member of NATO. The only NATO problem there is the possibility of rising rivalry between Greece and Turkey as a result of the conflict. That is the only place where it can be said with any justification that NATO should deal with the issue and not the United Nations.

Other NATO Powers Reluctant

But even there, NATO consists of a lot more than just Britain and the United States. If any action is needed to keep Greece and Turkey from getting involved directly, that action should be taken by the entire North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and not by the United States and Britain acting in the guise of NATO. France has already made perfectly clear, as a member of NATO, that she will have none of it. Let the State Department tell the American people how many other NATO countries look with great reservation in regard to NATO intervention in Cyprus. The proper place for the Cypriot issue is in the United Nations. How can we condemn France and the Soviet Union for circumventing and ignoring the United Nations at their convenience, when we do the same thing?

I am at a loss to understand what the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Ball, is doing in London, much less flying to Cyprus for. It is perfectly obvious what the British want. They want the United States to pick up the check for the failure of the British Government in Cyprus. The British Government has been attempting to run out on its responsibilities in instance after instance, as its colonial policies go down the drain around the world, and looks to the United States to pick up the check.

I am alarmed at the policy of the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, and the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Ball, who are apparently laboring under the illusion that the United States can step in and take the place of all the former colonial powers in the trouble spots of the world. Of course, they will try to get American boys into Cyprus.

NATO is no longer what it is "cracked up" to be. In my judgment, NATO is rapidly becoming a great liability for the United States, and this move of the British is the latest in the attempt of some of our NATO allies who have not lived up to their NATO commitments to get the United States to assume a burden which is beyond all equity.

If we believe in the United Nations and call on other nations to respect it, we must believe in it and respect it ourselves. We are not doing that when we try to keep the Cyprus problem out of the U.N. We know what happened with regard to the attitude of France, Belgium, and the Soviet Union in regard to the Congo. They walked out on their obligations under the United Nations charter. I do not want to see my country make the same mistake.

If the United States allows itself to be made the policeman of the world, we are going to end up just as Great Britain ended up—dead broke.

***Abridged from a speech to the U.S. Senate, Feb. 10.**

Is Criticism of Bonn Verboten at NATO?

MR. WARBEY (Lab.) asked why the speech of M. Spaak at the NATO Council meeting last December had been classified as a secret document.

MR. MATHEW (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs—Proceedings in the North Atlantic Council are confidential and all records of them are classified.

MR. WARBEY—At a press conference following the meeting the NATO press officer was very willing to give full accounts of speeches made by the Foreign Secretary and other Foreign Ministers, but refused to make any comment on the speech made by M. Spaak. Was this because M. Spaak expressed concern at the veto placed by the West German Government on an approach towards the Soviet Union to reach a peaceful settlement in Europe?

MR. MATHEW—I do not propose to be drawn into breaking this rule of confidence.

—House of Commons, Feb. 10 (London Times).

Sen. Pell's Plea for An End to Our Stale German Policy Reaches the SEP

"Since the late 1940's our policy on Germany has been frozen. We have insisted on early reunification through free elections. We have insisted that Communist East Germany does not exist. We have insisted that East Germany and East Berlin are the Soviet areas of a four-power military occupation, and that our rights are based on occupation agreements which are almost 20 years old. This policy simply does not fit the facts of today.

"We based our original support of a reunified Germany on the assumption that such a Germany would be neutral. If Germany were somehow to be reunified today, the result would be a military colossus. The very idea worries our West European allies and sends shivers up the spines of the East Europeans. It is high time for us to face the impossibility of a peacefully unified and armed Germany in the near future. Yet, these thoughts are rarely uttered in public. Why? Because, as so often happens in democracies, we become frozen into positions that relate more to the past than present. Any suggestion of a change sounds almost un-American.

"We should initiate policies which will not only improve conditions for all of Berlin and Germany but lead to a relaxing of tensions in central Europe. The most important single concession we must gain is absolute freedom of access to Berlin. Officially, we claim we already have these rights. But, as repeated crises on the highway show, they are constantly open to challenge. What I propose is that our rights of access be completely spelled out and that the main highway be declared an international territory subject to no controls of any kind.

"What can we offer in exchange? I believe we should offer to accept the Oder-Neisse boundary; for another, I believe we should grant de facto recognition to the Government of East Germany. Is this too much to offer in return for guarantees of a right we claim we already hold? I think not. We would simply be recognizing realities that presently exist."

—Sen. Claiborne Pell, (D. R.I.) "Berlin: Let's Stop Courting Disaster," Saturday Evening Post, Feb. 8 (abr.).

There Are Many Ways to Wear Down and Defeat A Filibuster

(Continued from Page One)

church bombings did last year in the House. One new title would tighten up the police brutality section of existing civil rights law, make communities and counties liable to suit for the actions of their officers and establish a new civil rights police to take the place of the FBI in this area of enforcement. The other title would tighten up voting provisions by making the orders of Federal registrars directly enforcible, giving the Civil Rights Commission power to issue cease-and-desist orders against interference with voting and empower the Commission to void elections where the right to vote of certified voters was denied. It would also provide for immediate steps to cut down the South's representation in Congress under the 2d section of the 14th Amendment.

Surprise Tactics Expected

The tactics on the floor are also likely to provide surprises. Mansfield, smarting under unfavorable comparisons between his leadership and Johnson's, has appointed four able and uncompromising Senators to manage the fight for the bill: Humphrey, Magnuson, Clark and Hart. Mansfield himself opened debate the first day with an eloquence which matched the great occasion. In his appeal for the Senate to act he said the fundamental issue raised by the bill "will involve all Americans and all the institutions, public and private, which hold us as a society of diversity in one nation, and it will involve all for a long time to come. In truth, it is a universal issue which, for this nation, having begun with the Declaration of Independence and persisted through the decades, will hardly dissolve in the Senate of the 88th Congress." The rhetoric was not too lofty for the first page of what we all hope will be a close-to-final chapter in the American Negro's struggle for full emancipation. But Mansfield's real test will be more arduous than the achievement of style. He must demonstrate a new militancy. There are many ways, short of round-the-clock sessions, by which a firm majority under tough leadership can hold the reins on a filibustering minority. And perhaps win the fight without resort to cloture, which might entail serious compromise. The rules are being studied as never before. A majority of 51 by the use of the motion to table, which is not debatable, can block time-consuming amendments. A skillful use of the "morning hour" can cut down the ambit of the filibuster. There are other, rarely used weapons, available to a presiding officer prepared to be strict and ruthless. Best of all, several months of old-fashioned white supremacist ranting from the Southern die-hards, blocking all other public business, and making the U.S. look foolish in the eyes of the world, may generate so derisive and impatient a storm from the country as to force cloture without compromise. The South knows itself defeated; it feels a new era is just around the corner. Men like Russell already belong to the past. They could not find a more graceful opportunity to lose than now, with a Southerner in the White House.

That's Jefferson Turning In His Grave

Two amendments to the Civil Rights bill which indicate how far we have drifted from the principles of a free society were accepted by the House. One would bar atheists and the other Communists from utilizing Title VII which guarantees equal employment opportunity. The Rev. Kenneth Marshall, a Unitarian Minister in Washington, was quick to point out in a sermon that the atheist amendment would have made second class citizens of Ben Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Tom Paine, Robert Ingersoll, Thomas Edison and Albert Einstein, none of whom were religious in the conventional sense. Holifield (D. Cal) courageously opposed this amendment on the floor Feb. 8 and was supported by Rodino (D N.J.), Joelson (D. N.J.), Ryan (D. N.Y.) and Roberts (D. Tex.) but it passed 137-98 over the angry protest of Chairman Celler. It takes nerve nowadays to uphold the right to disbelieve in God. It takes even more nerve to uphold the right to be a Communist. When the companion amendment (by Colmer of Mississippi) to bar Communists from using the FEPC came up on Feb. 10 Celler cast doubt on its constitutionality but no one spoke against it. "If we oppose this amendment," Roosevelt (D. Cal) said bravely, "it would put you in company with Communists or pro-Communists. I do not think any member should be put in that light. I believe in the patriotism of every member of this House." A consistent belief in the First Amendment is by this standard unpatriotic. These provisions may yet be used against Negroes in those areas where militancy is easily equated with atheism and communism.

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Special Issue on The MLF

Fresh Evidence Only The Germans Among Our NATO Allies Are Pressing for The MLF

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (R. Mich): I want to discuss with you this MLF requirement.

Secretary MC NAMARA: Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: You said yesterday that we had no urgent military requirement for this MLF and that we are not trying to sell it. Well, Mr. Secretary, if we are not trying to sell it, who is, because I haven't discovered anyone that wants it except perhaps the Germans.

Secretary MC NAMARA: Oh, the Germans are very, very much interested in it. . . .

Mr. RIVERS (D. S.C.): Now, about the multilateral force, we ran into this at NATO.

Secretary of the Navy NITZE: If the other European countries in sufficient number desire it, it is the Defense Department's view that we should support it.

Mr. RIVERS: You don't have much support and acceptance of it. The only people who wanted it were the Germans. They helped us defend it. . . .

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Who is pushing it [MLF]?

Secretary NITZE: There is a very serious problem involved in the alliance. It revolves primarily around the Germans, but it involves other members of NATO as well, as to what the future relationship to strategic nuclear weapons will be. . . .

—House Armed Services hearings on the new defense program, released Feb. 18. Pps. 6975, 7268-9, 7390-1.

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The Bogey of An Independent German Nuclear Deterrent

MLF are the initials of multi-lateral force. This is the proposal for a nuclear armada to be manned by mixed crews from the NATO nations under their joint control. MLF is presented as an effort to meet European demands for a greater voice in the use of the nuclear deterrent. It is supposed to be the symbol of "interdependence" between the United States and its NATO allies, to provide a closer military and political integration between them. Yet, even before they agree to this plan, we have declared it non-negotiable at the new Geneva disarmament talks where it has become a major obstacle to any new agreement.

WEU Turned MLF Down

In the past four months, there have been two occasions on which to test sentiment among our NATO allies on the MLF. The first was the Paris conference Nov. 7 of NATO parliamentarians, which is a kind of Atlantic Community Congress. Its military committee turned in a report calling MLF "wasteful" and "superfluous" while the political committee also rejected MLF. The "consensus" of the meeting as a whole was against MLF and "full support for the plan seems to have been confined to the American and German delegations" (*The Times,* London, Nov. 8). The second occasion was on Dec. 4 in the Assembly of the Western European Union, which speaks for the inner core of NATO in Europe —Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg and Italy. Here an attempt was made to put the WEU on record for MLF. The strongest speech in favor of it was by West Germany's Foreign Minister Schroeder who called it "one of the boldest and most fruitful initiatives of the free world" (*Le Monde,* Dec. 5). The attack was led by George Brown, deputy leader of the British Labor Party. He called it "a multi-lateral farce." On this occasion, "the first time that the MLF proposal has come to a direct vote in an international body" (*The Times,* London, Dec. 5), MLF lost. Yet we ignore these views and insist at Geneva that MLF is a must. This is a strange way to practice "interdependence."

The Official German View

"It was a wise decision on the part of the United States to propose to its European Allies the establishment of a nuclear force on a truly multilateral basis as regards the possession and control of nuclear weapons. This proposal has repeatedly been interpreted as an attempt to meet the German wish for participation in consultations and decisions on the use of nuclear weapons, but to refuse Germany the right of actually using such weapons under her own national responsibility. These comments are well known in Germany, but they reflect a very narrow outlook. The decisive aspect of the project for a Multilateral Force is the chance it offers to make the use of nuclear weapons a common Allied responsibility. . . . NATO must be capable of employing nuclear weapons under conditions where their use is not a sign of despair, but is governed by military and political considerations."

—Von Hassel, West Germany's Minister of Defense, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic party, writing in Foreign Affairs quarterly, Jan. 1964.

The most interesting idea put forward by the new Johnson Administration at the outset of the Geneva talks was for a "freeze" on nuclear delivery systems. Essentially this asks the Russians to accept a position of inferiority in planes and missiles for the sake of putting a brake on the arms race. In this it resembles the limited nuclear test ban treaty, and rests like it on the view that "enough is enough," that the question of who is ahead in numbers of missiles or tests has lost much of its meaning when neither side can escape a devastating return blow from the other should either venture a first strike. The natural complements of a freeze on delivery systems would be an agreement against proliferation of nuclear weapons and an end to the production of more fissionable weapon material. But if we set up an MLF for NATO, the Russians may have to set up an MLF for the Warsaw Pact. As the power inferior in nuclear stockpiles

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(Continued from Page One)

and number of delivery systems, this could put them at a disadvantage if they were committed to freeze the production of both. Above all the MLF looks to the Russians (as it does to our reluctant Western allies) as the first move to put a German finger on NATO's strategic trigger, on weapons which could be used to threaten or make a direct attack on the Soviet Union.

Like That "BLF" in Cuba

These fears should not be too difficult for us to understand if we recall our own reaction a year ago when the Russians put what might be called a *BLF,* a bi-lateral force of some 40 medium range nuclear missiles in Cuba. We would have felt no less alarmed if these missiles, instead of being emplaced in Cuba, had been set up on a BLF force of submarines or surface vessels in the Caribbean. The MLF calls for a joint fleet of 25 ships with 8 Polaris each. The only difference in principle between the Russo-Cuban BLF and our MLF is that the Russians kept control of the warheads—there was no Cuban finger on the trigger—while the MLF is supposed to give the Germans a vote and a veto among the 15 NATO fingers on the MLF trigger. Indeed (see box below) they are asking us to give up our veto in return for some system of majority or "weighted" control in which the Germans, who are to put up 40% of the cost would have a correspondingly preponderant voice in running it. There is little doubt that most of our NATO allies would prefer to abandon the MLF for an agreement with the Soviets freezing the arms race in delivery systems and nuclear stockpiles, and putting a stop to the further spread of nuclear weapons.

Two related questions need to be disentangled to see MLF clearly. One is the problem of greater integration within NATO. The other is the problem of German access to strategic weapons. Many opponents of the MLF in NATO are for fuller discussion and consultation within the alliance. The problem of integration is at least as old as ancient Greece where the disparity in power between Athens and its allies (as between Sparta and its allies) tended to turn alliances into forms of empire. The tremendous power of nuclear weapons has given this problem new acuteness. The non-nuclear powers are as much satellites as allies; indeed NATO, like the Warsaw Pact, may be seen as a new form of imperialism. If we wish to ease this problem by consulting more fully with our allies and giving them a greater voice in the decisions which may mean life or death, this is no obstacle to world peace or to progress in disarmament. Indeed we might make more progress in this direction if we consulted all of them at this juncture instead of responding only to German wishes.

Prophetic Remark A Year Before The Missile Crisis

"Under no circumstances should the Federal Republic create the impression that it cherishes the ambition of becoming the 'decisive' military power of continental NATO. Even less permissible would be any move to acquire armament which in itself gave rise to the impression that Germany was claiming parity with the Soviet Union. No government of the Federal Republic should therefore demand that the Republic needs 'the same weapons as the Soviet Union.' It is plainly absurd for the Federal Republic, looking over its shoulder at the Soviet Union, to demand strategic mass destruction weapons. For the Federal Republic to be equipped with nuclear missiles capable of devastating Moscow or Leningrad would inevitably provoke the Soviet Union in just the same way as the supply of nuclear missiles to Cuba would provoke the United States."

—Defense or Retaliation: A German View, by Helmut Schmidt, leading military expert of the Social Democratic Party, in the Bundestag since 1953, where he is a member of Defense Committee. Praeger, 1962.

It is the other problem which spells trouble. It is this which must be examined. One way to start is with the familiar argument that unless some device like MLF gives the Germans a hand in a strategic nuclear striking force, the Germans will develop an independent deterrent of their own, as have the British and the French. But there are many reasons why such a course would be difficult and dangerous for the Germans. They have the technical capacity; they have the economic resources. But where would they test? Unlike the French and British they have no dependent areas in Africa or the Pacific. To test would be a violation of the test ban agreement which Bonn accepted so slowly and un-

Rusk's Evasive Reply to German Demand U.S. Relinquish Veto Over The MLF

"On the MLF, Defense Minister von Hassel said that in the beginning the other partners must concede the veto power of the American President. As soon as the MLF becomes a military reality, however, it should be able to persuade the American partner to give up his veto and to establish majority rule for the political and military use of this force. . . . 'We must show consideration for the French, who will never join this force if its effectiveness can be blunted by the veto of one state. Whether to have a veto or majority rule, will first come up for decision when this military instrument becomes a reality.'

"Von Hassel believes that the political worth of the MLF should be seen in the strong binding together of American and European interests. Until now the Atlantic Pact had excluded the nuclear type of mutual dependence. So NATO will be strengthened by the still tighter linking of America to Europe in an integrated nuclear politics. . . . 'Every speculation that the German side regards the MLF as a way of obtaining nuclear weapons for itself is completely misleading'. . . ."

—Interview at the close of the Ottawa NATO conference in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung May 25, 1963, and summarized by the New York Times, May 28, 1963.

Q. Mr. Secretary, sir, the West German Defense Minister has been quoted as saying that while West Germany would go along at the outset with a veto on the use of a nuclear fleet, that eventually the fleet would not be militarily effective if the U.S. veto remains. What is the U.S. position on this view?

A. Well, I would not wish to comment on a partial report of an interview or statement made by a Minister that I have not myself seen. . . . Now, if Europe at some stage organizes itself and makes arrangements by which it makes its voice heard collectively in these matters, then we can take that question up. But, under present circumstances, I feel quite confident that in these nuclear matters, the U.S. must participate in the decisions.

—Secretary Rusk's Press Conference, May 29, 1963.

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willingly. To produce nuclear weapons on German soil would be a violation of the pledge given by Adenauer in 1954, a pledge embodied in the Western European Treaty of that year and enforcible by its Arms Control Agency. The anger and alarm would be as great in Western as in Eastern Europe if Germany were to set out on this path; it would be seen that the Germans once again, as in 1914 on Belgium, were treating their treaty obligations as scraps of paper; it would be a signal that war was coming.

Again War on Two Fronts

Long before Germany could produce nuclear weapons in any significant amount, there would be time for East and West to draw together and stop the process. Germany would be faced again with the fatal error of its last two world wars —it would have to fight East *and* West. The balance of forces against her would be greater than before. *Germany's only hope of getting nuclear weapons is to do so under cover of NATO, and her only hope of blackmailing the East into recovery of her 1937 frontiers is as the spearhead of a Western coalition in which Germany plays a dominant role.*

From any other point of view MLF is as foolish for the Germans as for other West European peoples. If Germany fears that the U.S. veto and the nuclear stalemate have robbed the American deterrent of credibility, would the deterrent be any more credible if 14 other nations had the veto as well? If the U.S. might hesitate to destroy itself in a world convulsion because of some threat to Germany, is there any reason to believe that the British, the Belgians, the Dutch or the Danes would be any more ready to die for them? The MLF no more takes the place of an independent deterrent than NATO, but the price of such a deterrent would again be the isolation and defeat of Germany.

To Unify NATO Or Split It Apart?

"The other European countries that have agreed to participate [in MLF] . . . are more likely to do so to keep an eye on Germany than because of strategic convictions. . . . If the influence of West Germany in the MLF becomes too great, neutralism may grow in Britain, Scandinavia and the Low Countries. . . . It is in nobody's interest—least of all West Germany's—to set in motion events that can only end with suspicion and concern in most of the countries of the West. . . . A divided country, which in the space of 50 years has lost two wars, experienced three revolutions, suffered two periods of extreme inflation and the trauma of the Nazi era, should not—in its own interest—be placed in a position where, in addition to its inevitable exposure to Soviet pressure, it becomes the balance wheel of our Atlantic policy. We are encouraging tendencies we may later regret."

—Henry Kissinger in The Reporter, Mar. 28, 1963.

The MLF politically, whether with 15 fingers or 5 fingers on the trigger, is a comic strip contraption. Militarily, its

(Continued on Page Four)

The German Socialist View Which Sees Disengagement As A Peaceful Solution

"The idea of easing the intractable situation in Central Europe by means of military readjustments and thereby making real progress toward the reunification of Germany was first put forward in 1952 by Dr. Pfleiderer, formerly an FDP [Free Democratic Party, a right-of-center big business party—IFS] representative in the Federal German Parliament and later German Ambassador to Belgrade. The idea attracted little notice at the time. . . . It was not until the Berlin Conference of 1954, when Sir Anthony Eden came out with the idea of a Central European zone of arms limitation and control that the idea first assumed international importance. . . . Eden later submitted a variant of his proposals to the Geneva Summit Conference of 1955. . . . When, two years later, the Russians seemed for the first time to be ready seriously to pursue these ideas, further consideration of them was obstructed by the Federal German Government. In the same year Hugh Gaitskell made a set of very far-reaching proposals . . . later worked out in detail by Denis Healey. These proposals related to Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. . . . They have also, after a lapse of time and with certain modifications become an ingredient of the German Social Democratic political platform. . . .

"In the autumn of 1957 the so-called Rapacki Plan was made known to the world. This at first confined itself to the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe. . . . The flat, uncompromising rejection of the Rapacki Plan and the refusal to contemplate any negotiations on proposals of a like nature must be regarded, even today, as a diplomatic failure on the part of the West. The German Social Democrats once again took up the idea of a zone of arms limitation and control early in 1959, and made it the subject of an independent and detailed presentation in November of the same year. . . . [calling for a nuclear free Central Europe with limited conventional armies but not conditioned on Germany leaving NATO or the Eastern States leaving the Warsaw Pact in the hope that easing tensions would pave the way for German unification—IFS].

"The military objections raised by the West against the ideas put forward hinge almost entirely on spatial requirements. Some people, for example, maintain that there would be too little room for NATO's strategic nuclear weapons to be adequately deployed or, alternatively, to be provided with sufficient area for forward protection. This objection smacks clearly of dilettantism; for, as far as Western Europe is concerned strategic nuclear weapons are stationed exclusively in the United Kingdom, and there is so far no intention of deploying them on the European Continent. The creation of a zone of control in Central Europe would not make the U.K.-based strategic weapons any more vulnerable than they are now. There is also no force in the general argument that NATO could not give up the 200-250 miles broad Federal Republic because the area available for maneuver would lose critically in depth. The Soviet Army stands today 60 miles from the Kiel Canal and 75 miles from Frankfurt. In future it would be 500-625 miles distant from these vital points; its tanks would not be stationed just across the Elbe but away to the east of the Vistula and the Bug.

"Whereas today the Soviet army need cross only one river in order to move forward into the Federal Republic, and whereas the exits from the Baltic are immediately exposed to attack by the Soviet ground forces, these would in future —together with the bases for their naval forces and seaborne troops—be stationed very much further to the east. The Soviet army would have, in the event of war, three major rivers to cross, at each of which it would be exposed to the full force of interdiction at the hands of the Allied tactical air forces and medium-range missiles. By contrast the troops of the other NATO powers stationed in the Federal Republic would have to cross only one extra river, the Rhine."

—Defense or Retaliation, by Helmut Schmidt, military expert of the German Social Democratic Party (Praeger 1962).

A Job Handling Liquor Is Hardly the Way to Cure An Alcoholic

(Continued from Page Three)

worthlessness is underscored by the various forms it has taken. Norstadt's first proposal was for a missile force mounted on barges and trucks on constant patrol in Central Europe; then somebody thought of the revulsion which would occur if in West Germany, Europe's most crowded area, one of them were to blow up accidentally; Germany would go neutralist overnight in the wake of such a mishap. Then it was proposed to have a fleet of Polaris submarines until Admiral Rickover and his friends let it be known that there would be a bitter fight before Congress allowed the secrets of the Polaris submarine to be given out so freely. The present plan is for a 25-vessel surface fleet; this is a grisly joke on the Germans since all other fleets are going underwater. These ships would be easy to spot, track and destroy.

The Deliberate Use of Monster Weapons

The MLF makes sense only politically. If it can become a mechanism for a tighter alliance with America against Russia, it is worth the $5 billion or more Germany's Defense Minister von Hassel figures it will cost. The Germans want us to give up our veto in MLF once it is operational; they are to pay the largest share of the European contribution to its cost and expect to have commensurate power in it. It is in this light that one must read von Hassel's ominous words in *Foreign Affairs* last January (see box on p. 1). "The decisive aspect of the project for a Multilateral Force," he wrote, "is the chance it offers to make the use of nuclear weapons a common allied responsibility. . . . NATO must be capable of employing nuclear weapons under conditions where it is not a sign of despair, but is governed by military and political considerations." This means the use of these weapons not in "despair" as a last resort but for "military and political considerations," i.e. as bargaining counters for military and political aims. This, for the Germans, means to blackmail Russia into restoration of their 1937 borders. These are the dangerous games into which Germany's dominant Christian Democrats and militarists would draw us.

MLF runs counter to all the hopeful elements in the military policies associated with Kennedy and McNamara. The tighter command and control they built up to prevent accidental war would be undercut by this dispersion of weapons and responsibility. Their effort to enlarge conventional forces in order to draw back from the brink and prevent escalation would be hampered by MLF. The $5 billion it would cost for duplicate missile facilities on vulnerable vessels will draw funds from conventional arms—NATO's real military need. Nor does it fit into the Grand Design of seeking a world settlement with the USSR; on the contrary, the very idea is enough (as we can see at Geneva) to serve the German goal of blocking any arms agreement until the Reich has its hand on strategic nuclear weapons. Most ludicrous of all is the notion that MLF will keep the Germans from going off on a nuclear binge of their own. MLF would give the Germans their first chance for training in the use of strategic nuclear weapons, their first chance to play with these monsters. Whoever heard of curing an alcoholic by giving him a job in a liquor store?

The Ideal Solution for Germany

"The ideal situation would be a Germany strong enough to defend itself but not strong enough to attack, united so that its frustrations do not erupt into conflict and its divisions do not encourage the rivalry of its neighbors, but not so centralized that its discipline and capacity for rapid action evoke countermeasures in self-defense. Such a Germany has existed only at rare periods. To help establish it must be a major task of Western policy. . . .

"As long as Germany remains divided, the danger of an explosion exists, whatever the wishes of the chief protagonists. Measures to control armaments in Central Europe, to be effective, should therefore accompany a political settlement. The natural dividing line for arms control schemes is the Oder, not the Elbe. The two problems of German unity and arms control in Europe are thus closely related. Unification without a scheme for arms control will frighten all the states surrounding Germany. A European security system without German unification is either a palliative or it will magnify conflicts in Central Europe."

—The Necessity for Choice by Henry A. Kissinger (Harper, 1961).

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On Vietnam: We Need Those Lie Detectors at Home, P. 3

Why The Pope Kept Silent—From the State Dept's Diplomatic Records

"Mr. Harold H. Tittman, Ass't to the President's Personal Representative to Pope Pius XII, to the Secretary of State."

"The Holy See is still apparently convinced that a forthright denunciation by the Pope of Nazi atrocities, at least in so far as Poland is concerned, would only result in the violent deaths of more people. Mgr. Montini [then Papal Under Secretary of State, now Pope Paul VI] however stated to me that the time may come when, in spite of such a grievous prospect, the Holy Father will feel himself obliged to speak out. . . . Another motive, possibly the controlling one, behind the Pope's disinclination to denounce Nazi atrocities is his fear that if he does so now, the German people, in the bitterness of their defeat, will reproach him later on for having contributed, if only indirectly, to this defeat. It has been pointed out to me that just such an accusation was directed against the Holy See by the Germans after the last war, because of certain phrases spoken and attitudes adopted by Benedict XV while hostilities were in progress. When it is borne in mind that Pius XII had many years of conditioning in Germany,* it will not seem unnatural that he should be particularly sensible to this particular argument. Vatican City, Oct. 6, 1942."

—Pps. 776-7, Foreign Relations, 1942, Vol. III, published 1952, one of several documents which show U.S. Allied and neutral efforts to inform the Vatican about the "death factories" and to elicit some protest.

*** "Pius XII, as Nuncio to Germany, had been assured by the German Catholic aristocracy that Hitler would 'end the peril of Bolshevism'. . . . Not even the murder of the Catholic Action leader, Klausener in 1934, was sufficient to disillusion him. He even showed mild disapproval of the Papal Encyclical of March 14, 1937, in which Pius XI accused Hitler of breaking faith with the concordat, and on the day of his coronation, on March 12, 1939, urged 'patience and moderation' in the Vatican's dealings with Hitler."**

—The Day of The Lion: The Rise and Fall of Fascist Italy, by Roy MacGregor Hastie (Coward-McCann) just published.

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What Some People Have Forgotten About God's "Deputy"

One of the elements missing in Rolf Hochhuth's play "The Deputy" and in comment upon it is recognition of the crucial role played by the Vatican in the rise of Fascism. The Vatican opposed modern liberalism from its very inception. It denounced Marxism, whether democratic or totalitarian. But everywhere it welcomed Fascism—in Italy, in Germany, in Spain, in Austria, in Slovakia and in Hungary. Many commentators have contrasted Pius XII, the central figure in Hochhuth's play, with his predecessor, Pius XI. But Pius XII, in being friendly to Hitler, was only following in the footsteps of Pius XI. Mussolini's seizure of power in Italy could have been blocked if the powerful Catholic Popular Party, and its priestly leader, Don Luigi Sturzo, had been allowed to follow the policy now being applied by Italy's Christian Democrats. An "opening to the left" which united the Popular Party with the Socialists and the Liberals against *Fascismo,* would have choked off this pestilence at the start.

Twin Pacts With The Devil

But Pius XI decided otherwise. He disliked Don Luigi and his party, which had won a following among the peasantry by its advocacy of land reform. He joined the industrialists and the army officers who, like their counterparts a decade later in Germany, saw Fascism as a protection for property rights against the clamor for social reform. The Popular Party was dissolved and Don Luigi driven into exile. In Italy, as in Germany, Catholic anti-Fascists were sacrificed for a concordant with the dictatorships. These pacts with the devil lent first Il Duce and then Der Fuehrer a cloak of Catholic approval when they most needed it. The March on Rome which Pius XI facilitated was the first step toward Auschwitz which Pius XII never condemned. The louts and paranoids Mussolini marshalled for his coup were the same type who later stoked the human furnaces for Hitler with Jews, gypsies and Slavs too weak to work for Krupp and I. G. Farben. More than the sin of silence lies on the consciences of God's "deputies." They were accessories in the creation of these criminal regimes.

Christian Anti-Nazis Abandoned, Too

"Clergy and laymen, priests and men of political life, who ventured to think and practice resistance, could count on the sympathy of their church leaders, neither in prison nor on the scaffold."

—Friedrich Heer, German Catholic historian, in his book, Die Deutschen, der Nationalsozialismus und die Gegenwart, *quoted by Rolf Hochhuth in the appendix to his play* The Deputy, *p. 305 (Grove Press).*

A second element has to do with Allied policy. While the Allies were pressing Pius XII to condemn Nazi atrocities against the Jews for its propaganda value, they were far from whole-hearted about saving the victims. I remember as a young newspaperman the coldness one encountered in the State Department on the subject of refugees and the inhumanity with which the British turned away from Palestine boatloads of Jews fleeing from Hitler's ovens; two, the Struma and the Patria, sank with their human cargoes. Last October 12, the State Department released a volume of diplomatic papers from the year 1943 (Vol. I: General) in which two painful stories are disclosed. One (at p. 134) is a British Embassy memorandum expressing fear lest the Germans "change over from the policy of extermination to one of extrusion, and aim as they did before the war at embarrassing

(Continued on Page Four)

"Peace" Senators Limit Selves to Defense of McNamara Against Bomber Lobby

Few Speak and None Vote "No" As Congress Rubber Stamps Huge Arms Bill

Not a single member of Congress voted against the $17 billion weapons procurement authorization bill for 1965. It passed House and Senate last week after five hours debate in which only a handful participated. Attacking Secretary McNamara's cost-effectiveness program apparently required the privileged sanctuary of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, which offered plans for cutting the bill $1 billion and $1.4 billion respectively.

Nelson's Lone Protest

The small group of pro-disarmament Senators confined themselves this year to the safe position of defending the Secretary of Defense against the aviation lobby. But Sen. McGovern suggested he "may have some amendments" to the appropriation bill. Genuine dissent was limited to Senator Nelson's (D. Wis) eloquent protest against rubber-stamping the largest procurement bill ever when there is now no question about the capacity of both the United States and the Soviet Union for mutual destruction. Protesting that testimony on the bill had not even been printed before the debate, he questioned "what is apparently an established tradition—perhaps a national attitude—which holds that a bill to spend billions for the machinery of war must be rushed through the House and Senate in a matter of hours, while a treaty to advance the cause of peace, or a bill to guarantee the rights of all our citizens must be . . . thrashed over for weeks and perhaps months."

Debate in both Houses over whether to authorize an unrequested $52 million for bomber research revealed a new approach to defense spending which would maintain high budgets despite Rep. Vinson's statement that "we are coming up pretty close to our total needs." This would have us build weapon systems which have no rational purpose other than to force the Soviets to divert their more limited resources into building defensive counterparts. Thus Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Russell said, "If we eliminate the bomber and let the Russians devote all their resources to defend against missiles, they are sure to develop such a defense more rapidly than they would if they had to prepare two defensive systems . . . (whereas) we can afford to develop the two weapon systems and, at the same time, work on defenses against theirs." The U.S. at Geneva is trying to sell the idea of a bonfire for obsolete bombers. If the aviation lobby has its way, there will be plenty to burn.

Four Anti-Militarist Films

It is a pleasure to report that four—no less—films are now playing in Washington which attack the military and militarism. We recommend each of them highly. One is a savage satire on the nuclear age, "Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb." Stanley Kubrick deserves a Nobel prize for it. The second is the superbly played "Seven Days in May"—the gifted Rod Serling has made a first rate movie script of a second rate book. Civics teachers anxious to explain the meaning of civilian supremacy in the U.S. Constitution could make no firmer impression than to take their classes to this movie. The third is "The Man in The Middle," the story of an attempt by the high brass to fix a court martial. The fourth is "The Victors" a film by Carl Foreman worthy to stand beside his "High Noon." Its final scene, a drunken knife fight between a U.S. and Soviet soldier in the ruins of Berlin is symbolic of the poisonous and suicidal cold war brewed by the Germans in the moment of their defeat. P.S. for Soviet readers: Paste this item on a postcard and send it to Marshal Malinovsky who, like the Pentagon, has been objecting to anti-war and anti-militarist literature and films. Capitalist or Communist, brass hats are alike.

The Games Our Military Play with Congress at Budget Time

"This amendment will be aimed at that part of the Navy procurement called the VAL aircraft. You will find the VAL explained on page 11 of the committee report. Anyone with the temerity to point out that the three-line explanation there comes to about $60 million a line will be met with the argument that the details are secret. To those of you who may feel slighted, I want to say to you that you are not missing a thing. I want to assure you further that the more you study this particular procurement the more firmly you will be convinced of the need for secrecy, not to protect the details of the program from the terrible Communists, but to keep the details from our taxpaying constituents.

"The VAL is a new attack aircraft for the Navy. The Navy called it a modification of an existing aircraft. It was just a tiny little modification—consisting of a new engine, fuselage, wings and avionics. If this can be done by reprogramming, the Navy can reprogram a barge into a battleship or a carrier into a catamaran.

"Why did they do it by reprogramming? Because, they said time was of the essence. So important was time that they waited from November until February before announcing that this little old $2 billion program was heading deep into the heart of Dallas. Everyone in the aircraft industry knew it was heading for Dallas back in December, but the Navy played games with Congress.

"[Now] to the merits of this aircraft. Today the Navy is producing one interceptor and preparing to produce another, but [it says] it needs a new attack plane [VAL]. The Air Force is producing one attack plane [A-6A] and preparing to produce another. And one amazing thing about it all is that the interceptor the Navy is producing and the attack plane the Air Force is now producing are the same plane. Another amazing thing is that the TFX which the Navy calls an interceptor and the F-111 which the Air Force calls an attack plane will also be the same plane.

"The VAL is designed to keep some production lines which were to close down this summer in operation. What will this magnificent new aircraft do? I quote from Admiral Thach, page 7319 of the hearings:

"QUESTION: Can you tell me any mission which your new VAL can accomplish that the A-6A cannot?

"Admiral THACH: No, sir.

"QUESTION: Is it not also true that the A-6A can accomplish a great many missions which the VAL cannot?

"Admiral THACH: That is also true, sir.

"This is a brand new $2 billion program, illegitimately conceived and dedicated to the proposition that the Members of Congress will vote for any military program because they would rather be called soft in the head than soft on communism."

—Rep. Pike (D. N.Y.), defense debate, Feb. 20 (abridged)

We Need Those Lie Detectors In Washington More Than in Saigon

The Most Hopeful News of the Week: LBJ (and Russell) on Civil Rights

The most encouraging news of the week was President Johnson's forthright endorsement at press conference of the civil rights bill as passed by the House and the defeatist tone of Senator Russell's appearance on CBS "Face The Nation" next day. Russell's admission that Johnson can nevertheless carry Georgia and his complaint that "brain-washing" has brought about increased support for civil rights in his State indicate that while the white supremacist Old Guard may not surrender it knows itself defeated.

The President's press conference, the first of its kind in his career as a political leader, went off well and should cure him of his nervousness about facing the press. His English was good (we were guilty of unfairness and intellectual snobbery a few weeks back in a slighting smart-aleck reference to his prose style). His conciliatory remarks about Panama, his tamping down of alarmist speculation about Vietnam and his remarks about world peace were encouraging.

Less Hopeful Indicators

One could breathe more easily, however, if it were not for less hopeful indicators behind the scenes. It was the White House itself which stimulated press reports that an extension of the war to North Vietnam was under contemplation. Johnson's hand-picked coordinator for Latin affairs, Tom Mann, in private speaks a very different language from that which the President used at press conference about Panama. Mann expresses "tough guy" views more suitable to the era of "dollar diplomacy" than to contemporary Latin America. He is arrogant and simple-minded—the kind of American diplomat who feeds stereotypes about Yanqui Imperialism. So will Johnson if he lets the Commerce Department go through with the plan to interfere with lard shipments to Cuba. We have made a big show of humanitarianism in exempting food and medicine hitherto from our embargo.

At his press conference, as in almost every speech he has made, Mr. Johnson emphasized the awful power a President now has to "destroy 100 million people in a matter of minutes" and added "our opponents can do likewise." He said simply, "I don't think the people of the world want that to happen and I think we are going to do everything that we can to avoid its happening." * But a recognition of the brink on which mankind stands requires more than caution in our bipolar relations with Moscow. It also requires a new flexibility and a new magnanimity in areas where we continue to impose suffering on native populations (as in Vietnam and Cuba in frustrated stubborness.

Almost as an afterthought, in his press conference of February 27, Secretary of State Rusk let slip the truth about Vietnam when he said "no miracle in the North is going to suddenly transform or eliminate the problem in South Vietnam." But if the war in South Vietnam is simply a case of aggression from the North, an effort to impose Communism on a helpless people "struggling for its freedom" (our official mythology), then of course a miraculous shift in the North *would* solve the problem. Rusk's remark implies that the problem is local, deep-seated and not to be solved from outside. This contradicts all that he and McNamara and the White House have been saying about the war for three years. There are reports from Saigon that we are going to use lie detectors on the prisoners we capture there. A pity we cannot use those lie detectors on our own top officials at home. Do they really believe what they continue to tell us?

*** It is indicative that it was a Polish reporter, the able Zygmunt Broniarek of Trybuna Ludu who elicited this statement from the President and that the U.S. press paid so little attention to the answer.**

The Phantoms That Bedevil Peace

"New Communist advances in Laos that brought a strong U.S. protest on Friday, were touched on only briefly in the news conference. . . . Informed sources, however, said nothing very encouraging about Laos came out of talks held in Moscow Friday between Ambassador Kohler and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko."

—Washington Post Mar. 1 on Johnson press conference

"Vietiane, Laos, Feb. 29 — A neutralist military spokesman said today that a neutralist reconnaissance company dispatched to Phou Khe Mt. found no trace of reported units of Pathet Lao or North Viet Minh. . . . It was on the basis of these reports that the U.S. charged on Friday that the Communists had committed a 'flagrant' violation of Laotian neutrality."

—Same paper, same day, same page

"A right-wing military spokesman said Thursday . . . that six North Vietnamese battalions had taken part in the assault, though most military observers here were skeptical of the report. . . . Neutralist officers have been critical lately of what they consider highly exaggerated right wing reports of North Vietnamese participation in Laotian fighting. They have also indicated a belief that the right wing troops had fled their positions at Phou Khe before any infantry assault had been launched."

—New York Times from Vietiane, same day.

The Senate's Clearest Voice for Common Sense in Vietnam

"It is apparently France's purpose to work for a diplomatic rather than a military solution to the problems of the peninsula once known as Indochina . . . we should not spurn the participation. France has advantages here we do not have. Language, culture, and capital are hers. She could make good use of these advantages. . . . Our policy should be flexible enough to allow, even to encourage such exploration.

"Our policies need reevaluation, and central to this reevaluation is the defusing of Red China as a domestic policy issue. We must be able to discuss Red China as we discuss other nations, Communist or free.

"France is now attempting to draw the Chinese Communists to something closer to normal diplomatic relations. If this serves to better the exchange of information on attitudes and policy, then this will be to the benefit of all. . . . If we are to have anything like a peaceful resolution of southeast Asia, China must be party to the resolution."

—Bartlett (D. Alaska) in the Senate, Feb. 19.

Apparently Some British Officials Feared Too Many Jews Might Be Saved

(Continued from Page One)

other countries by flooding them with alien immigrants." Milton Friedman of *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, the only Washington correspondent who paid attention to these documents, commented "It would appear the concern existed 20 years ago in some high places that too many Jews might escape from Hitler and burden the democracies with their presence."

Neither Jewish Gospel Helped

His Majesty's Government in the same memorandum said it was ready to take 4500 Jewish children and 300 women from Bulgaria but could not accept adult males from enemy occupied countries in Palestine owing to "the acute security problem" and the White Paper of 1939, which severely restricted Jewish immigration to the Holy Land lest this antagonize the Arabs. The British were not alone in this kind of thinking. The same volume at p. 296 contains a memorandum from the U.S. Chiefs of Staff objecting to a plan to move 4500 refugees from Spain to camps in North Africa lest this "cause resentment on the part of the Arab population." From a Jewish point of view, it was not the Pope alone who failed the test of conscience. Neither the Gospel of Jesus nor the Gospel of Marx prevented their highest respective spokesmen from making pacts with Hitler. In all the great capitals, political expedience came before humanity. The whole bitter story still feeds Jewish nationalism. When our people were thrown to the furnaces, few really cared.

It helps to heal our hearts that a young German should have written "The Deputy." It is also a good sign that the play should have aroused such animosity—like a painful memory dragged unwillingly from the subconscious of a whole generation. The protest and the shame indicate that under the hypocrisy and the cant there lives on a concern for human and moral values. The crematoriums should not be forgotten. That one set of human beings could do this to another set condemns our whole species. There are savages within us against whom we must be on guard. The excuses of race and statecraft that are used to justify murder, and silence about it, now threaten the entire human race with a "final solution."

This Alone Will Posterity Remember

"It could harshly be said: It was not the highest duty of the Pope to rescue Jews. The Pope can't save everybody. But it was his duty to keep Christendom in a literal sense from going to the devil: that in the middle of his West, Christians should do Satan's work, with which not only Germany but all Christendom will be forever stained. Posterity will over and over again look at this Pope and wonder about his silence. . . . Just as one can already see that of the whole history of Hitler and the Second World War, only two words will remain in the memory of mankind—Auschwitz and Hiroshima—so one also feels that of Pius XII there will survive only the memory of his silence."

—Sebastion Haffner, writing of The Deputy *in the German illustrated weekly,* Stern, *April 7, 1963, quoted at p. 235 of* Summa Iniuria oder Durfte der Papst Schweigen? *(Rowohlt) a collection of German articles about Hochhuth's play.*

For the play as presented in New York, Herman Shumlin deserves a high mark for courage, a lesser one for artistry. His version is an oversimplified and sometimes vulgarized shadow of the original. Gerstein, Jacobson and Fontana are all debased from Hochhuth's original conception. In the original, the SS man, Gerstein, who tried to help the Jews, was not a hysteric. Jacobson, the Jew hiding out in his apartment, was not the vulgar creature in Jerome Rothenberg's adaptation. Fontana, the young Jesuit who goes to Auschwitz in protest, is also diminished in the New York version. But Emlyn Williams is magnificent as the Pope. Severely shortened, the play as produced also focuses too narrowly on the moral responsibility of the Pope while Hochhuth's original brings the German people into the full orbit of guilt. But to see the play is still an experience we recommend as a moral and political duty, though the play in book form (excellently translated by Richard and Clara Winston for Grove Press) is essential to grasp the author's full design and memorable intention. It is Hochhuth's achievement so painfully to have twisted the conscience of the Church and the world.

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Morse's Neglected Warning Against A Wider War in Asia, P. 3

Carry The Fight to North Vietnam? Hard Enough to Make Them Fight in The South

"Recent talk about sending South Vietnamese raiding parties into Communist North Vietnam is shrugged off by veteran U.S. advisers here. 'We have trouble enough getting the troops to fight in the south,' says one. 'What makes the Pentagon think they will do any better up north.' . . . In one typical week last week the U.S. military headquarters here tallied 2,800 actions by small government patrols. But only 3% of these made any contact with the enemy. . . . One day last month an L-D spotter plane reported seeing a band of guerrillas. A South Vietnamese army unit was nearby, and a U.S. adviser urged it to close in on the Reds. Instead the Vietnamese commander called for rocket-firing U.S. Army helicopters. Five of the aircraft, each valued at $250,000, were sent in to do battle with at most a half dozen enemy soldiers."

—Wall St. Journal dispatch from Saigon, Mar. 6.

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When A Nation's Leaders Fear to Tell the Truth

What McNamara's Computers Miss

"Most of the Vietnamese do not really care about the war; most of them do not want to fight. Under the circumstances this is understandable. There are numerous families in Vietnam without homes, and without a job. Even in Saigon there are people sleeping in doorways and on the sidewalks and begging for food. . . . In combat, when the Vietnamese do have a chance to fire on the Vietcong, quite often they refuse.

"There are some people who are profiting from this war. I have never seen so many colonels and generals in one place in all my life. They are living here at government expense, in beautiful villas with two or three servants per household. I have talked to so many who do not even want to go home because they could not afford such luxuries at home."

—Letter from the wife of a serviceman in Vietnam to Senator Young (D. Ohio) Con. Rec. Mar. 3.

Our emissary to Saigon, Secretary McNamara, seems to be as confused as he is confusing on the subject of the war in Vietnam. In January he made a statement which led people to believe that the U.S. was committed to total victory at any cost in that area. In his annual military posture statement Jan. 27 to House Armed Services Committee he said "the survival of an independent government in South Vietnam is so important to the security of all southeast Asia and to the free world that I can conceive of no alternative other than to take all necessary measures within our capability to prevent a Communist victory." This led many to believe that the U.S. was ready to extend the war in order to win.

Our "Options" Seen as Dangerous

But under questioning by the committee in closed session, he took a very different position. Unfortunately this was not released until Feb. 18 and was buried in more than 1,000 pages of testimony. The first time the matter came up was when Congressman Stratton *(D. N.Y.)* asked him, "Wouldn't you say that in the event that things do not go as well as you hope they will, that unquestionably we can't continue to withdraw any more of our forces?" This elicited a surprising answer. "No, sir; I would not," McNamara replied, "I don't believe that we as a nation should assume the primary responsibility for the war in South Vietnam. It is a counter-guerrilla war, it is a war that can only be won by the Vietnamese themselves." When Congressman Cohelan *(D. Cal.)* said he wanted to be sure "we are very conscious of other options that we might have to exercise if things were not going quite the way we want it," the Secretary answered, "It is the unsatisfactory character of most of those other options that leads me personally to conclude we should continue our program in South Vietnam." Among the other "options" of course is to widen the war by an attack on North Vietnam which might bring the Chinese in.

Later Congressman Pike *(D. N.Y.)* said he was "concerned with what I think to be a conflict between what we say about the importance of this area and what we actually propose to do about it." McNamara replied, "Well, I think they are in agreement and it goes back to the point I made earlier, that only the Vietnamese can win this war." He said it wasn't "artillery shells but the confidence of the peasants" that would "ultimately determine the outcome of the war" and he added that "doubling our military aid would not, in my opinion, substantially increase the effectiveness of their military operations." The question was raised again and elicited an even clearer answer later in these closed hearings:

Mr. LONG (D. Md.): If the Vietnamese war goes very badly, do you contemplate another Korean war from our point of view, our pouring in hundreds of thousands of troops?

Secretary McNAMARA: No, sir.

Mr. LONG: You mentioned before that this is an area we must hold at all costs?

Secretary McNAMARA: I don't believe that pouring in hundreds of thousands of troops is the solution to the problem in Vietnam.

These answers were supplemented by an even more sober reply from Army Chief of Staff General Wheeler to Mr. Becker *(R. N.Y.)*. "It would seem to me," Mr. Becker said, "that in South Vietnam, and through North Vietnam and these other areas they [the Chinese] can *keep sending them in for years* (italics added), and eventually the South Vietnamese, no matter how much they may desire to save their own country, eventually are going to be weakened to the point where they can no longer do it." The basic fallacy

(Continued on Page Four)

$300,000 Appropriation Moved to Floor Without Advance Warning to Avoid Debate

House Leadership Pulls A Fast One to Help the Un-Americans

In a surprise move that caught every abolitionist but one outside the chamber, the House March 4 authorized a whopping $300,000 for its Un-American Activities Committee. The authorizing resolution, $60,000 less than last year's, was brought to the floor only one hour after the Committee on House Administration had approved it. James Roosevelt *(D. Cal.)* inquired if "it was necessary to shroud this matter in such secrecy . . . because some Members may be ashamed of it." Whatever the reason, trickery of this kind is predictable and the liberals should have been prepared for it.

Burton Blocks Unanimous Consent

The measure would have passed by unanimous consent had it not been for the objection of freshman Congressman Phillip Burton *(D. Cal.)*. This was a fitting congressional debut for Burton. For eight years as a California State legislator he defended civil liberties against loyalty oaths and witch hunts. Last month, running against seven other candidates, he won his congressional seat by a majority of votes on a platform that included medicare for all citizens, conversion from defense to public works, trade with Red China, and abolition of HUAC. His San Francisco district with 15% unemployed is one of the most depressed urban areas in the country. Is Burton the first of many dissident voices that automation will bring to Congress?

Two fine anti-HUAC speeches, one by Ryan *(D. N.Y.)* and one by Farbstein *(D. N.Y.)*, also helped to redeem the liberals. Ryan deflated the committee with ridicule. He said only twenty-six of the almost 10,000 public bills introduced into the House last year were referred to the committee and yet it maintained a 61-member staff, the third largest in the House. Eleven of the twenty-six bills have been around for years. In its 26-year history the committee has been responsible for only three laws, including one to correct an error it made in writing the Internal Security Act.

The committee's main event in 1963 was to investigate travel to Cuba and pro-Castro activities in the United States. Hearings ran for more than six months, included forty-two witnesses and produced four publications totaling 632 pages. Ryan pointed out that when the chairman finally introduced a bill to ban travel to specific countries, it was appropriately referred to another committee, Judiciary.

When Injustice Is Not Unjust

In the Yellin case last year the Supreme Court for the first time reversed a conviction for contempt of the Un-American Activities Committee on the ground that it had failed to abide by its Rule IV which provides for executive sessions where a public hearing might "unjustly" injure the reputation of a witness. Judge Luther W. Youngdahl followed Yellin last week in reversing the contempt conviction of Bernard Silber who, like Yellin, had asked a private hearing. In reversing the contempt conviction of Frank Grumman, the Judge went a step further. Grumman had made no request for a private hearing before being called in public. Judge Youngdahl put the burden on the Committee to obey its own rules. He cited as an "improper" standard testimony by Richard Arens, then its staff director, to the effect that if the Committee knew a witness would be unfriendly it called him in public because then any injury to his reputation would not be "unjust"! Both Silber and Grumman were members of the American Communications Association.

However easy to ridicule, the committee remains a powerful instrument in the hands of racists and cold warriors. In the *New York Times* Feb. 17, Claude Sitton reported that the committee's files were being used to intimidate white integrationists in Alabama. This isn't the first time denial of civil liberties has been used against civil rights. In 1958 Chairman Walter took his red-hunters to Atlanta to slander white radicals and liberals active in the Negro cause.

Itself sustained by the cold war, the committee speaks for those who oppose peaceful accommodation and villify all who seek it. Rep. Farbstein recalled the letter the committee circulated among Senators during the test ban debate. The committee, referring to the lobbying activities of Women Strike for Peace, wrote that "excessive concern with peace . . . prevents adequate defense, hinders effective diplomacy, undermines the will to resist and saps national strength." Farbstein warned that if we are "to avoid a perilous future . . . we cannot cheaply dismiss any individual or any group of citizens by a slur on their motives." It remains the committee's one virtue to reveal more clearly than any critic the distance between us and a wholly free society.

Keating Protests Eastland's Seizure of Southern Conference Records

"I understand that the records of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., were subpoenaed October 5 at your discretion. I understand further that they were transferred to Mississippi October 27, ten days after a request by officials of the SCEF in the Louisiana Criminal District Court for a permanent injunction to bar removal of these records from the area.

"I further understand that on November 14 some members of the Internal Security Subcommittee approved a resolution to incorporate portions of this material by reference into the hearing record and to photostat it in full before returning it. That resolution was not brought to my attention until my staff specifically inquired January 27.

"I would therefore like to take this occasion to express my deep concern over the action taken. First, I question what federal legislative purpose is served by the subpoenaing of material already under review by a committee of a state legislature. Secondly, I am very much opposed to the subpoena of any records that are material to pending litigation in a state court. This strikes me as a startling violation of states' as well as individual rights.

"Thirdly, I am disturbed that, although a member of the subcommittee which has, in effect, ratified this action, I was not informed of this action or given any opportunity to express my dissent.

"Regardless of the nature of the group involved in this case, I believe the action taken by the subcommittee is most unfortunate and I strongly urge that no further actions be undertaken by the committee along these or similar lines without full discussion by the entire subcommittee."

—Letter from Sen. Keating (R. N.Y.) to Sen. Eastland (D. Miss.), Chairman of Senate Judiciary Committee.

One Day After Rusk's Secret Briefing on Vietnam, Morse Discloses Danger Ahead

An Expanded War in Asia Could Only Be Won If We Used Nuclear Arms

By Senator Wayne Morse *

When one looks at a map, and at the central position China occupies in relation to all the countries which frame the Indian Ocean, the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean, it is evident that it is China that is going to dominate Asia whether the United States likes it or not, and no matter what we choose to do about it.

As I said to the Secretary of State in the Foreign Relations Committee yesterday, those troops [in Vietnam] should be brought home. They never should have been sent there in the first place. American unilateral participation in the war of South Vietnam cannot be justified, and will not be justified in American history. As I have made clear to the State Department, this administration had better be warned now that when the casualty lists of American boys in South Vietnam increase until the mothers and fathers of those boys start crying "Murder," no administration will stand.

Southeast Asia Not Essential To Our Defense

We must keep in mind the fact that we have always considered southeast Asia to be beyond the perimeter of U.S. defense. Southeast Asia is not essential to U.S. defense.

China is the whole interior of the world's largest land mass. We are interested in preserving its fringes as U.S. footholds. That is as futile an effort as this country will ever embark upon. The concept of the Pacific as an American lake was possible only at the close of World War II when Japan lay temporarily prostrate.

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that China will embark upon the kind of aggression that Imperial Japan embarked on in the 1930's and 1940's, futilely seeking an outlet for her population and for her ideological designs. But that is a contingency that the United States cannot possibly prevent with foreign aid programs, military missions, by "showing the flag" with a few ships or even 15,000 troops.

I am completely opposed to increasing the scale of our participation in the Vietnamese war. I am opposed to it because American involvement in any Asian conflict is going to be nuclear involvement. I am satisfied that there is no other way this country could meet the manpower and geographic advantages that a Chinese-backed force would have. *I am permitted to say, within the bounds of secrecy and in my capacity as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee who individually has passed a judgment upon American foreign policy in Asia, that we cannot win a land war in Asia with American conventional ground forces.* (Italics added.) That is fully recognized by outstanding military experts.

New Policy Needed for A New World

"The world has moved beyond World War II. It is beginning to move beyond the cold war. When are the foreign and military policies of the United States going to move beyond World War II and the cold war? When will the United States develop a foreign and defense policy that will recognize that every event everywhere is not vital to us, and that even if it were, we could not put out enough money and manpower to control all these events?

"That is the foreign policy challenge that faces this administration. It is a challenge for a post-cold war, missile age international policy. It must take into account the breakup of the two dominant world blocs, and the technological changes that have bypassed the need for far-flung bases of the kind that were once needed to carry conventional war to two continents outside the Western Hemisphere."

—Morse (D. Ore.) in the Senate, Mar. 4 (abridged).

I listened yesterday to a briefing by the Secretary of State, which gave rise to this speech today. I say to the American people they have a right to a clarification of American foreign policy in Asia. They have a right to know what the plans of this government are in respect to Vietnam.

I am satisfied that this country would make the gravest mistake of its history by carrying a war, nuclear or otherwise, onto the mainland of Asia. What we might do if we were attacked was answered in World War II; but today we have not been attacked by any Asian country. Our responsibilities toward South Vietnam are no more than those of every other member of the South East Asia Treaty Organization. What joint policy has been worked out with these SEATO members for action in Vietnam? None.

The South Vietnamese government toward which we have exercised these unilateral policies is little more than our own creation. We constructed a government there in 1954, which we then propped up with huge amounts of aid and which we say invited American troops. The rationalization that our Government gives for American troops being in South Vietnam is that the South Vietnam government invited them in. But control of the South Vietnam government has been passed around within the American-financed governing clique until its association with U.S. support is closer than its association with the people of Vietnam.

*** Abridged from a speech in the U.S. Senate March 4 which the press largely ignored.**

India and Pakistan Only Taking U.S. Military Aid to War on Each Other

"CENTO does not exist for all practical political purposes, and Pakistan has belonged to it for only one reason —the U.S. aid she could get out of it. I have come to the conclusion that there never was a time when Pakistan would have fulfilled her CENTO obligations vis-a-vis Russia. And even the most obtuse must realize by now that Pakistan's membership in SEATO is rendered totally meaningless by her close ties with China.

"Pakistan has belonged to those organizations for one purpose only—to get military aid from the United States that would build her forces against her one avowed enemy —India. Not only does the United States not have any quarrel with India, but we have recently undertaken an expanded military aid program to India, which I believe is a mistake equal only to our heavy aid to Pakistan.

"India and Pakistan will string along American military men and AID officials to keep them happy, to keep guns and money coming, but they are going to put our aid to work strictly for their own purposes and not for ours."

—Morse (D. Ore.) in the Senate, Mar. 4 (abridged).

So Long As Rusk and McNamara Continue to Propagate Delusions

(Continued from Page One)

here lies in the words we have italicized. It is that the South Vietnamese war is an invasion, somehow run by the Chinese, when it is actually a rebellion by the South Vietnamese themselves. This was implicit in General Wheeler's reply:

> **If we can ever get the Government leaders of South Vietnam in control of their territory and their own people —that is if the Government leaders identify themselves to the people as being the protectors of the population, advancing their interests politically, economically, sociologically and every other way—there won't be any way for the enemy to infiltrate, because guerrillas have to live among the people. Guerrillas can't survive unless the people hide them. Mao Tse-tung has a thesis that goes something like this—guerrillas hide among the population as the fish hide in the sea. This is a very true adage. Now, as I say, if the South Vietnamese government can ever achieve this degree of control of their own territory and people, you will have no guerrilla problem. There will be a threat and this will be the threat of the regular North Vietnamese forces, backed by the Chinese. However this is an entirely different problem than the one we are faced with today.**

The Army Took The Same View in 1954

This clear-sighted view is characteristic of the Army. Gen. Wheeler's predecessor as Chief of Staff, Gen. Ridgeway, threw his weight on similar grounds against intervention in the same area when it was advocated by Dulles, Nixon and Radford in 1954. Unfortunately this realistic estimate was given in closed hearings and is buried in a voluminuous record. It is out of harmony with the demonological views impressed on American thinking by cold war propaganda. This has led us to see the Vietnamese uprising simply as a Communist plot, and Communism as an occult conspiracy with magical powers whereby a handful of infiltrating agitators can "infect" a whole population with Marxism-Leninism though these same natives can barely read the directions on a can of soup. It then seems logical to infer that this infection (like witchcraft) can only be stopped by burning out its source in Peking whence these diabolic subversives fan out like a corps of Fausts to seduce all these maiden minds.

The basic problem is not in Vietnam but in the USA. So long as these melodramatic nightmares color so much of American political thinking, there will be demands for extension of the war, though we can smash all North Vietnam and China with nuclear bombs without making the peasants in the Mekong Valley any more content with the corrupt and repressive governments we have maintained in power over them. This is no doubt what Secretary Rusk meant when he said cryptically Feb. 27 that "no miracle" in the North would solve the problem in the South. But such remarks are made *sotto voce.* Into the headlines which mold the public mind Rusk and McNamara continue to pour a picture of the conflict as an invasion from the North, supplied by arms from China. So long as they fear to tell the truth about the war, they cannot free themselves from the undertow pulling them toward its suicidal extension.

An Ambiguous Victory

Every newspaperman will be grateful that the Supreme Court has unanimously reversed the $500,000 verdict won by a Montgomery, Ala., police commissioner against the New York Times and four Negro ministers who signed a protest ad in it. While the case has been remanded, the review of the evidence in the opinion and the standards established make it unlikely that this suit will be renewed. But what of 11 other suits by Southern officials against the New York Times and five other suits against CBS for a grand total of $7,730,000—and what of the future? The decision held that "actual malice" must be proven and that the burden of proof is on the official bringing the suit where he claims a libel in "an otherwise impersonal attack on government operations." But what if the official is attacked by name, as was not the case in this New York Times ad? In effect the press and radio-TV are left at the mercy of Southern juries and the gamble of how the appellate courts review their findings of fact. The Anglo-American press struggled for centuries to free itself from the old common law which made criticism of public officials punishable as civil, criminal or seditious libel. Justices Black, Douglas and Goldberg protested that the First Amendment right to criticize public officials should not be made dependent as Goldberg said "upon the probing by the jury of the motivation of the citizen or press." The fear of long and costly litigation under this new ruling may serve to inhibit reporting about the South.

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What Moscow Can Do About Matzoth, P. 4

If LBJ Ready to Talk Peace "Any Place, Any Time", Why Not in Vietnam?

"I want this government first of all to be dedicated to peace in our time, and do everything that we can conceivably do, any place, any time, with anyone to resolve some of the differences that exist among mankind. . . .

"Q. One of your speeches at the University of California indicated a kind of hint to me that we might carry the war to the North Vietnamese if they didn't quit meddling in what you call a 'dangerous game.' Are there any such plans that you can talk about, sir?

"A. No, and I made no such hint. I said it was a dangerous game to try to supply arms and become an aggressor and deprive people of their freedom, and that is true, whether it is in Vietnam or whether it is in this hemisphere, wherever it is.

"Q. Mr. President, do we face the decision on Vietnam of the order of magnitude of Korea, for example?

"A. No, I don't think so. . . .

'Some of our people become very impatient. They cut the water off on us in Cuba. . . . Some of them have said—some of the men have even wanted me to run in the Marines, send them in immediately. . . . There are going to be these demands from time to time, people who feel that all we need to do is mash a button and determine everybody's foreign policy. . . . But we are not living in that kind of a world any more."

—President Johnson's TV Interview March 15.

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The Poverty of Ideas in The Poverty Message

In his address to the Organization of American States on the third anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, President Johnson said "Progress in each country depends upon the willingness of that country to mobilize its own resources, to inspire its own people. . . . Those who are not willing to do that which is unpopular, and that which is difficult will not achieve that which is needed or that which will be lasting." These words may serve as the epitaph of his own "war against poverty," perhaps his administration. Anyone looking objectively at his poverty message and his preliminary remarks about it on TV the previous night must conclude that the most serious obstacle to a real assault upon poverty in this country is the poverty of ideas in the White House.

A Cal Coolidge Democrat

For the new President's consistent restraint in foreign policy and his sober realization of what nuclear war means, we are grateful, as we are grateful for the determination he has demonstrated in the civil rights fight. But the poverty message is deeply disappointing. In this, as in his address to the Organization of American States, Mr. Johnson emerges as a kind of Democratic Cal Coolidge, with a simple-minded faith in free enterprise as understood in Country Club locker rooms. As a politician, he is showing himself far more skilful than his Republican rivals, but these are no geniuses. This is the conventional politics good enough for the conventional world in which our upper and middle classes are comfortably cocooned. But in Latin America, as in Africa and Asia, and in our slums, are smoldering crises which cannot be dealt with by trite ideas and campaign rhetoric. The poverty message is completely lacking in any big conceptions while the OAS speech seemed wholly unaware that the Alliance for Progress is on the rocks and there may be little time before a revolution in Brazil or Peru confronts us with a new and many times bigger "Cuba."

Where Were You Then? Where Are You Now?

We went to an extraordinary luncheon last week for an extraordinary man. It was given for Aubrey Williams by the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. He is one of those very few Southerners with the courage to be truly Christian in their relations with the Negro. Martin Luther King's assistant, the Rev. Wyatt Walker, said the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was born in Williams' backyard in Montgomery, Alabama. No one played a more inspiring role in the New Deal than Williams as head of the National Youth Administration. Now, in his 70's, he is still, as always, in the hardest fight—against HUAC. The luncheon showed that in a country which is constantly patting itself on the back for its recovery from McCarthyism too few are willing to stand up in the fight against HUAC. McCarthy was only another in the line of witch hunters which began with Martin Dies as head of HUAC in the 30's. For a quarter of a century this Committee has smeared and blacklisted some of the best Americans of our time. Its methods are the same as McCarthy's. Today in the South HUAC is being used against those fighting segregation. Yet at the luncheon it was pretty much the same slim handful, older and grayer, who fought McCarthy, who turned up against HUAC. Is there no way to grasp the silent by the lapel and ask them: Where were you in the fight against McCarthyism? Where are you now?

The simple truth is that reliance on so-called free enterprise has failed at home and abroad. The most bathetic part of Johnson's TV interview was his soggy tribute to the men who "head our big industries" and "are willing to get up at daylight and get to bed at midnight to offer employment and create new jobs." This may have been successfully calculated to leave not a dry eye in any house where elder statesmen of the National Association of Manufacturers were gathered be-

(Continued on Page Two)

Must Viet Peasants Go On Dying Because We Have An Election Coming?

(Continued from Page One)

fore the TV screen. But an analysis on p. 22 of the manpower report the White House and the Labor Department sent to Congress March 9 tells a different story. Of 4,300,000 new jobs created in this country between 1957 and 1963 only 300,000 were "full time jobs generated by private demand." Government directly or through its procurement, mostly for war, created most of the new jobs. The country's growth lags because its business system sags.

With One Eye on Harry Byrd

The poverty message represented LBJ's moment of decision. Here he had to choose between pleasing Harry Byrd by turning off lights in the White House or alienating the conservatives by turning on some new lights in our national thinking. His nervous disavowal on TV of any intention to take from the haves to give to the have-nots was advance indication of where the choice would be made. Johnson built himself a war on poverty plank for the campaign by putting together some second hand lumber at bargain basement prices. But the idea of a general attack on poverty, which Johnson took over from Kennedy's agenda, cannot easily be stifled. It is up to the independent liberals and radicals of this country now to spell out a program in big terms and begin to sell it to the country. If that job is done, the politicians will come along on poverty as they are coming along on civil rights.

New ideas and movements need also to be generated from below on foreign policy. Trouble lies ahead in Panama if public opinion cannot be taught to see that the perpetual privileges we forced Panama to give us a half century ago are anachronistic in today's world. Johnson here illustrates that well meaning commonplaces are no substitute for positive leadership. We are not living in a world which is guaranteed to wait on the convenience of American elections. We'd better stop expecting the stars to stand still in their courses every other November.

Nowhere is this more true than in South Vietnam. Johnson seems to want to hold the war in suspense, neither withdrawing or expanding it until after the election. Lodge likes the war because it builds up his "image" of the brave sentinel on anti-Communism's frontiers. The Pentagon likes the war because it is a testing ground for new weapons and a training ground for new tactics. If a few more American boys are killed in the process, that is too bad. If more Vietnamese peasants have to be napalmed with their women and children to rout out guerrillas, that too is "c'est la guerre." But it is building a picture of America as a lazy giant who is prepared to sacrifice other people's lives and security because it lacks the intelligence and flexibility to adjust to realities.

Yet all this cannot be laid solely at the door of the White House. The number of voices raised against it in the Senate can be counted, literally, on the fingers of one hand. Gruening of Alaska last week joined with his colleague Bartlett and with Mansfield, Morse and Ellender to question this whole stupid war; Gruening had the courage to call for our withdrawal. But the press gives scant coverage to these speeches and the country is indifferent. So we have the silly comedy of our Secretary of Defense in South Vietnam pledging our support "forever" to another of those here-today-and-gone-tomorrow "strongmen." This latest military miracleman is idiot enough to whip up a campaign to extend his war to the North when he can hardly hold a 50-mile perimeter around his capital in Saigon. From such folly we seem temporarily to be saved. But how long before we start slipping?

Reform At Last

". . . the American government was long opposed to aiding public-controlled industrial development. This policy was particularly noticeable during the Eisenhower administration, and was the cause of considerable strain in Vietnamese-American relations. It gradually gave way before Vietnamese insistence upon at least mixed public-private ownership of new industries."

—*South Vietnam: Nation Under Duress* by *Robert Scigliano (Houghton-Mifflin, 1964).*

"Saigon, Mar. 8 (Reuters)—Premier Nguyen Khanh in a broadcast to his nation, last night promised sweeping reforms aimed at rebuilding South Vietnam. . . . Private enterprise would be encouraged as much as possible. 'The government will sell its commercial interests . . . to private investors and establish a stock market'."

—*Washington Post, March 8.*

This should make it easier for the peasantry to buy some good common stocks.

Gen. Khanh Does A Swift Job of Pulling The Wool Over McNamara's Eyes

"Saigon, Mar. 6 (UPI) Vietnamese Chief of State Nguyen Khanh has been quietly carrying out a major shakeup in this country's military command . . . to reward close supporters of his Jan. 30 coup. Khanh's shakeup was disclosed on the eve of a new Saigon fact-finding visit by Defense Secretary McNamara. The reorganization was reported causing concern as the new Vietnamese chief of state had assured Ambassador Lodge there would be no such major shakeup which could interfere with the war effort . . . almost all the new appointments have been made for political reasons. . . .

"Qualified U.S. military observers believe in some cases the new commanders are as competent as the ones they replaced. But in other cases the military qualities of the appointees are unproven, while in still others they are definitely inferior. The most prominent example of the third category is in the vital 4th army corps, which is responsible for the southern half of the Communist dominated Mekong delta.

"The original commander there, Brig. Gen. Co is considered an outstanding officer by American advisers. Co was replaced by newly promoted Major Gen. Duong Van Duc, an exile general who returned after the coup which overthrew the NGO family regime. Duc's military ability is believed inferior to Co's. He is also considered by some qualified observers to be somewhat emotional and erratic. Duc was one of Khanh's closest collaborators in the coup."

—*Washington Post, March 7.*

"Hoa, Hoa, March 9 (AP) . . . McNamara told newsmen that he feels there has been progress in South Vietnam since his visit here in December. He credited Khanh's reorganization of the nation's leadership."

—*AP ticker March 9, the day after McNamara's arrival.*

Long of Missouri Takes The Offensive Against The Use of Secret "Mail Covers"

A Bill to End A Police State Practice by The U.S. Postoffice

A little known police state practice carried on secretly by the Post Office would be ended by a bill which Senator Edward Long (D. Mo) has introduced to prohibit "mail covers." The practice consists of recording all information on the outside of letters. It came sharply to public attention a few weeks ago when Roy Cohn's lawyer protested that his mail had been under this type of surveillance. Serious consideration is assured the bill by the support of Senator Johnston (*D. S.C.*), chairman of the Post Office Committee.

Used to Detect "Subversion"

Although almost unknown to the public, mail covers are frequent practice in the Post Office. Its Chief Counsel Louis Doyle admitted in 1962 to Senator Long that there were between 500 and 750 in operation on a single day. The number was probably higher during the McCarthy era when, according to Doyle, the practice was "useful from time to time in connection with espionage and subversion."

Doyle invoked two Court of Appeals decisions to defend the legality of mail covers. One, *U.S. v. Costello* (255 Fed 2d 876), held that mail covers do not violate the law forbidding detention and opening of mail. The other, *U.S. v. Schwartz* (283 Fed 2d 107), held that *postal regulations* are not violated when information from a mail cover is turned over to Justice Department.

Neither meets the issue squarely. Neither did Judge Archie Dawson in the Cohn case. He declined to dismiss on the ground that there was no evidence that the mail had been opened! It is obvious that the government by a mail cover can obtain valuable information without opening the mail. This is the kind of practice Brandeis had in mind when he said "at the foundation of our civil liberties lies the principle which denies to government officials an exceptional position before the law."

Let Freedom Ring
(But Make Sure The Wire Is Tapped)

"Freedom has been taking a real beating at the hands of Federal agents during the past few months. In September we learned that our military intelligence people in West Germany were wiretapping on behalf of a German intelligence agency because the agency itself was prohibited from tapping by the German Constitution. This was certainly a great example for the German people. Shortly after, there began to unfold a story of wiretapping at the State Department. The Deputy Assistant Secretary of State had through a 'misunderstanding' caused the tapping of the telephone of one of his subordinates. This was followed by the report that we are using a field-type lie detector on the Vietnamese people. A practice that is ensured to instruct them in the ways of free men."

—Long (D. Mo) to the Senate March 11 (abridged).

Like all clandestine surveillance techniques, mail covers should be banned as beyond effective public control. Mr. Cohn only learned of this through a tip. Not even the present Chief Postal Inspector knows the present extent of the practice. Any one of his 1,000 inspectors can authorize a "cover" and often do as a favor to FBI or local police.

Ironically, "mail cover" first came to public attention when a Senate committee found in 1954 that they had been used in investigating McCarthy. Now ten years later they are in the headlines again because of their use against McCarthy's one-time lieutenant, Roy Cohn. No matter to whom applied, they're dirty business.

Clark Questions the Right of Senators to Double in Brass As Army Reserve Officers

Mr. CLARK (D. Pa.). There is one more point I believe I should raise for the first time. There is a grave constitutional issue as to whether those holding commissions on active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States have any right, either to speak in a matter with respect to which there is an obvious conflict of interest, or any right to serve as Senators of the United States under the Constitution.

Mr. GOLDWATER (R. Ariz.). The Senator has just raised the question of the constitutionality of Reserve officers serving as Senators. I must remind him that I introduced a resolution at the first session of this Senate to call upon the Judiciary Committee to determine this question. I seriously resist the charge of conflict of interest.

Mr. THURMOND (D. S.C.). I am amazed that any member of this body should continue to bring up this question. In 1930, Congress enacted a statute on this very subject, in which it was held that a Reserve officer is not an officer or employe of the U.S. Government.

There is an effort in this country to bring about a sentiment against the military. I have commented today on a book, written by a man who is a confidant and adviser of Cyrus Eaton, Khrushchev's capitalist friend who wants to see this country unilaterally disarmed. The book I am referring to is called "The Passion of the Hawks." *

This man wants to downgrade the Military Establishment. The whole effort is to work toward disarmament. That is the motive behind this effort. Those who have been trying to impugn the motives of the Reserve officers are invariably, almost without exception, people who favor disarmament.

Mr. CLARK. In my view, the statute on which the Senator from South Carolina relies is unconstitutional.

—Abridged from the Congressional Record Feb. 21 in the midst of Clark's attack on the $52 million amendment which the bomber lobby attached to the annual defense bill over the objections of Defense Secretary McNamara.

* This book by Tristram Coffin, subtitled "Militarism in Modern America" (Macmillan: $5.95), which we recommend highly, gives a list of the 82 members of Congress who are Reserve Officers. The highest ranking are Major General Goldwater of the Air Force and Major General Thurmond of the Army. The Army has 34, the Air Force 23, the Navy 20 and the Marine Corps 5 officers in Congress. Mr. Coffin characterizes this as "an ingenious and almost fool-proof system" for organizing the political strength of the military. He writes, "The wearing of both the toga and the sword is plainly illicit and in violation of the Constitution" which says "No person holding any Office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office."

Easy Way For Moscow to End the Usual Flow of Ugly Pre-Passover Stories

Jews Worse Off In Soviet Union Than Anywhere Else In The Bloc

There is one easy way for the Soviet authorities to stop the flood of damaging stories in the Western press as Passover approaches about the difficulties Soviet Jewry has in obtaining *matzoth*. This is simply to reinstate the system whereby until 1962, and even in the worst days of Stalinism, the Jews obtained unleavened bread from State bakeries for the holiday.

It would also improve the standing of the Soviet Union in the outside world if *Trud*, the Soviet labor paper, would cease the publication of vulgar and scurrilous attacks on Israeli diplomats which seem to be an annual feature of this publication as Passover approaches. This year's article by "N. Ehrlich" is similar to those he has written in the past. If the Soviet authorities do not want Israeli visitors to leave behind prayer books in the few synagogues still open in the Soviet Union, they can easily make it unnecessary by allowing Soviet Jews to print their own.

Poland's Exemplary Record

One way to judge Soviet policy is by comparison with Poland. Poland, like Russia, has historically been a hotbed of anti-Semitism. Yet in Poland today the Jews enjoy a freedom that would seem like paradise to their Soviet brothers; it is not surprising that Soviet Jewry was not allowed to send a delegation to Warsaw last April for the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Ghetto Uprising.

The policy laid down by Gomulka after his restoration to power in 1956 contrasts sharply with Khrushchev's. In an official statement published that year by *Trybuna Ludu*, Polish Jews were offered freedom of choice among three courses: assimilation, the enjoyment of cultural and religious autonomy within the Polish nation or emigration to Israel. This has remained Polish policy since, and has been accompanied by an intense campaign against the survival of anti-Semitism among the people.

Each Communist regime in Eastern Europe seems to have a different Jewish policy. Yugoslav Jewry, before and since the break with Stalin, has never suffered from discrimination. In the bloc itself, Bulgaria, had little anti-Semitism either before or after the Revolution. In the bloc, the condition of the Jews is best in Poland; Hungary is next, then Rumania and Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union's record is the worst. In each case the status of the Jews is an index of de-Stalinization, and of the cultural level of the ruling bureaucracies.

Among the Russian intellectuals today, the fight against anti-Semitism is as closely linked to the fight against Stalinism as it once was to the fight against Czarism. It is indicative that poets like Yevtushenko and writers like Nekrassov are champions of the Jews—and are constantly in hot water with the bureaucrats from Khrushchev down.

The famous veteran Soviet novelist Konstantin Paustovsky, accused Soviet authorities in 1956 of anti-Semitic views "of a kind worthy of pogrom-makers." That this has changed but little is indicated by the kind of cartoons which illustrate a booklet "Judaism Without Embellishment" published last year in the Soviet Union by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. These cartoons are of the vicious type which once appeared in the Nazi *Der Stuermer*. This whole Soviet record is a disgrace to socialism.

From An Appeal to Khrushchev

"Many of us are lifelong non-believers in any religion. Nonetheless we believe the the freedom to practice religious views should be allowed Jews of the Soviet Union in the same manner that such freedom is granted people of other religious persuasion. We are concerned that the process of restitution of Jewish cultural activities has been slow. The journals and theatres of much smaller groups are more plentiful. We are deeply troubled that there should be articles in Soviet journals of many Republics expressing hostility to Jewish people as such and using terms such as 'vermin', 'blood-suckers', 'parasites' in combination with caricatures of Jews."

—From a letter recently sent Khrushchev by Bertrand Russell, Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians, Max Born, Martin Buber, Ricardo Lombardi, Francois Mauriac, Otto Nathan, Lord Boyd Orr, Linus Pauling, Albert Schweitzer, Norman Thomas and Gisuseppe Ungaretti.

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For the Real Face of Our War in Vietnam, See P. 3

The Only Way to Wage A Really Total War on Poverty in An Age of Plenty

"It is essential to recognize that the traditional line between jobs and incomes is being broken. The economy of abundance can sustain all citizens in comfort and economic security whether or not they engage in what is commonly reckoned as work. We urge, therefore, that society, through its appropriate legal and governmental institutions, undertake an unqualified commitment to provide every individual and family with an adequate income as a matter of right. This undertaking we consider to be essential to the emerging economic, social and political order in this country. We regard it as the only policy by which the quarter of the nation now dispossessed and soon-to-be dispossessed by lack of employment can be brought within the abundant society. The unqualified right to an income would take the place of the patchwork of welfare measures—from unemployment measures to relief—designed to assure that no citizen or resident of the United States actually starves."

—Manifesto on the Triple Revolution (see page 2).

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XII, NO. 13 MARCH 30, 1964 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Remember This Is Our Third Attempt to End Poverty

The President's spokesmen have now completed their presenation of his poverty program to the House Labor and Education Committee. They proved an impressive team. Sargent Shriver and Secretaries Wirtz, McNamara, Freeman, Hodges and Celebrezze spoke with an idealism and a concern which attested the high quality of the Cabinet Kennedy gathered and Johnson inherited. These were big men launching a big idea. The questions put to them were largely nitpicking.

Poverty has been put squarely into the arena of practical politics. But how fruitful this proves to be will depend on the way the program is shaped in the coming months of debate upon it. This is not the first but the third time in a generation that the idea of eliminating poverty has been broached in a big way politically. The first time was early in the New Deal when the Social Security system was established. The second was during Mr. Truman's Fair Deal when the Employment Act of 1946 was passed. It is urgent to remember that the compromises made on both occasions were crippling.

A War Which Could Already Have Been Won

If Social Security had been used as a means of redistributing income, financed by taxes on wealth rather than by regressive payroll levies on worker, consumer and entrepeneur, if it had established a guaranteed minimum subsistence for every American instead of a makeshift and inadequate dole against unemployment and old age, there would be little poverty today to make war upon. The radical New Dealers saw this clearly at the time but were defeated. In the same way, the idea of economic planning for full employment, which the Employment Act of 1946 was inte[illegible] embody, was so watered down in passage as to beco[illegible]ive. If that Act were working along the lines orig[illegible]nceived, the war on poverty would have been won two decades ago. So it behooves us now to examine this new program astringently, lest another historic opportunity miscarry.

The Johnson program avoids all direct attack on the problem. The program is based on the calculation that those 9.3 million families with incomes under $3,000 a year are living in poverty. Many breadwinners are not jobless but simply ill paid. One direct attack would be to extend the minimum wage to all workers and the hourly minimum to $1.50. This would make $60 a week, or $3,000 a year, the minimum wage. Another direct approach was touched on but quickly passed over by Walter Heller of the Council of Economic Advisers when he remarked to the House Committee, "Arithmetic tells us that the cost of levelling up all poor families to an annual income of $3,000 would be about $11 billion a year." Measured against the $50 billion plus we spend each year on war preparations or against the billions of oil, real estate and other profits which slip untaxed through the loopholes in our sloppy income tax system, this is no large sum. Paid out to the poor under such a minimum subsistence guarantee as is advocated in a newly released manifesto on "The Triple Revolution" (see boxes on pages one and two) this would wipe out poverty and quickly raise our faltering rate of economic growth.

Another direct attack would be by economic planning. Bernard Nossiter of the *Washington Post* in his new book, "The Mythmakers," a refreshingly iconoclastic survey of current economic realities, in one chapter provides the first account in popular form of the non-coercive planning methods

(Continued on Page Two)

Poverty Plays 2d Fiddle to Private Business

Washington—Federal planners have put together a revised prescription for curing the Appalachian Mountain area's economic and social ills . . . the lesser emphasis on welfare, a diminished Federal role and a turn away from the industrial cooperatives mentioned in the fall proposals strongly boost its chances, strategists feel. 'It's watered down, but adding water can make medicine more palatable,' comments an official of one agency . . . [Appalachian Region] Commission officials say their cause will be aided in Congress . . . by the concept of providing only enough public activity to build a framework for private business to function. . . . The initial Appalachia plan called for a corporation that would engage in over-all economic planning. . . . Now the idea is for a Commission . . . to serve largely as a coordinator. There would still be a Federal State corporation, but with quite limited functions. ***—Wall Street Journal, March 19.***

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Work Camps Will Not Wipe Out The Slums Which Stunt Our Youth

(Continued from Page One)

which have maintained a high level of growth and employment in less hidebound areas of the capitalist world. Norway, France and Japan have all combined economic planning with free enterprise in pragmatic mixed systems. This is what we were supposed to do under the Full Employment bill of 1946 until Taft, in taking the word "full" out of the title, took the essence out of its spirit. The idea of planning for full employment seemed too subversively close to socialism, a subject on which all we Americans have been brainwashed. Even the advanced intellectuals, some of them old-time radicals, who helped to frame the manifesto on "The Triple Revolution" to which we call grateful attention in these pages, avoided it lest it set the alarm bells ringing. The idea of economic planning is conspicuously absent even from their blueprint.

The Key Question

The key question is whether poverty is peripheral in our society or due to inadequate demand. If it is the latter, then some form of economic planning is necessary to deal with it. The President's program is based on the assumption that poverty is peripheral because only on this basis can it be fought with minimum disturbance to our dominant business class and its sacred myths about free enterprise. It is true that the Negro, the aged, the slum youth, represent special problems. But it is well to remember that when the government sets full employment goals as it does in wartime, then these special problems are soon solved. Neither race nor sex nor age nor disability is allowed to stand in the way as businessmen scrape the bottom of the human barrel, mustering and retraining every hand they can get. If aggregate demand is kept high by government planning and direction, all these human problems become soluble.

The worst features of the Johnson program are provisions which would subsidize the land speculator and the business man to get some increase in help to the small farmer and some increase in jobs. James Roosevelt for one fleeting moment touched on the realities when he said to Secretary Wirtz that he saw no point in "lending money just for somebody to set up a business when there is no chance for that business being a success." If goals are pitched high, jobs will be created and farm surpluses absorbed by those now ill fed.

This program does not even attack the peripheral problems in adequate fashion. Shriver showed how hollow was the talk of a "total war on poverty" when he assured the Committee in true Johnsonian fashion that it "does not raise the national budget by a single dollar." Our schools and our slums are scandals. The stunted youth Shriver would help are their product. The remedy is to wipe out the causes not to skim off the human effluvia and put them into work camps.

The Signers of "The Triple Revolution"

Donald G. Agger, Dr. Donald S. Armstrong, James Boggs, Dr. Louis Fein, W. H. Ferry, Todd Gitlin, Roger Hagan, Michael Harrington, Tom Hayden, Robert L. Heilbroner, Ralph L. Helstein, Dr. F. W. Herring, Gen. H. B. Hester, Irving Howe, Everett C. Hughes, Gerald W. Johnson, Irving F. Laucks, Stewart Meacham, A. J. Muste, Gunnar Myrdal ("in broad agreement . . . though not entirely"), Gerard Piel, Bayard Rustin, Ben B. Seligman, Robert Theobald, Wm. Worthy, Alice Mary Hilton, Maxwell Geismar, Philip Green, H. Stuart Hughes, Linus Pauling and John Wm. Ward.

A Program to Meet A "Triple Revolution" in Cybernetics, Weaponry and Human Rights

"As machines take over production from men, they absorb an increasing proportion of resources while the men who are displaced become dependent on minimal and unrelated government measures—unemployment insurance, social security, welfare payments. These measures are less and less able to disguise an historic paradox: that a growing proportion of the population is subsisting on minimal incomes, often below the poverty line, at a time when sufficient productive potential is available to supply the needs of everyone in the United States. . . . The continuance of the income-through-jobs link as the only major mechanism for distributing effective demand—for granting the right to consume—now acts as the main brake on the almost unlimited capacity of a cybernated productive system. . . . The major problem is not how to increase production but how to distribute the abundance . . . . We propose:

"1. A massive program to build up our educational system . . . tens of thousands of employment opportunities . . . particularly for younger people may be thus created . . . an additional 100,000 teachers annually are needed.

"2. Massive public works . . . to construct dams, reservoirs, ports, water and air pollution facilities, community recreation facilities . . . For each $1 billion per year spent on public works 150,000 to 200,000 jobs would be created. $2 billion or more a year should be spent this way.

"3. A massive program of low-cost housing to be built both publicly and privately, and aimed at a rate of 700,000 to 1,000,000 units a year.

"4. Development and financing of rapid transit systems, urban and interurban. . . .

"5. A public power system built on the abundance of coal in distressed areas, designed for low-cost power to heavy industrial and residential sections.

"6. Rehabilitation of obsolete military bases for community and educational use.

"7. A major revision of our tax structure aimed at redistributing income . . . an expansion of the use of excess profits tax would be important. Subsidies and tax credit plans are required to ease the human suffering involved in the transition . . . from manpower to machinepower.

"8. The trade unions can play an important role . . . (a) use collective bargaining to negotiate . . . for those thrown out of work by technological change. (b) bargaining for prerequisites such as housing . . . and similar programs. (c) obtaining a voice in the investment of the unions' huge pension and welfare funds, and insisting on investment policies which have as their major criteria the social use and function of the enterprises in which the investment is made. (d) o[illegible]ization of the unemployed . . . and campaigns to [illegible] white collar and professional workers.

"9. Th[illegible]e licensing power of government to regulate [illegible]f cybernation to minimize hardship and the u[illegible]minimum wage power as well as taxing powers to provide the incentives for moving as rapidly as possible toward the goals indicated by this paper."

—The Triple Revolution: Drawn up by an Ad Hoc Committee led by W. H. Ferry, of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Copies of the document may be obtained from the committee c/o Maurer, Fleisher, Zon & Associates, 1120 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.

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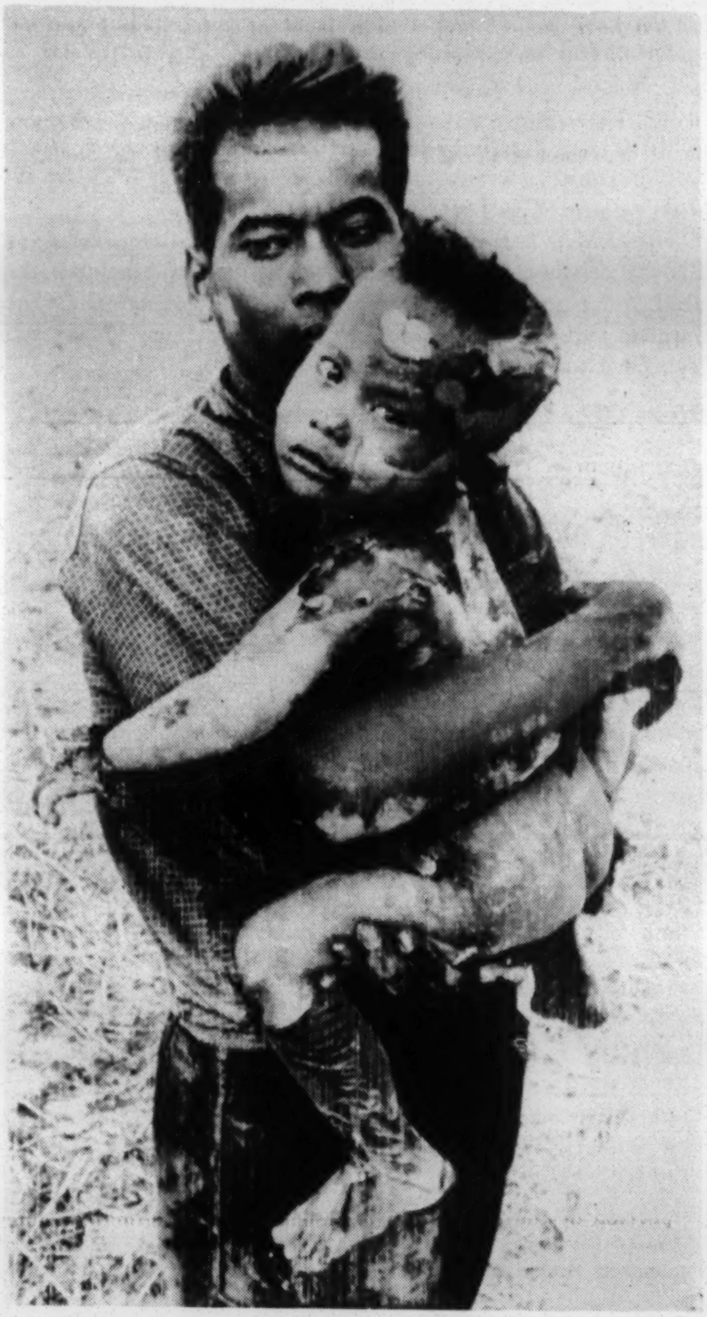
What We Are Doing to Innocent Villagers in Vietnam and Cambodia

Ordinarily the Associated Press will sell photos like the one on this page to non-subscribers for $15. We ran into a fog of double-talk when we tried to buy this one from the AP last week. Permission was refused, though for no clear reason. We obtained a glossy print through channels of our own. We think it tells a story every decent American should heed. This is what we are doing to the innocent in South Vietnam and Cambodia. The AP, early in our negotiations, wanted to be sure that we would not change the caption under the picture. Its caption said:

> **INNOCENT VICTIM—A Vietnamese child, body completely covered with burns from a napalm bomb, is held by father after rescue from Vietnamese village near the Cambodian border. Child was found in a plain of reeds after Vietnamese Air Force bombers strafed a village, where Communist Viet Cong guerrillas sought to hide among innocent civilians.**



The Right of Pursuit

The *New York Times,* in printing the picture, March 20 left out the reference to napalm bombs and said it was an injured Vietnamese child being comforted by its father after an air assault on a village near the Cambodian border. We suspect this was the *Cambodian* village which the Vietnamese with the aid of our "spotters" bombed on March 19. The U.S. now says this was a mistake. But our Vietnamese allies have long insisted (AP from Saigon, *Baltimore Sun,* March 21) that they should be "permitted to pursue Communist guerrillas a reasonable distance into Cambodian territory" and there, presumably, do what they do at home—burn out any village in which they suspect guerrillas may be hiding.

For this purpose, in addition to napalm, we supply "a phosphorous explosive, fired from artillery and also from fighter bombers" which "erupts in a white cloud, burning through everything it touches" (AP from Saigon, *Washington Star* March 22). "With explosives such as these," the same dispatch went on apologetically, "civilians are bound to get hurt." We hope the villagers, too, will see this as a kind of military traffic mishap. "The spectacle of children lying half alive with napalm bombs across their bodies," this AP report added, "was revolting to both Vietnamese and Americans entering a Cambodian village after it had been under air attack by government planes Thursday." That was March 19, the date of this picture. We hope you find it revolting, too.

Sen. Church: "Wars Against George Washingtons Not Easily Won"

Q. Is it your view that we are succeeding in Vietnam?

A. I'm not optimistic. If Ho Chi Minh, the leader of North Vietnam, is regarded by most Vietnamese people, North and South, as the authentic architect of independence from the French, as the George Washingt[illegible]f Vietnam, it will be hard. Wars against George W[illegible]tons are not easily won.

Q. Do you think the way out in Viet[illegible]o carry the war into North Vietnam, or even [illegible]

A. That is certainly not the way out. As [illegible]ook at the map, that is the way in. I would hope that we don't make South Vietnam a launching pad for another Korean War.

Q. Do you see merit in President DeGaulle's suggestion of a neutralist settlement in Southeast Asia?

A. If the whole of the archilepago could be neutralized, including North Vietnam, then I should think that this would be positively in the American interest, as well as in the general interest of all the people concerned.

Q. Do you think we can achieve the neutralization of South Vietnam so long as we are or appear to be losing?

A. It happened in Laos. It could happen in Vietnam.

Q. You don't agree with the official position that neutralization would mean giving Vietnam to the Communists?

A. Several neutral countries in that region are not Communist. Laos and Cambodia are examples. I thought we had gotten over regarding neutralism as anti-American.

Q. Then would you say the Geneva accords of 1962 on a neutral Laos are working?

A. It became obvious from the course of the fighting preceding that agreement that without it the whole of the country would soon have fallen under Communist control.

—Sen. Church (D. Id), Wash. Sun. Star Mar. 15 abridged.

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Though Death Toll 100,000 Annually, AMA Supports Tobacco Industry

Consumers Union Asks Total Ban on Radio-TV Ads for Cigarettes

The AMA is operating true to form. It sent a letter to the Federal Trade Commission urging "further research" rather than regulation of cigarette advertising. The FTC held hearings March 16-18 on its proposed regulations, which would require manufacturers to label packages with a health warning and advertisers not to contradict it.

The AMA letter arrived the day the Assistant Attorney General testified that responsible scientists had estimated the death toll from smoking at more than 100,000 annually. The Surgeon General's report didn't mention the figure, Dr. Hudley said, because it is only a rough estimate.

Press Still Burying The Story

This tobacco-tainted insistence on scientific precision has kept important information from the public since 1937, when smoking first was unequivocally condemned as a "health hazard" by a distinguished study group organized by the National Cancer and Heart Institutes. Following publication of their report, Harold Ickes accused New York newspapers of "omitting or burying evidence" against smoking. They're still doing it.

Mildred Brady, Assistant Director of Consumers Union, exposed this and similar tactics in her superb statement to the Commission. She said a 1962 report on "Smoking and News Coverage," published in the Columbia Journalism Review, concluded that while "newspapers have presented adequate coverage in the aggregate," they have left "the story so fragmented" as to create confusion. The New York *Daily News* distinguished itself in 1957 with the headline, "Cigies Assailed Again—Ho Hum." Mrs. Brady said that no major magazine has sponsored a health education campaign with regard to smoking except Consumer Reports, which accepts no advertising, and Readers' Digest, which carries no cigarette advertising. Among the networks, only CBS has featured programs on smoking—five in the last decade—and these have suffered from poor press previews and summaries influenced by advertising firms.

Mrs. Brady was the only witness who criticized the Commission's proposed regulations for being "far too permissive." She noted that only in Italy where all cigarette advertising has been banned has cigarette consumption been significantly inhibited. She proposed that advertising of cigarettes, like that of distilled liquor, be banned entirely from radio and television. She suggested that the Commission's rule 2, which pertains to advertising copy, be made as stringent as the regulations governing the advertising of new securities. This would confine copy to the brand name, the length, type and style of cigarette, the health warning, and where the brand may be obtained. "Surely, controls to prevent confusion in the advertising of a product dangerous to life," she said, "should be at least as demanding as those affecting the promotion of a sale that threatens only the pocketbook."

Another of her proposals worth promoting is the use of a state licensing system to control cigarette retailers. In many states, retailers have themselves sponsored similar proposals in their desire for a legal means to prohibit price-cutting. "Is it asking too much of the business system," she questioned, "that it support for the sake of the health of children proposals it fostered to curtail price competition?" That her testimony went unmentioned in the press is an indication of the answer.

[illegible] Accidentally Photographing?

"S[illegible]rities have suggested that the plane, equi[illegible]ally, would carry camera equipment and that a regular training mission would include practice photography. In this view, they might well have photographed East Germany accidentally after they strayed off course. If this were the case these [U.S.] officials said, Soviet authorities could have found the films when they inspected the wreckage of the plane. American authorities have been kept away from the wreckage. In any case, the Russians are expected eventually to produce evidence that they were on an intelligence mission."

—Henry L. Trewhitt, Bonn correspondent, in the Baltimore Sun, March 21, just before the three "strayed" U.S. fliers in that latest "routine training" incident on the East German border were released. Was this leak to prepare U.S. opinion for surprises at the trial? When will the military be ordered to stop playing dangerous games on so sensitive a border?

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Morse Challenges LBJ to Extend His Peace Policy to Vietnam, P. 2

Opinion Poll Shows Bigger Vote for Neutralization Than Extension of The War

A Louis Harris opinion poll (Washington Post, March 30) reported a bigger vote for ending the war in Vietnam by neutralizing the South than for extending it by air strikes against the North. On neutralization: 35% were in favor, 28% opposed and 37% not sure. On extending the war: only 26% were in favor, 45% opposed and 29% not sure. "Back of this reluctance to carry the military campaign to North Vietnam," Harris wrote, "is the added fact that no more than 3 in every 10 have been recorded as willing to risk war with Red China or Vietnam."

Apparently the six Senators who have spoken up for neutralization are more representative than their numbers indicate. If a third of the people are for neutralization and another third "not sure" despite State and Defense Dept. propaganda, it is clear the President could mobilize strong support for ending the war on the basis of free elections in a neutral South Vietnam.

McNamara seems to have other plans. A Washington Star editorial the day this poll was published reported McNamara had said "privately on Capitol Hill" that if the war did not take a turn for the better in about six months (right after November, perhaps?) it would be extended. The idea of first consulting Congress or the country does not seem to have occurred to the Pentagon's computers.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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What Fulbright, Too, Does Not Dare to Think

Behind the scenes, even more than in public, Senator Fulbright has long been a civilizing influence. He was the one voice in opposition at the inner Kennedy council on the eve of the Bay of Pigs. He has tried to inject some common sense and humanity into the boy scoutish delusions about the efficacy of counter-guerrillas which continue to dominate our bankrupt Southeast Asia policy. Now, in the stuffy, closed room of official U.S. foreign policy discussion, his speech comes as a welcome breath of fresh air. But judged by the standards of the outside world, and the world of the outsiders, the really free world, the world which is not chained by respectability to cold war clichés, the speech only illustrates how backward U.S. thinking is. Fulbright challenges the country to "start thinking some 'unthinkable' thoughts" but he himself does not dare rethink some of the basic "unthinkables" of our foreign policy. We offer a few samples:

The Tale of Two Canals

1. *Panama,* where Fulbright was at his best. Isn't it time we dared to think through the parallel with Suez? In 1956 when England, France and Israel invaded Egypt after Egypt seized that canal, we joined Moscow in forcing their withdrawal. Our oil companies did not want their relations with the Arab countries disturbed. In the case of both canals, rights had been imposed by force and chicanery in an earlier era. We allowed Egypt to expropriate British and French investors in the Suez Canal. We refuse to recognize Panama's right to a revision of the archaic terms of our own property in the Panama Canal. In the rest of the world this looks like a typical case of Big Power double standards, willing to be liberal but only about other peoples' property.

2. *Cuba,* where Fulbright is feeble. Even he does not dare ask us to measure our conduct against that of other Western powers. Holland in Indonesia, Belgium in the Congo and France in Algeria lost far more than we did in Cuba. Yet only a few days ago, without waiting for payment on seized Dutch properties, the Netherlands have resumed trade talks with Sukarno. The Belgians are supplying technical aid to the Congo. France has suffered from Ben Bella far more than we have suffered from Castro; three generations of Frenchmen were uprooted from their homes in Algeria. Yet de Gaulle continues to aid Ben Bella, who is much the same kind of radical socialist nationalist as Castro.

If de Gaulle had treated Ben Bella as we treat Castro, if he had cut off all aid and called on NATO to join him in a trade embargo, he would long ago have forced Ben Bella into the Soviet camp and brought into being a Soviet bridgehead on the other side of the Western Mediterranean, as we did by our folly in the Caribbean. De Gaulle would have poisoned his relations with Africa and the rest of the Arab world by prolonging a struggle against Arab nationalism he was wise enough to see he could not win.

We saw all this clearly—elsewhere. We supported the anti-colonial struggle in Algeria, in the Congo and in Indo-

(Continued on Page Four)

The CIA, Like George III

FULBRIGHT: I agree that an element of civil war is involved, but a very strong element of outside interference is also involved. Such facts are difficult to document, but studies have been made. A CIA commission has made a study of the situation. It has been confirmed that the source of much of the trouble is North Vietnam. . . .

MORSE: I suppose we ought to have some appreciation of the British viewpoint at the time of the American Revolution, when the British did not look with favor upon the French assistance to the American Colonies. . . . The fact that one group in South Vietnam is obtaining assistance from North Vietnam and another group is obtaining assistance from the U.S. does not change in the slightest degree the fact that it is a civil war. . . . We do not like the sources from which the Vietcong are getting assistance and the Vietcong do not like the sources from which the South Vietnamese are getting assistance. But it is still a civil war.

—In the Senate, March 25.

Some Myths and Realities That Fulbright Overlooked in Southeast Asia

Morse Challenges Johnson to Extend His Peace Policy to Vietnam

By Senator Wayne Morse*

The President said yesterday [in his speech to the AFL-CIO Building Council] that today finds us just where we were 10 years ago in South Vietnam. But that is not quite true. We are $2 billion poorer for the economic aid we have put into that area of 14 million people and we are an unknown amount poorer for the military aid we have put in. We have added 15,000 U.S. troops to the ante since 1954. Over 200 Americans have been killed there. Even so, the military and political situation has deteriorated.

We are there we say at the invitation of the South Vietnamese government. But that government is our own creature. We know it and the world knows it. One might as well try to claim that the Soviet Army is in East Germany only at the invitation of the East German Government. A puppet is a puppet, and South Vietnam has not had more than a U.S. puppet government in its 10 years of existence.

"Forever" Called Optimistic

The most optimistic American forecast for South Vietnam was made by the Secretary of Defense when he said that we would aid that country 'forever.' If the policy stated by the Secretary of Defense is the policy of the Johnson Administration in South Vietnam, then every President 10 years, 20 years, 50 years from now will find himself where Eisenhower and Johnson found themselves. But the price will go up every decade just to keep the U.S. in the same place.

The President does not believe it necessary to send Marines into Cuba. Why, then, does the President believe it necessary or desirable to send our Special Forces to South Vietnam?

We took a tiger by the tail 10 years ago and no one in high office knows how to let go of it. So we call that a commitment. What is really meant is face and prestige. We backed a puppet there 10 years ago and we are afraid the world will laugh at us if we recognice that it has been a flop.

There are no Chinese soldiers fighting in Vietnam; there are no Russian soldiers. The only foreign troops are Americans. Every time an American dies in Vietnam, the flag should be lowered to half mast over the Capitol, over the White House, over the State Department and over the Pentagon because those boys are dying in the execution of a unilateral policy that no longer has a direct bearing on the defenses of the United States. I am satisfied that once the American people obtain the facts about American foreign policy in South Vietnam, they will repudiate the policy.

President Johnson said yesterday, 'And that is why we must follow the Prophet Isaiah many, many times before we send the Marines, and say, 'Come now and let us reason together.'

Mr. President, when is the United States going to apply your words to Vietnam?

***Abridged from a Senate speech March 25 in which he took issue with Fulbright's support for the war in Vietnam.**

Low Blow and Lame Apology

"One would think that the State Dept. would recognize that it had been damaged enough by the application of the tactics of McCarthyism not to resort to the use of the same tactics. The Secretary of Sate last night in Salt Lake City out McCarthyed McCarthy.

"I find in the press report of Secretary Rusk's speech that he applied the word 'quitters' to those of us who disagree with our present policy in South Vietnam. The Secretary is further quoted as saying, 'That is what the Communists want most. Their favorite slogan is "Yanks, Go Home." Insofar as anybody here or abroad pays attention to the quitters, they are giving aid and comfort to our enemies.'

"The Secretary of State knows very well that he is using the phrase which defines treason in our Constitution. Mr. Rusk would not use these disreputable tactics if our policies could withstand logical analysis."

—Morse (D. Ore.) in the Senate March 20 (abridged).

"I was thinking of the mail I get at the State Department."

—Rusk's lame apology on Face The Nation March 22.

"American citizens, be they U.S. Senators or any other citizen, should have the right to make such protests without having a Secretary of State call them quitters or traitors."

—Morse replying in the Senate March 23.

Does Our Civilian Right Hand Know What Our Military Intelligence Left Hand is Doing?

"Moscow, March 27 (UPI)—The Soviet Union, in announcing the release of the RB-66 officers, asserted for the first time today that it had photographic evidence on which to try the fliers as spies. An official statement said the fliers were being released because the U.S. had expressed its 'regrets' and had given assurances there would be no more such overflights."

—New York Times, March 28.

Q. Mr. Secretary was the release of the two American fliers today in any way contingent upon public assurances on the part of the U.S. that there would be no longer any overflights over Communist territories?

A. Well, it is not a contingency (sic) because that does not lend itself to a condition. We have already indicated that we recognize that this plane was where it was not supposed to be, and we have also indicated that we have taken additional measures to try to prevent this kind of straying in the future. But this is not a condition in any sense. . . .

Q. Mr. Secretary . . . what about the Russian claim that they have evidence that the fliers were spying?

A. . . . We are ourselves convinced because we know what their instructions were . . . that they were not engaged in any mission over East Germany. Now, it is true this was a tactical reconnaissance aircraft as a member of a tactical reconnaissance squadron. It had certain equipment on board. And I suppose the Russians looked at this pretty hard. But I think I will just leave it at that, until we have a chance to talk with these fliers and find out exactly what happened because it is, quite frankly, a little mysterious as to how they could be that far off course."

—Secretary of State Rusk's press conference March 27.

"The President said he had given instructions to the Defense Department 'and followed through very, very vigorously' on the necessity for pilots to 'observe the corridor assigned to American planes flying over East Germany.' His purpose was to prevent another incident."

—Washington Post from Austin, Tex., March 29.

Justice Department Courageously Sides Against Expropriated U.S. Sugar Interests

Behind The Miracle of A Supreme Court Decision Upholding Cuba

Conclusions rather uncomplimentary to democracy flow from the Supreme Court's decision in the Cuba sugar case. How much more wisely men can act when they are not subject to the ignorant passions of the majority and when they are supported by a great tradition, that of the law! It is something of which we can be proud that, in the midst of the mania which has seized this country on the subject of Castro, the Supreme Court should rule 8-to-1 in Cuba's favor and against U.S. investors he expropriated. No elected official would dare hand down such a judgment.

There could hardly have been a more unequal contest. On one side, filing briefs amicus on behalf of the U.S. sugar interests involved, were some of the stuffiest and most expensive leaders of our bar. On the other side was the firm of Rabinowitz & Boudin, a team famous for its civil liberties work.

Et Tu, Mr. Justice Harlan?

The lower courts had upheld the claim of expropriated U.S. sugar interests to $175,000 in Cuban sugar receipts on deposit in New York banks. Those judges ruled that our courts have a right to treat foreign expropriation decrees as invalid "if in violation of international law." The Supreme Court was asked to uphold these rulings by the big guns of the corporate bar, concerned with oil, sugar and other clients who fear expropriation elsewhere. It must have been painful to them to lose 8-to-1 (only Mr. Justice White took their point of view) and to have the opinion written by Mr. Justice Harlan, a Wall Street corporation lawyer before his elevation to the bench. Even Holmes could not have been more Olympian in his detachment and insight (see box below).

Another marvel occurred during argument. The No. 2 man of the Justice Department, Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach appeared to ask that the lower courts be reversed, Cuban law upheld and the act of state doctrine reaffirmed. This ancient Anglo-American doctrine holds that the courts of one country cannot pass on the validity of the public acts a foreign government takes on its own territory. This was sound law but risky politics, and Attorney General Kennedy deserves credit for it.

To jettison this common sense rule in order to satisfy the anti-Castro passions of the moment would be to invite trouble. Only recently the U.S. itself argued the act of state doctrine when Swiss courts tried to interfere with our seizure of the Nazi-tainted I. G. Farben's American assets during the war. Expropriations for one reason or another are a common feature of the international landscape, by no means confined to Communist or even colonial countries. Our courts in the past have upheld the doctrine and refused to interfere when private suits were brought in past years to seize Mexican and later Russian Soviet assets in this country as compensation for property expropriated.

The Justice Department argued that decisions by American courts "striking down foreign official acts of state which impair American property interests will probably not be viewed abroad as dispassionate applications of neutral international law principles" but rather as "reflecting merely parochial American views partisan to American national interests." It said the way to deal with expropriations was by diplomacy. It cited successful negotiations with Mexico over seized U.S. agrarian and later oil properties. It pointed to the settlements reached with Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland on their post World War II property seizures and it said similar negotiations with Cuba "may prove possible in the course of time." A major obstacle is the State Department's fear of practicing the diplomacy the Justice Department advocates.

A Victory for Political Freedom

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and their counsel, Leonard Boudin, deserve applause for their successful defense of three students at Indiana University arrested under a 1951 State law "to exterminate Communism and Communists and any and all teachings of the same"—the barbarous language is that of the statute. Judge Nat U. Hill of the Monroe County Circuit Court held the law unconstitutional under the Supreme Court's 1956 decision voiding a similar Pennsylvania statute in the Steve Nelson case. The students were members of the Young Socialist Alliance, a Trotzkyist group.

A Supreme Court Decision Which Views The World With Olympian Detachment

"There are few if any issues of international law today on which opinion seems to be so divided as the limitation on a State's power to expropriate the property of aliens. . . . Communist countries, although they have in fact provided a degree of compensation after diplomatic efforts, commonly recognize no obligation on the part of the taking country. Certain representatives of the newly independent and underdeveloped countries have questioned whether rules of state responsibility toward aliens can bind nations that have not consented to them and it is argued that the traditionally articulated standards governing expropriation of property reflect 'imperialist' interests and are inappropriate to the circumstances of emergent states.

"The disagreement as to relevant international law standards reflects an even more basic divergence between the national interests of capital importing and capital exporting nations and between the social ideologies of those countries that favor state control of the means of production and those that adhere to a free enterprise system. It is difficult to imagine the courts of this country embarking on adjudication in an area which touches more sensitively the practical and ideological goals of the various members of the community of nations. . . .

"Against the force of such considerations, we find respondents' countervailing arguments quite unpersuasive. Their basic contention is that U.S. courts could make a significant contribution to the growth of international law. . . . But given the fluidity of present world conditions, the effectiveness of such a patchwork approach towards the formulation of an acceptable body of law concerning state responsibility for expropriations is, to say the least highly conjectural. Moreover it rests upon the sanguine presupposition that the decisions of the courts of the world's major capital exporting country and principal exponent of the free enterprise system would be accepted as disinterested expressions of sound legal principles by those adhering to widely different ideologies."

—Mr. Justice Harlan's decision in the Cuban sugar case.

Behind Latin America's Blind Oligarchies Too Often Stands Our Own

(Continued from Page One)

nesia. As long as it was somebody else's colonialism, we were all against it. But in Cuba when Castro dared touch the properties of United Fruit and Standard Oil, we rang down an iron curtain hard. That's something else we dare not think about.

Fulbright's Bravest "Unthinkable"

The closest Fulbright comes to the really "unthinkable" is his recognition that the character of the Latin American oligarchies makes it unlikely that social reform there can be achieved peacefully. But even he does not venture to say that behind the local oligarchies stand powerful private North American interests strong enough to frustrate even liberal U.S. policies as they did recently when they drove Juan Bosch out of the Dominican Republic, its first elected President in a generation, a man who was both a reformer and a democrat. The sugar and oil companies said he had to go, and he went.

Fulbright wisely asks us to look ahead and decide whether, if peaceful reform fails, and there are revolutions elsewhere in Latin America, we will tolerate or support them if they are not Commmunist but follow the Mexican or Nasserite pattern. He did not mention our bitter hostility to Mexican agrarian reform, or the Dulles veto on Aswan that nearly drove Nasser into the Soviet camp. Castro, too, tried to follow an independent or Titoist course, but we wouldn't let him. What needs even more to be said at this moment is that our Latin policy is turning in the other direction. With serious trouble ahead in Brazil and Chile, we are dropping hints that we are not as opposed as Kennedy was to military dictatorships. We preach social reform, but in a showdown prefer the bayonet. That way lies temporary relief and ultimate disaster. This, too, needs to be thought about before we find ourselves, rather than Castro, isolated in this hemisphere.

3. *China.* Here Fulbright makes China's abandonment of Formosa the condition of better relations. This is one of the most pernicious "unthinkables" of U.S. policy. When we deal with a subject on which both sides in the China civil war despite all their other violent differences are agreed, i.e. that Formosa is part of China, we had better reconcile ourselves to this as a fact of life. It is we who someday will have to renounce this distant island on another nation's doorstep.

Who's Snowing Whom?

"Gen Khanh is developing a plan for national mobilization of all personnel and resources in South Vietnam. . . . We will provide the necessary financial assistance. . . . About $50,000,000 will be added to our foreign aid programs as a result."

—*Secretary McNamara on NBC-TV "Sunday" Mar. 29.*

"Khanh's bold-sounding proposal for a 'national mobilization' . . . so far has produced no results except confusion among government officials and panic among Saigon's non-mobilized youth. . . .

" 'The Vietnamese national mobilization plan has been announced in Washington and written about in Saigon,' said one source close to the Vietnamese government, 'but that's about all that has happened. . . .'

" 'Washington has jumped the gun on this mobilization idea,' one reliable American source said. 'Washington is probably seeking American popular support because more money will be poured in here. So much has been written about the Vietnamese not being with the war effort that Washington wanted to show the American people they are'."

—*New York Herald-Tribune from Saigon same day.*

4. *Vietnam,* where Fulbright was poorest. Here he sees the picture askew, as do McNamara and Rusk. The truth is that we are not defending South Vietnam from an invasion. We are continuing the French effort to impose a military dictatorship and foreign control on a people with an ancient sense of nationhood and a deep longing in modern times for democratic government. China's desire for trade with the West, Ho's desire for trade with the South and the National Liberation Front's program for a democratic neutralized South Vietnam provide the elements for a viable settlement. But in this inflammable area, Morse, Mansfield, Bartlett, Gruening, Church and Ellender have been more ready than Fulbright to think the unthinkable.

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Special Issue: The Military-Industrial Complex at Work

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The Pentagon and the A.T. & T.: A Long Standing Alliance Against the Public Interest

How the Missile Makers Rob the Government

The missile manufacturers have been robbing the government blind. This, in brief, is the finding of a Senate Government Operations subcommittee. Its report, "Pyramiding of Profits and Costs in the Missile Procurement Program" (*Sen. Rept. 970*) came from a committee chaired by a Southern conservative, McClellan of Arkansas. It bore the signatures of a Republican as far to the right as Mundt of South Dakota and a Democrat as tender to the missile-aviation lobby as Jackson of Washington. The hearings on which this report was based were held two years ago. The long delay in filing it will lead the knowledgeable to suspect prolonged haggling by the Defense Department and the missile makers to cut this and soft-pedal that. Yet, to McClellan's credit, it emerged as one of the most critical studies of the arms business since the Nye committee inquiry in the 30's.

Still the Same Cost Plus Racket

The McClellan investigation showed that 30 years after cost-plus contracts were outlawed in the wake of the Nye revelations, virtually the same methods are still being used, now thinly disguised as "estimated total costs plus fixed fee." The word "fixed" is to be read in a poetic sense. If the estimates weren't high enough to start with, they can be revised upward. The more the contractor charges, the more he makes, since the fee is a fixed percentage of the whole. In addition, thanks to a new wrinkle in missile procurement, the less the contractor does, the more money he makes. The new practice of making one producer the prime contractor for a whole "weapons system" enables him to pyramid already padded profits.

This is how it worked in making the Nike missile, "by far the largest program for Army ordnance." Each Nike system comprised four major sub-systems: electronic, aeronautical, mechanical and automotive. The last, for example, was the truck on which the missile was carried. Each "sub-system" was separately produced and even separately delivered to the Army. But by making one company, in this case A.T. & T.'s Western Electric, the prime contractor, it could collect an overall fee on the whole job, though 75% of the work was done by others. Thus from 1950 to 1962 it took a 7.9% fee on $1.5 billion in Nike orders, or a profit of $112.5 million. But only $359 million of the work was actually performed by Western Electric. So it actually earned $112 million on $359 million, or a sales markup of 31.3%. It is not surprising that from 1951 to 1960, Western Electric's annual rate of return before taxes on average net investment in doing government business was 28.3%. If the Johnson Administration really wants to save money, it might keep the lights turned on at the White House some night and study these figures.

Why They Insisted on Paying Rent

"Much of Western Electric's Nike production was done at two government surplus plants, which under the ordinary method of doing business with the Government would have been supplied to Western Electric without cost. However Western Electric, instead of having the plants supplied free, rented them from the Government. Western Electric included the rentals as part of its overall costs and then charged the Government a profit on these costs. The total rentals paid to the Government by Western Electric for these plants amounted to over $3,000,000. When added to Western Electric's costs, the rentals generated additional profits to the company of $209,000. In such a situation, there could be little resistance on the part of Western Electric to having the Government raise the rent, because as the rent went up, so did Western Electric's profit, since the complete amount of the rent was repaid by the landlord back to the tenant together with a profit."

—*Senate Report on Pyramiding Missile Profits.*

Western Electric farmed out the aeronautical, automotive and mechanical "sub-systems." But instead of subcontracting them separately, it made Douglas Aircraft the "prime subcontractor" for all three. This gave Douglas a chance to do the same kind of pyramidal padding, and of course the more Douglas padded, the larger the total on which Western Electric took its overall cut. Douglas Aircraft farmed out the mechanical sub-system to U.S. Steel's Consolidated Western Steel, and the automotive sub-system to Fruehauf Trailer. Douglas then turned in a bill to Western Electric for $645 million plus a 7.6% fee or $46 million. Examination by the committee showed that only 17% of this work was done by Douglas. Its real fee was 44.3%.

The committee found similar pyramiding in the bills submitted for the Atlas and Bomarc missiles. General Dynamics/Astronautics earned a 178% fee on the work actually performed by it as prime contractor for the Atlas. Boeing's success in applying the same methods on the Bomarc are indicated by its average annual rate of return to stockholders' equity during the 10 years 1951-60 on government business. This was 74.3% before taxes and 35.6% after, an extraordinary return on risk-free business.

This pyramiding of profits was soon the target of criticism from government auditors. By 1953 the Army's Chief of Ordnance thought millions of dollars might be saved by buying Nike spare parts and components directly. But the civilian secretaries, in what the McClellan committee calls "an unprecedented action" gave Western Electric a veto over such purchases. It graciously consented to allow direct procure-

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ment but only for screwdrivers, pliers, anti-freeze and paper cups!

In negotiating with the missile makers, the Army depends for technical advice on its Missile Command at Redstone Arsenal in Alabama, which theoretically manages 21 missile systems costing more than 2½ billion dollars. "In the 18 years from the time it retained Western Electric," the Army, according to the McClellan report, "has regularly and consistently permitted the competence of its own technical forces at Redstone Arsenal to deteriorate." As a result it has to depend on Western Electric for the facts upon which to make its decisions.

In the Hands of One Army Colonel

As if to make even more sure that it could not bargain effectively, the Army put the bulk of its missile procurement in the hands of one Army Colonel for most of the last ten years, a practice "hardly calculated," the committee observes, "to provide the arms length relationship so essential for proper Government procurement." This Colonel was displeased when an auditor (see box bottom p. 3) called attention to the fact that in one contract Douglas Aircraft was being allowed a total profit of $1.2 million on a total effort of only $3,000. The full amount was paid without question. The Committee notes that the same Colonel is still in charge of contracts with Western Electric and was "distressed to learn from Lt. Gen. John H. Hinrichs, Chief of Army Ordnance, in April 1962 that if production of the multi-billion dollar Zeus [anti-missile] should be ordered" the Army intended to contract the program in the same way through Western Electric.

Instead of eliminating the evils uncovered by these hearings, Secretary McNamara set up ("think-tank" style) a high-sounding Logistics Management Institute, with a board of trustees drawn mainly from the universities, which gave it an academic facade. When we sent a reporter around to find out who actually staffed the Institute, it took two hours of argument before the names were angrily released. It turned out that almost all the staff were from industry, including Douglas, Boeing and General Dynamics. The committee notes sourly that as a result of "reforms" worked out by the Institute the overall fee on the latest Western Electric missile contract went up instead of down.

Just Helping Small Business

"As a matter of fact I think Douglas Aircraft has an enviable record of subcontracting and supporting the small business program. . . . If reasonable profit earned in the discharge of these responsibilities is to be the subject of criticism, then those of us who are attempting to operate in the spirit of the small business program are being penalized."

—Donald W. Douglas, Jr., pres. Douglas Aircraft, before the McClellan committee, April 4, 1962.

"The Douglas subcontracted work amounted to more than $495,000,000 for Nike production. Its total inplant effort amounted to less than $103,000,000. More than $209,000,000 of the Douglas out-of-plant effort was in the Fruehauf Trailer and Consolidated Western Steel (a U.S. Steel subsidiary) subcontracts. These two contracts produced profits for Douglas of over $14,000,000. . . . Douglas argues that important assistance to small business rises from substantial subcontracting. The subcommittee fully concurs that a much larger portion of defense work could and should be given to small businessmen, but it hardly considers Fruehauf Trailer and U.S. Steel as small business."

—McClellan Missile Report March 31, 1964 (and see box below on how Douglas helped a small business man).

Unfortunately the committee's recommendations are not as vigorous as its findings. The committee is torn between its observations and its preconceptions. The Nye committee 30 years ago recommended nationalization of the armament business not only to stop profiteering but to end the sinister influence of these "merchants of death" in the councils of government. Today the armament industry *is* nationalized in the sense that most of its work is done in government owned plants with government tools and government funds. But industry runs the show. The committee stultified itself by starting from the premise that "unquestionably this nation's great industrial might is best put to use in producing our weapons when properly motivated toward producing a profit."

How Uncle Sam Was Taken For A Ride in A "Redesigned" Nike Missile Truck

"Perhaps the most striking example of savings effected during breakout (the term for breaking a subcontract out of the prime contract and buying directly, to avoid profit pyramiding and to allow competitive bidding—IFS) involved the missile highway transporters. They were designed to carry several Ajax-Nike missiles or parts of the Nike-Hercules missile. The Government had ordered 520 of them from Western Electric. Western Electric subcontracted the job to Douglas Aircraft which in turn sub subcontracted it to Fruehauf Trailer. By the time the 520 trailers were delivered, with the addition of each firm's profits, the trailers bore a price tag of $12,000 each.

"The Government was finally successful in getting permission from Western Electric to procure a quantity of these highway transporters from firms other than Western Electric. It was agreed that some would be procured from Douglas Aircraft, and another lot at the same time directly from Fruehauf Trailer. The price on those bought from Douglas dropped to $10,700; the price on those bought from Fruehauf dropped to $10,300. [Notice that up to this point the contracts had been kept in the same "family" of 3 big firms—IFS.]

"In June 1959 the Government needed another 578 highway transporters. Procurement officials in the Pentagon finally made the decision that this relatively simple trailer could be offered competitively. Bids were sought from various manufacturers throughout the U.S. The winner of the competition was the Henney Motor Co., of Canastota, N.Y., which bid $5,304.31 per unit.

"Shortly after Henney was awarded the contract to produce the 578 trailers, Western Electric made Government funds available to Douglas Aircraft to 'redesign' the highway transporter. . . . Within 6 months after Henney was awarded the contract, the design was so complete that Douglas Aircraft was awarded a contract, in January 1960, to produce 100 of the new transporters. The contract with Henney was terminated after only 266 were produced. Douglas' price for each of the new models was $34,000."

—McClellan report on missile profits. This story had two sequels. The Henney company, which employed 300 to 400 people in its small town area, went out of business. In 1961 a contract for the redesigned truck was put out for competitive bids, and won by a Tulsa concern "which bid $10,000, less than a third of Douglas' price."

This, of course, is the religion of American business. Who holds to it need not be surprised to see the arms monopolists make off with as big a buck per bang as they can steal.

The Same Racket As in Telephones

The committee's first recommendation is for the President to appoint "a high-level study group to reassess the government's procurement practices." This should be apple-pie for our skillful armament wire-pullers. A convocation of stuffed shirts from our better heeled universities could well end up with a recommendation that the government stimulate private enterprise by paying rent on the Pentagon to A.T. & T. It seems to run the place anyway. Whether one studies the missile business or space contracts or satellite communications, or civilian telephone business, one comes sooner or later on an alliance between A.T. & T. and the Pentagon, with the latter as junior partner. This is what makes the committee's second recommendation so naive. This is that, maybe, we ought to regulate the arms monopolists as we do the utilities and the telephone business. The committee seems to be unaware of the fact that the system of profit pyramiding in missile procurement resembles the system by which A.T. & T. has long hamstrung regulation of the telephone business. In the contract pyramid, there is no "privity of contract" for the government below the prime contract, i.e., it cannot inquire into or revise the prices paid subcontractors and sub-subcontractors. In much the same frustrating way Federal and State regulatory agencies are unable to look into the prices Western Electric charges the telephone companies for equipment. The more they pay their corporate alter ego, Western Electric, the more they can charge the public for telephone service.

In this connection I would like to call the attention of the FCC, the public utility commissions and the Justice Department to the table at p. 39 of the McClellan report. The purpose of this table was to show that Western Electric takes a lower markup on its sales to the government than on its non-government business, which is almost entirely telephone equipment. But, in the process of showing this, it also disclosed profits on the telephone business much larger than ever suspected before. The table shows that its profits before taxes as a percentage of net investment on its non-government business in the ten years 1951-60 averaged 22.2% a year, and ran as high in one year as 33%. The rate of return supposed

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Boeing Warns Low Profits Imperil Defense

"Serious consideration should be given as to whether the profits now competed for by industry are high enough—high enough, that is, to foster the competition and attract the caliber of management, the technical skills and the capital which will result in the acquisition of the best possible defense equipment at the earliest possible date and for the least total cost. There is great danger to our Nation's continuing ability to protect itself if profits are established at too low a level."

—R. W. Tharrington of Boeing Co. testifying before the McClellan committee investigation of missile profits, May 25, 1962.

Boeing Company Profits on Government Business as a percentage of stockholders equity:

Year	Before Taxes	After Taxes
1960	65.1	31.2
1959	68.3	32.7
1958	74.0	35.5
1957	70.0	33.6
1956	66.3	31.8
1955	64.4	31.0
1954	100.1	48.0
1953	108.6	52.1
1952	91.0	43.6
1951	36.0	17.3
10-Year Average	74.38	35.68

—McClellan Committee Missile Profits Report, Mar. 31.

When An Auditor Went "Out of Line" and Objected to Exorbitant Profits

"This report has given the details of the procurement of a group of Nike launcher loaders. In that case, Douglas Aircraft, with total certified inhouse costs of just over $3,000, was permitted to make a profit of over $1,200,000, while with total certified costs of just over $14,000, Western Electric made almost another $1,000,000 in profit. The actual work was done by the third tier sub-subcontractor Consolidated Western Steel [U.S. Steel]. The subcommittee received in exhibit a Government auditor's report in which he was severely critical of the profit rate being taken by Douglas Aircraft. Col. Graham's* reception of this finding is indeed remarkable:

The Chairman (Sen. McClellan): Here is an audit report that says this fee is not reasonable.

Col. Graham: Sir, it is not normally the responsibility of an Air Force auditor or a Navy cost inspector to comment on fees.

The Chairman: You think he was out of line, then, in making the comment that the fee was not reasonable?

Col. Graham: I do not say he was out of line, sir. I simply say it is normally not part of his responsibility.

The Chairman: He was not censured for doing it, was he?

Col. Graham: I have not any power of censure over the Air Force auditors, sir.

"Col. Graham has auditors, lawyers, price analysts and technical advisers to assist him in arriving at prices that are fair and equitable to the Government:

Mr. [Jerome S.] Adlerman [general counsel, the McClellan subcommittee]: Did this (auditor's report) go through four, five or six boards?

Col. Graham: It went through two boards and my own office.

Mr. Adlerman: And nobody commented on it?

Col. Graham: I can't find any evidence in the file that they did.

"The subcommittee must conclude that something was seriously amiss at the New York Ordnance District when a comment of unreasonableness, containing the shocking figures that it did, would go unnoticed or uncommented upon, through various stages of review, all of which we set up as a result of past congressional investigations in order to close serious drains of Federal funds. . . . It cannot be claimed that this item just slipped through as an unimportant one, because this was a major expenditure in the most important program in the largest Army Ordnance district office."

—McClellan committee report on missile profits.

*** Col. John Wm. Graham, in charge of the New York Ordnance District since 1953; contracting officer on $2 billion of the $2½ billion in contracts awarded to Western Electric on the Nike missile; he "remains to this day as the Army's contracting officer with Western Electric."**

We Need to Know More About the Missile Monopolists Than Their Profits

to be allowed the telephone monopoly by regulation is between 6 and 7%. This is all it could make on its equipment, too, were it not for the device of putting it in a separate wholly owned corporation, out of regulatory reach.

Corporations may not have souls but they sometimes seem to have a sense of humor. In 1957 there was a conference at Redstone Arsenal to discuss a rising volume of complaint about Western Electric's missile profits. Its vice-president, Fred Lack, pleaded "that Western is regulated by the Public Utility Commission [sic], who constantly look over their shoulders. If the Government profits were reduced, the Commission might suggest that telephone profits be reduced." We had to go on paying more for missiles so we could go on being charged more for telephone calls.

The Military and Anti-Trust

It is a pity there is no other committee of Congress to take up the task of investigation where the McClellan committee left off and look into the influence of A.T. & T. on the missile race itself. Its influence in other spheres is documented, if not widely known. Senator Long of Louisiana, in the unsuccessful filibuster against the communications satellite bill put the whole story into the Congressional Record on August 17, 1962. He asked the Senate then, "Is the Department of Defense a secret arm of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company?" For 30 years the Pentagon has helped A.T. & T fight off attempts to break up the Western Electric combination and force competition in telephone equipment. The military bureaucracy tried to prevent Attorney General Clark from filing an anti-trust suit for this purpose in the Truman Administration and it helped A.T. & T. defeat the suit with a consent decree in the Eisenhower Administration. The Pentagon went so far as to slip private government memoranda to A.T. & T. when a House committee under Celler investigated this whole sellout.

As far back as the years before the first World War, parliamentary investigations in Germany and England began to expose the role played by arms makers in fomenting tension, suspicion and war. A corporation like A.T. & T. is a faceless private collectivity cranked up for one purpose only and that is profit. It is as intrinsically un-moral as an IBM machine. What part did it and other missile makers play in the fake missile gap hysteria before the 1960 elections? In the decision to go ahead and build a stupefying total of some 1200 missiles even after the gap was found to be non-existent? In the plan for a $5 billion dollar multilateral missile force in NATO, which has the additional advantage to the missile monopoly of blocking disarmament negotiations? What is their influence in the Pentagon now that we stand at a fateful crossroads? Down one road lies relaxation of tension and a minimum missile deterrent. Down the other lies a $20 billion anti-missile program which will raise the arms race and tension to new heights and force our cities to begin to move underground in vast blast shelters. We ought in self-defense to know more about A.T. & T. and General Dynamics and Boeing than their profits.

Multi-Million Dollar Free Ride Dept.

"Figures were introduced by the subcommittee staff showing Douglas Aircraft profits of $63,800,000. Donald Douglas testified that the corporate profits were only $34,000,000 before taxes, if consideration was given to costs unreimbursed under the contracts. Attempts were made during the hearings to get a breakdown on the apparent discrepancy between subcommittee figures and Douglas figures. Douglas insisted that the disallowed costs were specifically assignable to the Nike contracts. . . .

"The hearings on the Nike program ended on April 18, 1962. On April 27, 1962, the chairman received from Douglas the requested breakdown of the $34 million. The subcommittee learned to its amazement that Mr. Douglas claimed that the $34,000,000 discrepancy consisted of more than $23,000,000 in costs incurred in the development of the DC-8 commercial jet airliner, that more than $1,000,000 additional related to costs incurred in developing the DC-7 commercial aircraft, the DC-6 commercial aircraft, and even the DC-3 commercial aircraft. The latter was a pre-World War II airplane."

—McClellan Report on Missile Profits.

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Fulbright on The Cost of the Cold War, P. 2

Prophetic Warning From One of the Victims in Brazil's Reign of Terror

"This [industrial] development of which we are so proud has brought about no change at all in the living conditions of three-fourths of the country's population. Its main feature has been a growing concentration of income, both socially and geographically. . . . The majority of the Brazilian population has reaped no benefit. . . . Economic development has produced social results of an extremely negative character. Because of the anachronistic structure of Brazilian agriculture, it has led in many regions to a relative increase in the rent from land, thus rewarding parisitic groups. Similarly . . . a variety of subsidies—in the name of development—have very often put a premium on investments which . . . fostered a still greater concentration of income in the hands of privileged groups. . . .

"Over half of the Brazilian population gets its living from the land. If this sector maintains its present rigidity, every peasant movement will tend rapidly to adopt revolutionary techniques of the Marxist-Leninist type. . . . The imposition of a right-wing dictatorship, making the whole political structure rigid, would also create favorable conditions for an effective revolution of the Marxist-Leninist type. . . .

"If we are to avoid dictatorial regimes, whether of a social class or ideological group or rigid party machine, we must (a) prevent all forms of retrogression in our social and political systems and (b) create conditions for fast and effective change in the country's archaic agrarian structure. . . . Political retrogression will not come haphazardly, but as a reflection of panic among some privileged groups. . . . Where structures are rigid, preventing gradual adjustment, these pressures may create cataclysmic situations, leading to emergency solutions or preventive coups."

—Celso Furtado, then Minister of Economic Planning under Goulart, now banned from politics by the military, writing in Foreign Affairs, *April 1963.*

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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A New *Alianza* — for Reaction and Revolution

The attitude of the American government on Brazil is a tragedy. In the gigantic struggle now underway between Moscow and Peking for leadership of the revolutionary movement in the colonial world, our government's blind folly aids the Chinese. As Maurice Duverger wrote in an article "End of 'Kennedyism'?" in *Le Monde* April 10, the overthrow of Goulart helps one understand "why Marx wrote a century ago that ruling classes would never accept without violence the loss of their privileges." In a world of thermonuclear weapons, peace is a necessity and peaceful reform its corollary. Revolutionary uprisings in Latin America will poison the atmosphere of politics at home and abroad, making humane policy less likely. The world is sick of hatred and killing, whether among nations, races or classes; the embers have barely cooled in Auschwitz and Hiroshima. Yet now we have made the dispossessed in Brazil and elsewhere feel that their misery cannot be ended without bloodshed. The Kennedy Administration, for all its failings, at least gave them some hope. President Johnson had best stop now and realize that he is extinguishing it.

Even A Token Land Reform

The nature of the new Brazilian regime was made unmistakable by the first act of its military chief, Gen. Branco. This was to cancel Goulart's land reform decree. It would have affected only some 3 percent of Brazil's privately owned land. It was based (*London Financial Times,* April 2) on an unused law 22 years old which allowed the government to requisition land up to 6 miles on either side of all roads, railways and canals. It was the only legal device available to Goulart. It was not more than a token gesture in a country where 60% of the people depend on farming for their livelihood but 8% of the landowners own 75% of the tilled land. For years we have been preaching agrarian reform to Latin America. Now we support a military regime which has blocked its first beginnings in Brazil. Last July when the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies was within reach of an agreement on broader measures of land reform, two extreme right wing parties blocked it. The leaders of those parties, Governor Lacerda of Guanabara and Gov. de Barros of Sao Paulo were the chief civilian architects of the anti-Goulart uprising and are now the favorites of U.S. policy. The Roman Catholic Bishops of Brazil issued a collective statement last July in favor of agrarian reform, declaring that payment in bonds rather than cash would not be a violation of property rights. But Goulart's message to Congress March 15 asking a constitutional amendment authorizing such payment was among the excuses for the military take-over.

Scholar-Statesman at Work

Mr. John SCALI (ABC State Dept Corr): Do you think that what happened in Brazil advanced the cause of democracy in the Western Hemisphere?

Mr. McGeorge BUNDY (Spec. Asst. to the President for International Security Affairs): Yes, I do.

—On ABC-TV's Issues and Answers, April 5.

The constitutional reforms Goulart proposed to Congress would have created a more democratic Brazil. He asked that the literacy test on the right to vote be lifted and that in the Army the non-commissioned officers and privates be given the same right of the ballot now enjoyed only by the officers. Today Brazil though a nation of close to 80 millions has a Congress elected by 11 million. The privileged were especially reluctant to see the vote extended to the lower ranks of the

(Continued on Page Four)

A Second Great Speech by Fulbright: The Cold War in American Life

"Too Much To Pay For Life in a Honky-Tonk"

By Senator William Fulbright *

Of all the changes wrought in American life by the cold war, the most important by far, in my opinion, has been the massive diversion of energy and resources from the creative pursuits of civilized society to the conduct of a costly and interminable struggle for world power. The result has been accumulating neglect of those things which bring happiness and beauty and fulfillment into our lives.

The cold war has put a premium on avoiding innovation at home because new programs involve controversy as well as expense and it is felt that we cannot afford domestic division at a time when external challenges require us to maintain the highest possible degree of national unity. This is the price that we have been paying for the cold war, and it has been a high price indeed.

The Consent of the Misgoverned

At least as striking as the inversion of priorities which the cold war has enforced upon American life is the readiness with which the American people have consented to defer programs for their welfare and happiness in favor of costly military and space programs. Indeed, if the Congress accurately reflects the temper of the country, then the American people are not only willing, they are eager, to sacrifice education and urban renewal and public health programs—to say nothing of foreign aid—to the requirements of the Armed Forces and the space agency. I sometimes suspect that in its zeal for armaments, the Congress tends to overrepresent those of our citizens who are extraordinarily agitated about national security and vigorous about making their agitation known.

Without becoming militarist in the sense of committing themselves to the military virtues as standards of personal behavior, the American people have nonetheless come to place great—and, in my opinion, excessive—faith in military solutions to political problems. We are permitting the vast Military Establishment largely to run itself, to determine its own needs, and to tell us what sacrifices are expected of us.

A Malady That Outlived McCarthy

"The fears and passions of ideological conflict have diverted the minds and energies of our people from the constructive tasks of a free society to a morbid preoccupation with the dangers of Communist aggression abroad and subversion and disloyalty at home. The problem did not end with the McCarthy era of a decade ago nor is it confined to the neurotic fantasies of today's radical right. The cold war malady affects a much broader spectrum of American society. It affects millions of sensible and intelligent citizens whose genuine concern with national security has persuaded them that the prosecution of the cold war is our only truly essential national responsibility."

—Sen. Fulbright at the U. of North Carolina, Apr. 5.

The abnegation of responsibility by the Congress in this field is strikingly illustrated by its debates or, more accurately, nondebates, on the defense budget. When, for example, Senator McGovern, of South Dakota, suggested last September that defense spending might be reduced by five percent, the Senate, with virtually no discussion, voted the McGovern amendment down by a vote of 70 to 2. Again this year, Congress is speeding the enactment of the Defense budget with splendid indifference to its size and content.

Many Americans may regard huge military and space programs as the only truly urgent requirements on our national agenda, but it is difficult to believe that this enthusiasm is shared by the 4.2 million Americans who are unemployed or by the 30 million Americans who have incomes of less than $3,000 a year.

The cold war has diverted us from problems both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative problem is essentially to devise ways of elevating the one-fifth of our people who live in poverty to the level of the four-fifths who live in greater material abundance than any other society in human history. While the attention and energy of our public policy have been focused through these postwar years on crises in Berlin and Cuba and the Far East, America has been more and more taking on the physical appearance and the cultural atmosphere of a honky-tonk of continental proportions.

FCC Chairman Says TV More Concerned With Its Commercials Than Its Freedom

"During the past year the Commission renewed the licenses of the Pacifica Foundation radio stations which had been on deferred status for over three years. Complaints originally came to the Commission from several sources and varied from disgust over allegedly obscene programming to charges of the possible affiliation of key personnel with the Communist Party.

"When a regulatory agency is called upon to handle allegedly obscene communists, it indeed has a hot potato on its hands. The Pacifica potato was admittedly handled gingerly for too many months, but I am proud that the Commission showed its calluses while I was its Chairman. It issued a forceful, broad-gauged opinion clearing Pacifica of the charges levied against it. In my judgment, this action will stand as a bulwark against the enemies of free broadcasting and free speech.

"At every public meeting of broadcasters I have attended, a speaker has only to declare himself in favor of "freedom" to be rewarded by an automatic burst of applause. If ever there was a time when the freedom of broadcasting was at stake, this was it. Who took action in this case?

"Which State Association sent delegations to Congress charging that the FCC had deferred the Pacifica licenses for an unwarranted period and was operating outside its jurisdiction? Which of you wrote me a letter urging the Commission to dismiss these charges and to reaffirm the Commission's time-honored adherence to the principles of free broadcasting?

"When you display more interest in defending your freedom to suffocate the public with commercials than in upholding your freedom to provide provocative variety—when you cry "Censorship!" and call for faith in the founding fathers only to protect your balance sheet—when you remain silent in the face of a threat which could shake the first amendment's proud oak to its very roots—you tarnish the ideals enshrined in the Constitution."

—FCC Chairman William Henry to the National Association of Broadcasters, April 7 (abridged).

***Abridged from an address delivered April 5 at the University of North Carolina 1964 Symposium, "Arms and the Man: National Security and the Aims of a Free Society."**

Mississippi Appealed to Black's Dissent in the Case of A Negro Communist

Ironic Aspects of the Supreme Court's Decision in Barnett Contempt Case

From a Negro point of view the Supreme Court's decision in the Barnett case must seem another example of how the law somehow bends to the white man. Though the Court 5-to-4 upheld the right to try Governor Barnett and Lt. Gov. Johnson of Mississippi for criminal contempt without a jury, it warned in a footnote that the conviction might be reversed if the penalty imposed were not a "petty" one.

In the perspective of the long struggle to end summary trial without a jury of criminal contempts, this was a gain. For the first time there seems to be a majority on the Court prepared to uphold trial by jury in criminal contempts where substantial penalties are imposed. Negroes may note bitterly that this swing toward the liberal side came in the case of a Mississippi governor whose defiance of Federal law cost two deaths and risked the life of James Meredith.

Red Menace But . . .

The pleadings by the State of Mississippi make curious reading. On the one hand its Attorney General, Joe T. Patterson, invoked the Red menace. If the U.S. may punish the State, he argued, "by unlawfully impeaching, pauperizing and imprisoning the Governor, we need not wait for Communism to destroy our great Constitution." On the other hand, he appealed to Mr. Justice Black's reasoning in a dissent six years ago on behalf of two Communists, one of them a Negro, Henry Winston, who lost his sight under prison treatment.

In that case, *Green v. U.S.*, a majority 5-to-4 upheld 3-year sentences for criminal contempt without a jury trial on Winston and Gil Green for their flight from a Smith Act conviction. Black argued that convictions for criminal contempt without a jury trial were unconstitutional. He led a dissenting minority of four liberals again in defense of Barnett. But this time there was a difference in the outcome. The same majority (except for White) which was willing to uphold a 3-year sentence on the two Communists now warns that it will reverse sentence on Barnett and Johnson unless it is a minor penalty. Otherwise there must be a jury trial.

On this issue Mississippi invoked the history of labor's long fight against "government by injunction." The story of how a Federal judge broke the Pullman strike in 1895 and sent its leader, the Socialist Debs, to jail without a trial is retold in Mississippi's brief with an indignation that comes strangely from the State where labor's rights to this day are least respected.

None of this was really relevant. Nowhere did the pleadings or the court touch on the essential realities. Barnett and Johnson were far more guilty than Green and Winston of conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence. This was rebellion and Barnett should have been jailed under martial law. In leaving defiance, weakly, to the courts and contempt citation, the government got entangled in the jury trial issue, which was confusing and misleading.

Trial by jury derived from the idea of preventing feudal class oppression by letting a man be judged by his "peers," i.e. his own class. The jury system breaks down where (1) a dominant white majority is determined to oppress a Negro minority and (2) the case involves not enforcement of criminal law but of racial justice. Before a jury of his peers, Barnett was sure of acquittal. Even under this ruling, after some light penalty, he will get away, literally, with murder and emerge a hero.

Better Speak Up Now

Two hundred women from 25 States came to Washington last week to lobby for peace in Vietnam, and heard Senator Gruening (D. Alaska) tell them it is time the U.S. got out of a civil war we should never have entered in the first place. All the polls show the handful of Senators like Gruening who call for peace speak for substantial, perhaps majority, opinion. But unless other organizations follow the example of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and begin sending delegations here, we may plunge further into this war. A Wall St. Journal story (April 13) says the U.S. is already arming the South Vietnamese with bombers that can reach Hanoi and that the decision to let them loose will depend on how the White House sizes up the effect on the election. The Khanh regime is fast falling apart, and the alternative to a negotiated peace is full-scale U.S. entrance into the war. Now's the time to speak up.

How Red Herring and Racism Were Dragged In Against the Landrum (Anti-Poverty) Bill

Mr. REUTHER (UAW): The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. . . . In 1953 the richest 1% of the nation's families got 24% of the family income. In 1955 they got 26%; in 1961, 28%.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN (R. N.J.): You can advocate sharing the wealth, Mr. Reuther, but that will not get us to the problem of discussing this bill this morning.

Mr. REUTHER: I am not advocating sharing the wealth. This whole question of how we learn to share abundance is the key to the future of our society.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN: I found his statement to be extremely provocative. It smacked to me of socialism, and perhaps this Landrum bill with its billion dollar expenditure will be one small step in that direction.

Mr. REUTHER: I would like to be invited back, if you will give me enough time to have a philosophical discussion about what socialism is. It is quite obvious that you don't understand what socialism is.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN: Is it your feeling that this Landrum bill should be aimed primarily at alleviating the problems of the Negroes?

Mr. REUTHER: Obviously the fight against poverty should be color-blind. But the Negroes, because they have been discriminated against more than any other group, would get a larger benefit out of this because they are the victims of poverty more than any other group.

Mr. LANDRUM (D. Ga): I want to have it clearly understood with reference to this bill under my name, and I am proud to have my name upon it, any assistance that it might be providing towards the Negro race is a source of pride to me. I come from a section of the country that has been bombarded with a great deal of demagoguery. There are many, many Negroes in the country who are poor.

I join the distinguished labor leader here, with whom I have disagreed on many points. I join him in saying that this effort to remove poverty from the American scene must be color blind.

—Before the Senate Educ. & Labor Com., Apr. 9 (abr.).

The Regime We Hailed as Constitutional Is A Reign of Terror

(Continued from Page One)

armed forces which had developed (as *The Times* of London noted in an editorial April 2) "a strong sense of kinship with the civilian labor movement, increasingly frustrated by economic development which seems always to enrich those who already have enough without doing much for those who have almost nothing." Even with the restricted franchise, when Goulart 16 months ago put to a plebiscite the question of restoring strong presidential powers, he won 9 to 1 over the same military and right wing opposition which has overthrown him. These are the men we praise as defenders of democracy.

Not Smart Politics

Our national leadership must look pretty poor to sophisticated Latin Americans. Why the rush to approve the Brazilian coup d'etat before the situation had clarified? There seem to have been two counter-revolutions. The first was the overthrow of Goulart and his replacement by the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Senhor Mazzili. This could be disguised as constitutional, if you overlooked the fact that the military had deposed the President. This revolt was followed in a few days by a second one, when the Congress refused to grant sweeping purge powers asked of it by the military and Lacerda's extreme right wing party. The first revolt had the support of centrist and moderate right parties. The second did not. The regime as it emerged from the second revolution has the support only of the extreme right and the military. It is so rigid that it is bound to defeat itself. Shrewder middle of the road politicians like former President Kubitschek, who realize that some social reform is necessary, see the U.S. supporting die-hard elements who have only minority support even in the favored classes. The difference between Kubitschek and Lacerda is like the difference between a Taft and a McCarthy, between a thoughtful conservative and an unscrupulous rightist demogague. To put our chips on Lacerda and the military is not smart politics.

No enemy could have hurt us more than our own action in endorsing as constitutional a military regime which has purged one-tenth of the Brazilian Congress, jailed at least two State Governors among thousands arrested, dissolved Peasant League and labor unions in the impoverished northeast, and ended freedom of the press. The military chiefs have imposed an "institutional act" Congress refused to pass. "While the measure is aimed at Communists and leftist extremists," the *Washington Star* explained April 12, "no proof of Red activities is required nor is any judicial appeal provided." This is a reign of terror. The jails are full. Two ships in Rio harbor are being used for the overflow. So is the island of Fernand Noronha, on which we have a tracking station. Johnson, Rusk and McGeorge Bundy hail all this as a triumph of freedom. The leader of the moderate Labor Party in the chamber of Deputies spoke history's verdict when he protested "There is no justice, no law, no order in the Brazilian nation now. It would be better in these circumstances to shut down Congress and do away with this farce of democracy" (London *Times* from Rio, April 6). What he calls farce we call the new Johnsonian pragmatism. As the Scripps Howard man at State Department explained (*Washington Daily News,* April 3) there are "Good military coups as well as bad ones. The one in Brazil this week exemplified the good kind . . . Bad democratic elections as well as good ones. The one in Chile next September may demonstrate that." When we fear the democratic verdict, we invite the military to take over. This is a new Alianza—for reaction and revolution.

Goulart's Own Ignored Defense

Montevideo, Uruguay, April 5 (AP)—Joao Goulart, ousted President of Brazil, said his regime and the reforms it fostered were to prevent a Communist takeover. Asked about charges by those who led the revolt that his government was becoming Communist, Goulart replied: "That was the great banner waved against my government and I was highly mystified."

Action on land expropriation, banking regulations, administrative and taxation changes was "to restrain Communism in Brazil," Goulart declared.

These proposals, he added, were constitutional and were designed to "gain maximum democracy, to defend the popular economy and the poor people of Brazil."

—York, Pa., Gazette & Daily, April 6, the only place we saw this Associated Press dispatch.

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Deflating That Draper "Scoop" on Cuba, P. 3

Morse Submits Evidence That War Is Already Being Extended Secretly Into North Vietnam, Page 2

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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Time We Caught Up To The Rest of the Capitalist World

The war on poverty may become more manageable if we begin by regarding ours as an underdeveloped country—underdeveloped in its ideas. For a half century, since the outbreak of the first World War, the business man has brainwashed this country into so pious a belief in something called free enterprise that we are incapable of facing the real problems of a real world. A simple-minded horror of socialism and a simple-minded faith that the business man knows best are at the root of our troubles in foreign and domestic policy. It explains, for example, our slap-happy attitude toward the Brazilian coup, and it explains why the war on poverty proceeds in a benevolent fog.

A Real Political Difference at Last

This fog will not clear up until we begin to recognize that unaided free enterprise is failing, and that we cannot successfully wage the war on poverty without adopting "socialistic" measures, such as overall economic planning through the Federal government. It is the great virtue of the report filed by the Senate's subcommittee on employment and manpower under Senator Clark (*D. Pa.*) that it says this, though tentatively and gingerly. Indeed it opens up, for a change, a meaningful difference in our two party system, long stalled on a stale dead center. Here the five other Democrats on the subcommittee—Randolph, *W. Va.,* McNamara, *Mich.,* Pell, *R.I.,* Kennedy, *Mass.,* and Metcalf, *Mont.*—stand with the chairman for reactivating the Employment Act of 1946 and making it an instrument of economic planning. Of the three Republicans, Prouty of Vt. and Jordan of Idaho, attack this as "guided capitalism" while the third, Javits of New York, oscillates between his liberal insights and his need to keep his party card. On the one hand he recognizes that the government "must play its own positive role in the private sector of the economy." On the other hand he feels that "the subcommittee's majority proposal implies a note of rigidity and planning inconsistent with a free economy." It's hard to be a Republican.

It's also not easy to be a liberal Democrat. Note the word "implied" in that last quotation from Javits. The majority were so nervous about their main recommendation that they buried it in a very muffled report—somewhat like a man trying to talk through a heavy blanket—and left the most important observations to implication. It was left to the minority to state clearly what the majority was afraid to say. This is how Prouty and Jordan put it. "Implicit in the majority's proposals," they wrote, "is the assumption that if the establishment of overall national economic goals is desirable, then the establishment of growth targets for specific industries would be even more desirable." So it would.

If our mixed society were invigorated by an infusion of socialist thinking, we would recognize boldly that poverty represents an untapped market, that unemployed hands are potential wealth, that the presence of idle facilities and resources they can work upon, is not a curse but an opportunity. The Federal government ought to do more than set general goals. There is no reason why it cannot inventory specific needs for specific industries. If we knew how many pairs of shoes, how much plumbing, how much lumber, and how much clothing would be needed to raise the miserable millions on the fringe of our society to decent living standards, we would see the market and the jobs the war on poverty could open.

When LeMay Asked for 100 Megatons

Mr. MAHON (D. Tex. Chrm. Subcom. on Defense Appropriations): You were talking about the Russians being able to do this and that. As a result of this philosophy of what the Russians could do a few years ago we developed the bomber gap and we appropriated $800 million, I believe, to stop the bomber gap and later we were told there was no bomber gap.

As a result of this same reasoning as to what the Russians could do, we developed the missile gap. Everyone admitted generally speaking there was a missile gap. Now we come along later and everyone says there never was a missile gap.

Now, are you by this testimony opening up a so-called megatonnage gap which will never occur and which will be just as phony as the bomber and the missile gap?

Gen. LeMay: This is entirely possible, Mr. Chairman.

—1965 Defense Budget hearings rel. April 14.

The majority nowhere dare speak in such concrete terms. But the mere suspicion of such a possibility fills the minority with alarm. In sounding it they make a revealing admission. This admission shows how backward our own country is compared with the other advanced capitalist countries. "It is not too much to say," Senators Prouty and Jordan protest, "that the majority's recommendations eventually would replace our system of decentralized decision-making by millions of individuals and businesses with a system of economic planning and control by the Central Government. *This,*" they then admit, *"is the drift of affairs in other Western countries.* [Our italics.] The U.S. surely will be pushed in the same direction if the economic planners among us have their way."

To understand this more fully let us turn back to the majority report. The majority report recommends action to reduce the level of unemployment in this country to 3% by 1968. This, under the most optimistic assumptions, will require a $5 billion dollar a year increase in Federal expenditures and considerable "guidance" from the Federal government. Actually (according to a financial page column by Harvey H. Segal in the *Washington Post* April 20) unemployment has fallen below 3% in the past half century only

(Continued on Page Four)

Another Urgent Peace Warning The Press Ignored, Despite Startling Revelations

Morse Declares War Already Being Extended Secretly into North Vietnam

The press blackout on the handful of Senators opposing the war in Vietnam is scandalous. Senator Gruening of Alaska called attention April 15 to the fact that American casualties this year were twice those of last and said that in his five years in the Senate "I have never received mail comparable in volume and in virtual unanimity to the recommendation I made on March 10 that the U.S. should get out of South Vietnam." This is another index of how poorly the press reflects opinion. The worst example of suppression was the failure to report Senator Morse's speech of April 14 with its sensational revelations from Aviation Week. We give the gist of this in the abridgement and the box below.

By Wayne Morse

In the April 6 issue of Aviation Week (see box below) there is a very interesting article. I do not know how it happened to get into print. The story points out that operations have gone beyond the borders of South Vietnam. That has been a growing practice. I am reading these paragraphs because I have heard Senators say in the cloakroom that they really do not think there is much danger that the war will be escalated into North Vietnam. If the advocates of our present policy could only get a wide section of American public support for that kind of operation, we would start losing American boys by the scores.

Nuclear Weapons to Be Used

Mr. President, we cannot answer charges that will be made against us if we escalate the war into North Vietnam. If we escalate it into North Vietnam, I warn the Senate that the plan is to use nuclear weapons. I have been heard to say before that if we drop nuclear weapons on North Vietnam, we had better start looking around the world for friends.

In looking at the consequences if we used nuclear weapons to escalate this war into North Vietnam, we ought to be forthright enough as a nation to say, "We want to do everything we can to try to settle this dispute in South Vietnam by resorting to peaceful procedures of international law." We have not tried that. We have not even tried to use it. We have not endeavored to create a SEATO trusteeship, or to pursue the meaning of what de Gaulle had in mind concerning a program for neutralizing this area of the world.

Better Recheck Those Computers

"Today the government of General Khanh is vigorously rebuilding the machinery of administration. . . . He is an able and energetic leader. He has demonstrated his grasp. . . ."

—*Secretary McNamara: speech on Vietnam, Mar. 26*

SAIGON—Vietnamese political observers say a coup against Premier Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh is only a matter of time. These observers, who accurately predicted the two previous coups, feel a third coup is inevitable — either through assassination or military might. In fact these observers predict a fourth coup: 'The next coup will solve nothing. Anyone can seize power, but no one has enough support to stay in.' Gen. Khanh is concerned enough to sleep in a different house each night, to admit to foreign correspondents that his wife is worried and to house her and their 4 children 350 miles from Saigon."

—*New York Herald-Tribune, April 19.*

The newspapers today stated that there is some evidence the Vietcongs are trained in North Vietnam. I do not think there is any doubt about that—just as the South Vietnamese are trained by U.S. military. All that means is that two foreign powers are training the participants in a civil war.

I am greatly concerned about the danger of escalating the war. I think we ought to give a great deal of heed to the article from which I read.

The article shows that we have already aided and abetted the extension of the war beyond the borders of South Vietnam. I am fearful that as the proof of that becomes clearly established—as I believe it can be—we may wake up some morning to find charges being levelled against us in the United Nations because I do not believe we have any international law basis for being in South Vietnam as a combatant.

Aviation Week Disclosures Show McNamara Not Telling The Truth

Saigon—War against the Communists already has erupted over the borders of South Vietnam in hit-and-run guerrilla raids and infiltration moves as far north as China. . . . With U.S. backing in aircraft, weapons and money, an estimated 50,000 elite South Vietnamese troops are being trained to take the offensive in over-the-border strikes at Communist supply centers and communications routes. Despite Defense Secretary McNamara's implication in Washington March 26 that the decision has not yet been made to extend the war, it is known here that guerrilla strikes against the Communists have been increasing since last summer. . . .

Key factor in the current raids is airlift provided by Air America, a U.S. cargo company incorporated in Delaware under a maze of legal obscurities that camouflage its U.S. government sponsorship. . . . U.S. military advisers here are optimistic that extending the war beyond the borders, plus a stable government in Saigon, will force the Communist insurgency to collapse in a year. . . .

Special forces, which now constitute one-tenth of the half million South Vietnamese under arms, are essentially airborne troops not connected with any formal military organization. They rely on Air America. . . . In its open operations Air America is a parent company of the Civil Air Transport (CAT) airline. . . . But in its covert operations, Air America uses numerous secret airstrips in South Vietnam and Thailand. . . .

Hub of Air America's activities in Southeast Asia—open and secret—is Din Muang airport at Bangkok, Thailand. . . . Southern Laos, the principal pathway for reinforcements from North to South Vietnam, is only 125 miles wide. By operating from fields in Eastern Thailand and from the northern part of South Vietnam, Air America can penetrate to the interior of Laos on relatively short flights. . . .

Air America has been flying in Laos under charter to the U.S. Aid Mission in Vientiane (Laos). Much of this work consisted of hauling medicines, food and clothing to refugees of the Laotian civil war. On March 18, after protests by the Communist Pathet Lao that Air America was mixing its relief airlift with military airlift, Seaboard World Services was hired for the refugee airlift job. . . .

Last Fall when U.S. officials decided that it was impossible to win the war by confining it inside South Vietnamese borders, they began an expanded program of training the special guerrilla forces at secret bases. Courses emphasized techniques of operating beyond national borders."

—*"South Vietnamese Raiders Extending War" from Aviation Week (April 6).*

A Step-by-Step Account of How A Phoney Story Was Deflated

Theodore Draper's "Scoop" About A Secret U.S. Aid Offer to Castro

The phoniest yarn of the past week was Max Frankel's page one story in the *New York Times* April 13 on Theodore Draper's article, "Fulbright and Cuba" in the *New Leader* of that date. Draper claimed that just before Castro closed his trade agreement with Mikoyan in February of 1960, "the U.S. made an effort—until now a closely guarded secret on both sides—to offer Fidel Castro's regime aid and cooperation." Frankel wrapped this all up as a work of high scholarship.

Weasel Words at State Dept.

The State Department's reaction that day was as phoney. Its spokesman, when asked about the story, said the U.S. in 1959 and early 1960 had "repeatedly . . . indicated to the Cuban government its desire to hold full and frank discussions." But in the course of questioning he admitted that in these "exploratory exchanges . . . the question of U.S. aid did not arise."

Next day the State Department was asked about a follow-up story from Roy Rubottom, then Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs. Rubottom claimed he had offered Castro aid in that period. The spokesman said that during Castro's visit here in April, 1959, Rubottom met with some of the officials who accompanied Castro "and invited them to indicate Cuba's needs." He said the Cubans "rebuffed Mr. Rubottom's offer." The next question was, "Can you say how?" The answer was, "I would assume by simply being unresponsive." This colloquy followed:

"Q. Well, what does that mean? Why indicate Cuba's needs? What types of needs are you referring to there?

"A. In terms of economic programs.

"Q. Are you suggesting this was the last attempt ever made with the Castro government?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Well how does that fit in with your statement yesterday that no aid was offered to them?

"A. The matter at hand yesterday was the story involving a year later, which was the subject of a news story.

"Q. Can you be more specific about this offer, Bob? You say 'invited them to indicate Cuba's needs.' Was this a formal session with a formal presentation, and an extensive discussion or just a brief—

"A. Well it was formal in the sense that it invited a submission of some ideas on areas in which the U.S. could be helpful.

After the spokesman admitted that Castro himself was not present at these "discussions," another question finally cut through the fog to solid ground:

"Q. Was there ever a time in which the U.S. indicated its desire to talk about Cuba's economic needs to Fidel Castro himself?

"A. Not that I am aware of."

Next day the *New York Times* (April 15) printed a letter from Sergio Rojas Santamarina, a former Cuban Ambassador who in June 1960 took refugee in the Argentine embassy in Havana. He claimed the Argentine Ambassador as intermediary for U.S. Ambassador Bonsal offered Castro $300,000,000 in U.S. aid if Castro would end his "vicious campaigning" against the U.S. and negotiate outstanding differences. But when the former Argentine ambassador himself was interviewed (*New York Times,* April 19) he denied that he had conveyed any "specific offer of financial aid" in his talks with Castro.

Lest Cuba Flourish

"Bleak as this sounds, U.S. officials hasten to disavow any notion that economic woes threaten Castro's downfall. . . . The Castro government can probably claim some recent headway in improving the lot of the average Cuban. . . . Distribution problems are being untangled; transportation is improving; rationing may even be eased on some items this year. 'You just can't sink this island economically,' says one veteran of the Cuban scene. Adds a colleague, 'Every day Castro remains in power, he becomes less weak politically.' But U.S. officials do think their economic squeeze on the island is making Cuba, as one puts it, 'look a lot less rich than it otherwise might' to other Latin lands. And that is a major aim of the U.S. trade embargo. . . ."

—Wall St. Journal, "Troubled Cuba", April 16

How to Speak to the National Press Club and Keep Every Word You Say Out of Print

Q. On the basis of your experience with Castro, would you classify him as a wild-eyed irrational kook?

A. Castro is crazy like a fox. Castro has been brilliantly —there is no adverb I can think of that is more appropriate—playing the U.S. against Russia, and both against Communist China, for some years and with considerable success. The fact is that whether or not various elements in the U.S. want to realize it, the island of Cuba belongs to Castro. These oversimplifications of Castro being a pawn of Khrushchev are simply absurd. His relationship with Khrushchev can be likened to looking through two ends of a telescope. Khrushchev may be looking through his end and seeing how Castro is serving his purposes, but I can assure you Castro is looking through his end and he knows how he is using Khrushchev.

Q. Do you believe Communist Cuba will develop a viable economy and is the U.S. missing the boat by not maintaining political and commercial contact with the Cuban people?

A. The Cuban economy has been in very great difficulty. This has been due to a variety of factors, especially at the outset to a shortage of spare parts since virtually everything in Cuba came from the U.S. I am not in a position to appraise how effective the embargo has been. It has not deterred a number of our allies from making an honest dollar. I am sure, however, of this: No one is hungry in Cuba.

He also unquestionably has been growing in strength. His primary drive has been toward the youth of Cuba. Lenin once said, 'Give me the children of a country for four years and I can assure its future.' Castro is now in his sixth year with these children. There is no question that among them, whether one wishes to attribute it to the government schools, the heavy indoctrination and characterize it as brain-wash—however one wants to characterize it—there is no question but that the youth of Cuba, whatever they may think of the Communist party or Maxism, they are fanatically devoted to Fidel.

And I may add that, in my judgment, Cuba today is more Cuban and Latin than Marxist.

—James B. Donovan, who negotiated release of the Bay of Pigs prisoners, before the National Press Club, April 10, in questions and answers few newspapers reported, perhaps on the principle that anything good said of Castro, is (as Orwell might have said) un-news.

How Planning May Provide More, Not Less, Economic Freedom

(Continued from Page One)

under the impact of war-created demand in 1918-19, 1943-45 and 1951-53. The one exception to this pattern is the year 1926, the one time this level was reached in a truly peacetime economy. The record suggests that our free enterprisers left to themselves will never achieve this goal. Yet, as the majority points out, "Countries such as Sweden, France, West Germany and Japan have, by aggressive monetary, taxation and expenditure policies maintained a high level of production and unemployment levels below 2% by U.S. definitions." In all these countries, though in varying ways, the central government has set out goals and planned to reach them. Their high growth rate and our lag testifies to the effectiveness of planning in a mixed society.

What Only Government Can Do

This does not mean, as the minority insists, replacement of "decentralized decision-making by millions of individuals and businesses." *It does mean establishing a mechanism for making the kind of decisions no individual business man can make.* No individual business, no matter how powerful, can take the decisions required to end the decay of a whole region, as in Appalachia, or to raise a whole segment of the population out of misery and into the normal market. Business men understand this very well when it comes to the kind of government interference they like; our network of tariffs and subsidies represents central planning for their benefit. What they fight against is central decision-making in the social sphere, for the benefit of the poorer classes, though experience at home and abroad has shown that they too benefit by it. Such central decision-making would not replace decentralized decision by individuals but provide a better context for those decisions. Let me illustrate.

The individual shoe manufacturer cannot figure that he could sell a million more pair of shoes if Harlem and Appalachia were released from poverty. He has to make his output decisions on the basis of the restricted market which is the only one he can count on. Only the central government can decide to set production goals in the wider terms of human need and then take the steps to make these goals possible by guaranteeing the necessary purchasing power. The setting of the goals themselves gives the decentralized decision makers confidence that they can expand output without going broke on unsold surpluses.

Alsop's Latest

To the delight of Senators Smathers and Eastland, Joseph Alsop has discovered that the civil rights movement is being infiltrated by Communists. Martin Luther King, CORE and SNNC were all given the treatment in his column April 15. Next day Smathers hailed Alsop in the Senate as a "totally responsible" journalist. The adverb seems a little strong for those who remember Alsop's role in propagating the bomber and missile gap myths. Smathers said he was writing J. Edgar Hoover for more details and on April 18 Eastland told the Senate, "He (Alsop) is saying the same thing Jim Eastland has said since the 1954 Supreme Court decision." This new Alsop scoop, like his bomber and missile gap campaigns and his famous discovery that people in China were eating after-births, seems to be an intelligence agency leak.

We cannot imagine anything more foolish for our foolish intelligence agencies to do than to trot out the tired old Red scare against the civil rights movement. We cannot imagine anything likely to enrage Negroes more than the hint that they are being, somehow, artificially "agitated." It is not ideology, it is frustration and despair which are tearing the civil rights movement apart and driving it to wild words and action. A silly column like Alsop's can only add to the self-destructively blind rage of those who have lost faith in white men's comprehension.

This is what the majority means when it says that one of the lessons to be drawn from foreign experience "is that policy measures which set overall goals and determine overall rates of employment growth and price stability without involving Government in the market process may result in more rather than less economic freedom." How explain this seeming paradox? "Once assured of full employment and production," the majority report continues, "labor organizations and private firms have been less given to restrictive practices or monopolistic tendencies and have therefore required a lesser degree of government control."

(More on This Next Week)

Next Week: The Clark and Appalachia Reports and the Socialist Party's Conference on Poverty

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The Failure of Free Enterprise, Pps. 2-3

Senator Clark's Report Calls for a Planned Economy to Fight That War on Poverty, Pages 2-3

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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How to Make Peace in Cuba, Vietnam and the World

1. *Cuba.* It might be well to remember that the last Communist satellite which shot down U.S. reconnaissance planes ended up a few years later by switching from the Soviet camp to a U.S. protected neutralism. That was Yugoslavia. We're not predicting such an outcome for our relations with Cuba but stranger things have happened. The story illustrates the virtue of patience and the folly of too deep an emotional entanglement with today's quarrels. In any case our Cuban obsession is again making us ludicrous in the eyes of the world. First there's a world crisis because the Russians send troops to Cuba; now there's a new crisis because they're leaving. When the last ones go, 24 anti-aircraft missile sites capable of shooting down U-2s will be in Cuban hands. Castro says he won't stand for aerial reconnaissance; we threaten action if he interferes. What do we do? Beg the Russians to remain—at least until after the election?

No Cuban Planes Over Florida

We suppose it's hopeless to point out that it's a violation of international law to enter another nation's airspace against its will; we're parties to treaties which establish this. We don't invite Cuban planes to fly over Miami, Florida, to check by aerial photography whether any new Bay of Pigs invasion is in preparation. If Russian or Chinese planes ever appear over our territory, we'll shoot them down. We stopped sending U-2s over the Soviet Union when the Russians shot one down, and we use satellites and oblique angle photography instead. We could do that over Cuba, too. But it would, we suppose, hurt our national pride not to be able to violate international law over such a small country.

We have one war on our hands in Vietnam. Do we want another in Cuba? Since 1961, the number of right wing dictatorships in Latin America have risen from three to nine;* we helped bring many of them into power; we co-exist peacefully with all of them. The latest, Brazil, is our pride and joy. It's about time—just to show our impartiality—we coexisted peacefully with the one leftwing dictatorship in the hemisphere. We suggest that James B. Donovan be sent back to Cuba to negotiate compensation for U.S. property owners as part of a deal to include resumption of trade and diplomatic relations; we can see a lot more on the ground from Havana than up in the air from a U-2. Secondly we suggest that Donovan explore the offer made by Cuba to the United Nations just before the missile crisis to accept demilitarization of the island if given firm international guarantees against aggression. Finally we propose, since we're afraid Castro might export revolution, an ideological non-aggression pact between the U.S. and Cuba whereby both sides agree not to finance, train or arm groups openly or covertly designed to overthrow the regime of either country, or any other country in the hemisphere. We believe this could be made a politically attractive package at home.

Just in Time

"Goulart later, March 30, declared in a nationwide TV broadcast that he would continue to seek economic reforms despite opposition to his program by his political enemies. He charged that this opposition was financed by illicit remittances from big foreign companies (drug manufacturers and petroleum companies) and landowners." [Parenthesis in original.]

—Facts on File, March 26-April 1, p. 103

"New Brunswick, N.J.—American drug companies in Brazil would have been expropriated on April 7 if the Goulart government hadn't been overthrown, P. B. Hofmann, chairman of Johnson & Johnson, said at the annual meeting. Mr. Hofmann said he understood that a decree already had been written and signed to expropriate U.S. drug manufacturing operations in Brazil. He described Johnson & Johnson's operations in Brazil, employing 2,200 persons, as 'our biggest problem.' He added, however, that with the new Brazilian government the outlook is much better."

—Wall Street Journal, April 15

2. *South Vietnam.* Last August a leader of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front told Georges Chaffard of *Le Monde* (Aug. 24) that the Front did not wish to exchange one dictatorship for another nor to become dependent on the North. We propose that this be explored to see whether the Front would end the guerrilla war if free elections under UN auspices were held to establish a democratic regime. The Front has been on record since August 15, 1962 for a neutral belt to include South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos (*Georges Chaffard: Indochine,* Paris 1964 p. 193). Such a belt could end the war in South Vietnam and trouble in Laos. A neutral, democratic Republic in South Vietnam would provide a face-saving exit for our own country and an end to the misery of its people.

What would China's attitude be? "The French delegation" at the SEATO conference in Manila "was said to have maintained" according to a dispatch in *The Times* of London April 16 "that Chinese fears of South Vietnam being used as an American base would have to be dispelled before a neutralist solution could be achieved." One way to do this would be to restore the 1954 pact which ended the Indochinese revolt against the French. Then Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam were to have been neutralized. Our CIA violated those accords in Laos, provoking revolt and intervention from the

(Continued on Page Four)

*** Only Paraguay, Haiti and Nicaragua were rightist dictatorships at the beginning of 1961. Since then Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Brazil have been added to the list.**

The Clark Report Shows Failure of "Free Enterprise" to Meet The Jobs Crisis . . .

If the President, by his poverty message, served the historic purpose of putting poverty into the headlines, the Clark report* serves the purpose of sketching in the true dimensions of the problem and of the steps necessary to deal with it. For the first time since the passage of the Employment Act of 1946, a group of Democratic Senators suggest, though gingerly, the need for a planned economy and for an unprecedented expansion of public expenditure. We recommend a close study of it. Even the Republican minority (Prouty, Jordan and Javits), though opposed to planning, have some excellent suggestions for long overdue reforms in social security and in the lagging "food stamp" plan. Above all the humane Senator Clark of Pennsylvania and his Democratic colleagues (Randolph, McNamara, Pell, Kennedy and Metcalf) deserve applause for moving the country toward a war on poverty which could be more than a deceptive metaphor. For as Ralph Helstein of the Packinghouse Workers told a Socialist Party conference on poverty here two nights before the Clark report was released, "This is the first war we ever began by announcing we would fight it on a balanced budget." The very next day, as if to emphasize the ambivalence of the Administration's approach, we heard Mr. Johnson boast that total Federal employment, thanks to the absence of an accelerated public works program, was down 13,000. "That figure, I know," Mr. Johnson said, "will interest Senator Byrd." A war on poverty, waged with one eye on Senator Byrd, can easily become a series of retreats.

Three Million Fewer Jobs

Where the Clark report calls for vigorous amplification by others is its failure to say loudly and clearly enough that free enterprise cannot solve our problems. But the unmistakable facts themselves are there. Let us summarize just what is this "manpower revolution" as described in the Clark report. In the 10 years 1947-57, employment in industry rose three-quarters of a million per year. But in the six years from 1957-63 "despite substantial increases in output and creation of new products and industries," employment in the industrial sector actually declined by 300,000. The number of workers engaged directly in production was about 500,000 less than in 1947. In construction, though activity is up 17% since 1956, there has been no increase in employment. "When agricultural employment is included," the report says, "the goods-producing sector has experienced a net loss of more than 3 million jobs over the last 6 years." This is the rate at which machines have been displacing men.

No Longer The Poverty of Horatio Alger

"The 20% of American families with annual incomes under $3000 are of increasing concern not only because the general level of affluence has left them relatively more depressed, but because poverty in America has been changing in nature. The American frontiersman knew poverty as he struggled to build a society sufficiently productive to offer a more abundant life. The immigrant knew poverty as he entered a new land and prepared his children to move upward in the economic and social scale. In both cases, poverty was a transition stage to better things. Poverty in modern America tends to be a permanent state, concentrated among certain disadvantaged groups and in many cases continuing generation after generation."

—Clark Report: Toward Full Employment

It is against this appalling backdrop that we must measure the magnitude of the unemployment problem. This is figured at a persistent 5½% of the work force, though the real rate may be between 7 and 9%. *Yet only to keep joblessness from rising any higher,* to keep pace with population increase, we need 3½ million new jobs every year through the rest of this decade. To reduce unemployment to 3%—the goal set by the Clark report for 1968—we would have to create somewhere between 6 and 8 million new jobs a year. So-called free enterprise cannot begin to meet a challenge of those dimensions. On the contrary it has been failing steadily to keep up with the need for jobs. In the six years from 1957 to 1963, when total non-farm employment increased 4.3 millions, "The net increase in full-time employment generated by the private profit-making non-farm sector of the economy has been only 300,000 jobs since 1957."

That is an average of 50,000 a year. Measure *that* against the 3½ million jobs we need to take care of the youth coming up, or against the 6 to 8 million jobs we need to reduce joblessness to 3% of the population, and you can see how hollow and dangerous is all the pious nonsense about free enterprise which is the ideology and religion of our businessman's civilization. Without a change in our thinking, our society

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*** Toward Full Employment. A Report by the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, U.S. Senate. Joseph S. Clark, Pa., Chairman. Edward D. Friedman, Counsel; Dr. Garth L. Mangum, research director. This is the second of two articles dealing with the report. The first appeared last week.**

Despite Privation, Too Little Use Being Made of "Food Stamp" Program

"How effective has the administration been in helping to resolve one of the most challenging problems of our time —the problem of sharing our huge agricultural surpluses with people who are hungry?

"With respect to the existing direct distribution of food packages—a program for which the States and localities bear the entire administrative costs—a few food items have been added, including peanut butter and, from time to time, canned chopped meat. But, in general, the program has been limited to about 10 items including butter, non-fat dried milk, dry beans, milled rice, cornmeal, flour, lard, rolled wheat, and cheese.

"As to the 'food stamp' program, hailed as a bold new step forward, the actual expenditures show that it was, indeed, a limping step. For of the $50 million allocated only $13.5 million was spent in 1962 and just $18.6 million in 1963. Although over 200 communities have asked to participate, the program has been limited to 45 areas.

"Some problems [have been] developing even in so small a program. Participants have found it difficult to meet the requirement that ['bonus stamps'] be purchased once a month in a lump sum. For example, a family of five with a monthly income of $105 must put up $46 in a lump sum to receive 'bonus stamps' amounting to $42.

"Despite the privation in many poverty stricken areas, the administration failed to use more than a fraction of the money allocated for the food stamp program."

—GOP Minority In The Clark Report (Abridged)

. . . Planning and A $5 Billion Annual Stepup In Public Works Advocated

will stumble into serious social struggles in the years ahead.

Abroad capitalist societies less wedded than ours to simple-minded myths about free enterprise have succeeded, as the Clark report shows, in holding unemployment below 2%. Various combinations of central planning in mixed societies with large areas of public ownership have made this possible. But what capitalists in Japan, Germany, France, Sweden and Norway take for granted looks revolutionary here. Yet without such "revolutionary" steps we cannot hope to meet the challenge of the manpower revolution. The Clark report does not say this strongly and clearly. But the message is there all the same.

On The Most Favorable Assumptions

If the Clark report is less outspoken than it should be, it is more outspoken than the labor movement. Where the labor movement calls for $2 billion a year in public works, the Clark report says that *on the most favorable assumptions* about private sector employment, it will take a $5 billion a year increase in Federal expenditures *every year* between now and 1968 to reduce unemployment to 3%. Those assumptions, as may be seen from the footnote on pages 40-1 of the report, a bit of dynamite in small type, are highly improbable. More will be required, unless the government by central planning for the private sector orchestrates an industrial expansion commensurate with human need. This, which is accepted as good sense in capitalist societies abroad, will bring an hysterical outcry about socialism here.

The choice is not between free enterprise and planning. The choice is between an economy planned on a profitably restricted basis as now, or one planned for maximum human need. The choice is not between an individualistic capitalism and collectivism. The choice is between a society planned by the private collectivisms we call corporations, planned to suit the needs of the fortunate, and a society planned by the whole collectivity for the benefit of all its members. It is here that a strong infusion of old-fashioned socialist analysis and thinking is essential just to move us abreast of the other "capitalist" nations with their mixed societies and pragmatic forms of central direction for the maintenance of demand. This is where the Socialist Party, whose Michael Harrington did so much to put poverty on our political map, could perform a service, and it was this which led me with so much interest to its conference on poverty.

The Paradox Which Could Be Fruitful

"The U.S. finds itself in the interesting position of having idle manpower and industrial capacity and immense backlogs of unfulfilled public needs for which the manpower could be used and the funds expended. It was in reference to this paradoxical situation that the Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal, remarked to the subcommittee, 'It is almost fortunate, as I see it, that you have such tremendous amounts to be done in reconstructing your cities and modernizing your transport system.' . . . These needed expenditure increases plus additional amounts to offset possible reductions in defense expenditures or other existing programs make an attack on accumulated social ills . . . not only possible and desirable but a necessary condition for full-employment."

—*Clark Report: Toward Full Employment*

Unfortunately our politics are so lopsided that everything (including me) is skewed to the right. The people we call conservatives are usually reactionaries like Goldwater or crypto-Fascists like the Birchers. The liberals, as may be seen from the Clark report, are just about where the conservatives are in Western Europe and Japan. And the Socialists, as I heard them at their conference, are not much more than militant liberals. And even I, in trying to popularize some familiar Socialist concepts from the past, am only in desperation advocating the modernization of American capitalism!

Perhaps the most important suggestion at the Socialist Conference was by Prof. Aaron Levenstein of City College when he said that if computers can solve the problems of production, they can solve the problems of distribution. It would be good to get away from stale talk of public works and down to the brass tacks of matching our production system to the needs of our people. A national inventory of human need, in concrete terms of specific commodities and services—food, clothes, housing and education—would lay the basis for a Plan really to transform America. Let's feed poverty to the computers and we'll soon see how much work there is for idle hands to do. In the 30s we spoke of production for use, not profit. Down this road lies the only way to wage a really unconditional war on poverty at home and abroad.

The Inadequacies and Injustices of Our Social Security System

"What is even more disturbing is the increase in the number of social security beneficiaries who must apply for welfare. In 1950 about 300,000 persons were under both programs. Today the figure is over 800,000 meaning that almost 4 out of every 10 welfare recipients (37%) are on social security. The question may legitimately be asked as to whether social security has any real meaning to these people.

"What is the cause of this growing dilution in the meaningfulness of the social security benefit? Certainly the major factor is the size of the benefit itself—a worker's benefit which can be as low as $40 a month and which averages just a little over $75 a month. These are benefits at poverty levels.

"Moreover, there are devices built into the social security system which actually hinder a worker who has the initiative to try to bring himself up to a level of decency. The principal offender is the social security "retirement test" or income limitation. Let's see how this affects our average retired worker and his spouse. He and his wife receive benefits totaling about $103 a month, or $1,236 a year. He can earn $1,200 a year without losing any benefits, but this only brings the family income up to $2,436, considerably below the annual family income level of $3,000 which administration spokesmen say indicates the "poverty" line. If our aged worker decides to earn another $600, he will find that earning this additional amount has cost him $350 in benefits. But the "treadmill" is only warming up for when his earnings pass $1,700 a year the social security law requires that for every dollar of earnings a dollar of benefits will be lost.

"This is a perfect example of the right hand not knowing what the left hand is doing. The administration declares "total war" on poverty but does not suggest amendment of existing programs which are perpetuating the disease."

—*GOP Minority In The Clark Report (Abridged)*

There Can Be No Missile Freeze Until The Germans Are Frozen Out

(Continued from Page One)

other side. We broke the pact by sending our military into South Vietnam. Restoration of the Pact would, of course, include North as well as South Vietnam. The pact pledged all these countries not to allow foreign military bases, not to make any military alliances and not to allow foreign military personnel on its territory. Both North and South Vietnam would again be neutralized — another face-saver for the world's most Oriental Western country.

North Vietnam Wants Peace

What of North Vietnam? On three occasions, Western foreign correspondents have been told by Ho Chi-minh or Pham Van Dong, North Vietnam's Prime Minister, that North Vietnam was prepared to postpone reunification if trade were resumed in peace between North and South; the normal exchange of Hanoi's surplus coal for Saigon's surplus rice would wipe out most of the trade deficits on either side. China, for its part, needs peace in Southeast Asia in order to expand trade with the West as a substitute for the supplies it used to get from Russia. De Gaulle as intermediary is in the best position to draw these strands together in negotiation for a durable peace in the area. The conjecture of forces favors a settlement.

Admittedly, from a narrow political point of view, it would be more comfortable to let the Vietnamese people go on suffering—and Americans dying—in Vietnam until after the election. Johnson is afraid of being outflanked on the issue by Lodge and the Republicans; McNamara, in light-headed fashion, has staked his political future on the war. But there is no reason to believe the war can be kept on ice until after November. Our puppet forces have lost the will to fight. Johnson may soon have to choose whether to intervene with U.S. troops to please the hotheads or take constructive steps toward peace, steps which, as recent polls show, have substantial support among the American people.

Suckers For Arms Salesmen

"An atmosphere now prevails, based on the few significant successes that more [weapons] breakthroughs are just around the corner; that all one has to do is give large sums of money to industry and they will be produced. The military became like the poor boy allowed to roam freely in a large toy shop before Christmas.

"The military men, because they are not generally knowledgeable in this area and because of the high respect they accord men in industry, are frequently persuaded to support developments conjured by sales engineers. In many cases such projects are offered just to keep the organizations alive. Once the contract is obtained, the contractor is protected by the mantle of military necessity. Frequently the only people knowledgeable about what is going on are the contractor personnel themselves who have a vested interest in seeing to it that that contract is kept going. What concerns me most about this military-industrial complex is that it has decreased our national strength by equipping our fleet with unreliable weapons."

—Adm. Rickover, 1965 Defense Approp. Hearings

3. *The Big Picture.* We believe President Johnson is deeply devoted to the cause of peace. We are impressed with what he has said, almost in every speech he has made, of the urgency and necessity of peace. His offer of a missile freeze and his new joint action with Khrushchev on a cutback in nuclear materials output represent initiatives for which the new Administration deserves credit. We are inching our way toward a settlement with the Russians, though as yet the only agreements whether written, as in the nuclear test ban treaty, or tacit, as in the uranium cutback, reflect no more than a recognition on both sides of how badly basic resources are being wasted in overkill preparations.

To move beyond this to genuine measures of disarmament, however, will require greater flexibility and more imagination on our part. The obstacle is the NATO multilateral force. We cannot talk of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons while at the same time giving the Germans greater access to them—against the wishes of most of our allies as well as our opponents. Nothing will come of the potentially fruitful freeze proposal until we are ready to freeze the Germans out of the nuclear picture. *April 22*

We'll Be Glad to Send A Sample Copy of This Issue To A Friend — Send A Stamped Self-Addressed Envelope

Vacation Notice

Dear Readers:

We can't go on a vacation this summer because of the two conventions so we're taking our usual vacation now and combining it with a trip abroad, hoping to report among other things on the water crisis in Israel and the Middle East. So we are suspending for three weeks. The next issue will be the one dated June 1. It's been immense fun back on weekly schedule. Our deepest thanks for the many kind letters received about it, few of which unfortunately (we ask forgiveness) we have been able to answer.

I. F. Stone

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Special Report from Israel

Not Just One But Two "Integration" Problems: Darker Oriental Jews As Well As Arabs

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XII, NO. 19 JUNE 1, 1964 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

An Affluent Society But Living Beyond Its Means

To see Israel again after eight years is to be struck at every turn by the triumphant evidence of progress. The flood of new immigrants, which has more than tripled its population since the achievement of independence 18 years ago, is reflected in a continuous building boom. The dismal acres of shanty towns (*ma'abaroth*) hastily erected for new immigrants were still distressingly visible in 1956. Today they have given way (except for a hard-core of 3,000 which still clings to the old hovels) before whole new neighborhoods—and cities—of towering apartment houses. The roads have widened, the traffic jams grown worse. The country throbs with expansive vitality. Israel has become an affluent society. Even in the once Spartan kibbutzim, the outhouse and the cold outside shower have been replaced by private lavatories and running hot water, provided by individual solar heaters. Everywhere there are flowers. Even in Tel Aviv the whole new northern extension of that rather grubby city has become downright pretty with tree-lined boulevards and flower gardens. Not all the changes are to the taste of those who loved the old Palestine. The Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv has become as over-sumptuous as its counterparts in Miami. The Desert Inn outside Beer Sheva, no longer a sleepy Bedouin town, might be in luxurious Palm Springs, except for the *mezuzoth* beside every door and the Arab-with-camel on duty at the entrance. The *dolce vita* has arrived, as the old-timers complain, complete with juvenile delinquents and call girls.

No More Fedayeen

The other big change since the spring of 1956 is in the sense of security. Then infiltrating *fedayeen* from Egyptian training centers in the Gaza strip and Sinai were shooting up settlements at night and making travel after dark hazardous. The Sinai campaign later that year may have been a humiliating setback for England and France, but for Israel it put a stop to these terrorist raids, smashed Czech and Soviet arms dumps across the Egyptian border and established a UN force at the narrow straits where Eilat's access to the Red Sea had been shut off by Nasser. This much was accomplished, whatever the wisdom of the retaliatory spiral which led up to the Sinai campaign, and its cost in the alienation of Afro-Asian sympathy from Israel.* Today one can travel everywhere with assurance. Unusually heavy rains had turned the country greener and lovelier than we had ever seen it in seven previous trips. Our visit was a succession of unforgettable scenes: Haifa's gleaming harbor from the top of Mt. Carmel, the wide lawns of Mishmar Ha-Emek, the rich green vistas of the once malarial Valley of Israel, the holy places of Nazareth, Tiberius and Safad, lunch on the eastern shores of Lake Galilee at Ein Gev within the shadow of the Syrian border, the mauve hills at twilight which look down on the fertile collectives in that narrow "finger" of Israel which stretches northward between Lebanon and Syria. Later we saw Ashdod, Israel's biggest seaport rising on the dunes where the Philistines once dwelt, and Kiryat Dan, a new complex of factories and farms to the north of Beer Sheva. We saw old friends in kibbutzim like Shoval and Hatzor nearby which were once lonely military outposts and are now thriving centers of rural industry as well as agriculture, for since 1959 the industrial byproducts of the collective settlements equal or surpass their agricultural output. The climax was our climb up those venerable hills to Jerusalem. There one can still step backward in time, and savor ways of life centuries apart. A fashionable crowd takes tea on the veranda of the King David overlooking the walls of the Old City and a few blocks away little boys in ear curls and suspenders rock back and

(Continued on Page Two)

Some Tovarisch!

"Your struggle against imperialism and exploitation give me the right to call you comrade, my dear friend, President Nasser."

—Premier Khrushchev at the Aswan Dam, May 14

"NASSER: Our nations, hand in hand, will shape a better future. Our mutual affection has an historic background, and I believe that our common interests in so many areas will draw us ever closer. Have you ever found an Arab, a Minister or a simple man in the street, who is not friendly to the Germans?

"FREY: Certainly not.

"NASSER: You will never find one because there aren't any. That would run counter to our mentality. Our sympathies in the Second World War were on the German side. The Speaker of our Parliament was then imprisoned for pro-German sympathies.

"FREY: We would gladly have won the war and freed the Speaker and all the Arabs.

"NASSER (laughs heartily): We will work together for freedom and peace on the basis of justice. For us Arabs this means the right to the unity of our nation on our hereditary territory and for you Germans it means exactly the same—reunification in one State. That is our heart's desire. All my good wishes to the German people and for you personally, my dear Dr. Frey, and for your great purposes."

—This was an interview given by Nasser in Cairo, on the eve of Khrushchev's visit, to Dr. Gerhard Frey, publisher of Germany's leading neo-Nazi organ, the* Deutsche National und Soldaten Zeitung, *and published verbatim under flaring headlines "War With Israel Unavoidable" in its issue of May 1.

*** See Michael Bar-Zohar's Suez: Ultra Secret, newly published in Paris and Simha Flapan's critical article on it in the May issue of The New Outlook, a Middle East monthly devoted to Arab-Jewish reconciliation.**

(Continued from Page One)

forth over their pious schoolbooks in the back alley yeshivahs of Mea Shearim, keeping alive a medieval universe of orthodox Jewry.

Beneath the prosperous and picturesque surface there are problems grave enough to threaten Israel's future. But for those who have seen the crises of its earlier years it is impossible not to be optimistic. I first saw Palestine November 2, 1945, the day the Haganah began the war against the British by blowing up the watch towers from which they laid in wait for illegal immigrant ships; it seemed hopeless for so small a force to challenge so great an empire. In the spring of 1946 I travelled with the illegals on one of these Jewish Mayflowers. In 1947 I saw the British impose martial law on Tel Aviv in an effort to wipe out the terrorist campaign against them. In 1948 I was a witness to the joint attack of the Arab States on what was then an ill-prepared tiny community of 650,000 Jews.* In 1949 and 1950 I saw the lack of food and the letdown in morale which followed the war and the onset of the Arab blockade. To have seen such odds overcome makes it hard to take too tragically the problems of the dynamic, confident and expanding Israel of today.

A Growing Trade Deficit

They are nonetheless serious. The first is fiscal: Israel is living beyond its means. Its rate of economic growth is topped only by Japan's and few countries can match its steep rate of increase in exports. But in 1963 its adverse surplus of imports over exports was still $420 million and in the first quarter of 1964 its trade deficit rose to three times that in the first quarter of 1963. Capital imports have been running ahead of the trade deficit so that the government's cash reserves have been growing. But of total capital imports in 1963 of $500 million, $162 million was in German reparations and restitution payments which will now decline sharply. Israel will soon have to meet the challenge of austerity and better distribution of income. Its affluent society, like America's has little-seen but wide fringes of poverty. An ostentatious luxury by the rich does not make this more bearable. And there, as in America, the problem of poverty is intensified by color and "race." Israel has a double "Negro" problem. The darker Jews from the Orient and North Africa, as well as the Arab minority, suffer from prejudice.

The usual Jewish attitude toward the Arabs is one of contemptuous superiority. Our driver northward was a Jew who had fled from the Nazi advance into Hungary but that did not save him from racist habits. When I suggested that we give a boy a lift, he refused, saying the boy was an Arab. When I asked what was the difference, he said Arabs smelled bad. I said that is what anti-Semites said of us Jews in the outside world but this made no impression. His attitude, it is painful to report, is typical. Israel is a country not only of full employment but of labor shortages. Thousands of Arabs do the menial tasks of Tel Aviv. They find it as hard to obtain decent lodgings as Negroes do in America and for the same reasons; many "pass" as Jews to circumvent prejudice. In Haifa I visited the only secondary school attended by both Jews and Arabs but even there the classes turned out to be separate. The State of Israel has done much in a material way for the Arabs but the sense of humiliation outweighs any improvement. The spectacle fills one with despair. For if

Bonn's Strange Delay

"Bonn—Herr Hoecherl, the West German Minister of the Interior, told the Bundestag yesterday that Dr. Erhard had given his approval to amending the passport laws with the intention of hindering the disputed activities of German scientists and technicians in Egypt. He expressed regret, however, that the efforts of his Ministry to draw up a bill had so far met with little outside support.

"The Minister's replies failed to satisfy the Social Democrats. They pointed out that 10 months after a unanimous Bundestag resolution, a Bill had still not been tabled, or a date given by the Government when it would so so. For more than a year now, Israel had been urging the Federal government to devise ways to stop German citizens helping the Egyptians develop offensive weapons. Herr Hoecherl maintained that 'exceptional legal difficulties' had prevented the Federal government from responding before.

"An SPD [Social Democrat] member argued that it was not only legal difficulties but political pressure from Arab countries that had induced the Government to hold back."

—The Times (London) May 1

Nasser Turns One Face Toward A French Socialist Editor, Quite Another to a Neo-Nazi

"Yemen is not your last combat. . . . Now it is necessary to look toward Palestine."

—Nasser to his shock troops, quoted in the French independent Socialist weekly,* France-Observateur, *April 30.

"War is not a solution. . . . It is relatively easy to begin a war, but who can know where it will lead or how it will end? No, we do not want war. But we are rendered uneasy by the logic of Israel's development."

—Nasser to Gilles Martinet, of* France-Observateur, *interview in its issue of April 30.

"FREY: Do you regard a peaceful solution of the Israel problem as possible?

"NASSER: Absolutely not. . . .

"FREY: Your Excellency, allow me to ask quite brutally: Will you crush Israel?

"NASSER: I hope so. . . .

"FREY: Will you be able to clean up the Israel question within a generation?

"NASSER: In schaa Allah (If Allah wills).

"FREY: If the German [reparations] payments [to Israel] should one day dry up . . . (hiatus in original).

"NASSER (Interrupting): That is an especially sad chapter, a burden on our friendship. The German payments are the elixir of life for Israel. Israel is unthinkable without your supplies. I no longer understand the Germans.

"FREY: Those payments were based on the murder of Jews.

"NASSER: But the lie about six million murdered Jews is not taken seriously by anyone, not even by the simplest man here in our country."

—Nasser's interview with the publisher of the* Deutsche National und Soldaten Zeitung *in its issue of May 1 which we picked up at a newstand in Athens on our way to Israel.

*** In Underground to Palestine (1946) I told the story of the illegal trip and in This Is Israel (1948) the story of how Israel won its war of independence.**

Jews, after all their experience of suffering, prove no better than the rest of mankind once in the majority, what hope for a world as torn apart as our is by tribalism and hate?

Yiddish Becomes Upper Class

More progress is being made in dealing with Israel's other integration problem—that of the Jews from the Orient and Africa. For these — unlike the Arabs — are people Israel wants. That does not save them from being looked down upon. Half the people of Israel are now from countries where Yiddish is unknown. But in Israel, for the first time, the tender language of East European ghettoes has become an upper class tongue. The Ashkenazi, the Yiddish-speaking Jews, hold the commanding positions in the community. The Sephardi, or Oriental Jews, speaking Arabic, French or the Old Castilian of the Spain from which they were driven five centuries ago, are the hewers of wood and drawers of water. They make up half the population but their children are only 15% of those in secondary schools and only 5% of those in the university. Their cultural level is lower. They cannot afford to send their children to the higher schools. Discrimination has given them solidarity and "communal" tickets have begun to appear in local elections, pitting Sephardi against Ashkenazi. The right wing parties are making demagogic appeals to the Oriental Jews. On the other side one Yiddish speaking *meshuganah* has just published a book to prove that the Yiddish-speaking from the West are the only true Jews! The government is trying its best to give preferences to the Orientals where equally qualified. It fears lest Israel run into a situation like that of Belgium where after 150 years the conflict between Walloon and Fleming divides the nation. Fortunately the common language of Hebrew, and the melting pot of school and Army, are available to ease Israel's divisions. Education is seen as the key to amalgamation but education costs money and here we come to Israel's other big headache, that of defense.

The amount spent on defense is a secret but some notion of its magnitude may be gathered from a veiled figure in the budget. This shows that about a third goes for an item called "Security, special budget and reserve." This has been rising. It was less than $300 million or 28.3% of the 1963/64 budget and close to $400 million or 30.9% of the 1964/65 budget. The next largest item was education, but this is less than 8% of the budget. Were the arms race in the Middle East to end, Israel could afford to make secondary education free, too, as elementary education is now. Nothing could do more to develop her human resources and end the rankling inferiority of Oriental Jew and Arab. Another way to measure the impact of the arms race is to notice that "security, special budget and reserve" amounts to more than German reparations, UJA, private gifts and donations of food surpluses put together. If Israel enjoyed real peace, she would no longer be dependent on the bread of charity.

Why Some Want Nuclear Arms

"In Paris, Gamal Abdul Nasser made it clear that he intends to make war on Israel, though the threat was couched in diplomatic language. To say that unless Israel implements UN resolutions concerning the repatriation of Palestinian refugees, these refugees will use force to achieve their aims, and the Arab States assist them, in practice means war—for though the UN resolutions speak about 'repatriation or resettlement', the Arab states will certainly prevent any attempt to reach agreement on the basis of resettlement and compensation, and Israel cannot afford to permit repatriation of hundreds of thousands of hostile Arabs.

"The Egyptians are meanwhile reported to have providentially fixed the date of their attack on Israel for Easter 1966, by when they hope to have sufficient missiles available to wipe out the major Israeli population centres. The German scientists are continuing their work in the missile sphere. . . .

"There is nothing inherently improbable about the 1966 date for war in the Middle East. The best way of delaying such a war—barring resolute UN action in advance, which seems wishful thinking at the moment—is further strengthening of Israel's striking force—especially as regards unconventional weapons."

—The Israel Economist, April 1964

However one looks at it, peace is Israel's overriding problem. It's hard for a poor country to keep up with the Joneses in armament. "In the war for independence," said one of

(Continued on Page Four)

An Appeal By Israeli Liberals Against A Nuclear Arms Race in the Middle East

"Our Committee is concerned with the prevention of nuclear arms in the Arab-Israeli area. We support the denuclearization of the whole Middle East, but lay stress on the Arab-Iraeli region (which includes a part of Northern Africa). The reasons are obvious:

"1. There is little danger of war between other Mid-Eastern States. The Israeli-Arab relations, however, are permanently strained and often on the brink of war. Two wars occurred between Egypt and Israel in the last 15 years: 1948 and 1956.

"2. The main antagonists, Egypt and Israel, have densely populated centres, among the densest on the globe, the Egyptian Nile delta and the Israeli Mediterranean coast. Even a 'primitive' nuclear encounter would destroy millions of human beings (and two of the most important traditional sites of the Western World). Owing to geographical, technological and other limitations no warning system is feasible. *The deterrent aspect of nuclear weapons has no meaning here, since the first strike may finish the job.*

"3. Although Egypt and Israel are small parties, their military conflict would have immediate international implications. With a nuclear background, it may provoke a universal disaster.

"4. Both in Egypt and in Israel, there are influential circles who favor a nuclear 'option.' The attitude of President Abdul Nasser is at least equivocal. Israel, being a democracy, is discussing the problem openly. Our Committee initiated the debate, and it is continuing at a growing measure. Egypt, with its one-party system unfortunately has no such possibilities.

"International friends of both countries, who care for the fate of humanity at large, may be helpful by bringing together responsible leaders of both sides. You are surely aware that Lord Russell and his friends expressed their deep anxiety over the current developments in our area, by publishing their message to the rulers, Prime Ministers, and peoples of the States concerned. The reaction was not encouraging. An unofficial approach to influential individuals and groups may perhaps be more fruitful at this stage."

—Committee for the Denuclearization of the Israeli-Arab Area. Among its members is the philosopher, Martin Buber.

Now Is The Time to Nip in The Bud A Middle Eastern Nuclear Arms Race

(Continued from Page Three)

those tireless old-timers who make Israel the dynamic community that it is, "a Spitfire was hot stuff. We could buy one second-hand for 2,000 pounds. Now the Mystére costs us $750,000; the Mirage, $1,000,000; the super-Mirage, $1,250,000. But planes and tanks are given to Egypt by the Russians for very little. They gave Nasser 15 submarines and a flotilla of Komars, swift mosquito boats armed with missiles which can shoot from 30 kilometers offshore. Now we're afraid Egypt may get enriched uranium from Moscow, too." Between Russian aid and German scientists there is a real fear that Egypt may some day be the instrument for a second go at Hitler's "final solution." Khrushchev's visit stirred deep anxiety. "The Government of Israel regrets," Prime Minister Eshkol told the Knesset pointedly May 20, "that in spite of the Egyptian ruler's aggressive declarations against Israel he receives political support and supplies of arms from sources that generally advocate peace and co-existence." It is tragic that Israel could not have joined its neighbor in rejoicing over so fruitful and historic an achievement as the Aswan Dam. And it was mischief-making demagogy for Khrushchev to join the Arab States in stigmatizing as an imperialist plot the beginnings of the Jordan water scheme which could benefit the whole area and does no more than put to use millions of precious gallons otherwise wasted in the Dead Sea.

Jews and Germans

"I am 75 years old and my age disqualifies me from appearing on the Junior page, but I cannot resist an urge to compliment Mr. Kurt Schwarzer most warmly on his letters.

"Are we, as Israelis and as Jews, going to be given a lesson in our own Talmudic teachings by a German and a Christian namely to 'Show love to your neighbor because he is like yourself?' Moreover the word 'neighbor' does not refer only to members of our own people because a few verses further in the text, the Egyptian is designated by the same term. And 'Do not despise the Egyptian, for you were a dweller in his land' and 'The sons shall not die for the sins of their fathers, but each one shall die for his own sins.'

"If we condemn outright *all* Germans and abstain from all contact with them, are we then better than the Nazis who had condemned all Jews? This mentality might help us build up a political state of Israel—a haven of refuge for the remnants and for the persecuted—but it will never be a true Jewish State, the guardian of the spiritual heritage of our ancient Kingdom and of the rich ethical and moral legacy of our long Exile."

—Dr. Elias Frenkel in a debate among German and Israeli youth in the Jerusalem Post May 15.

The Shadow of Ben Gurion

To inflame the Arab-Israeli quarrel is to risk no small conflagration. Eshkol's statement on the eve of his visit to the United States reiterated previous denials that atomic development in Israel was designed for other than peaceful purposes. But doubts persist. There are circles in Israel which see nuclear arms as a necessity for survival. They fear that neo-Nazi German scientists are using Egypt as a proving ground for "unconventional" weapons. The arms race between Egypt and Israel can become the next hot spot in the proliferation of nuclear arms. A committee of distinguished scholars and scientists in Israel (see box bottom of p. 3) have began to agitate for a denuclearized Arab-Israeli area but there is no echo from Egypt, where a police state represses free opinion. Behind the quarrel which is dividing Israel's ruling party, the Mapai, the quarrel between Ben Gurion and Eshkol over the irrepressible Lavon affair, is a struggle between younger military men who put their faith in force and an Old Guard which wishes to steer a course of moderation away from the apocalyptic adventurism of Ben Gurion. The Suez affair showed that B.G. and the military were able to carry on secretly behind the back of civilian government. They might do so again. If the conversations with President Johnson strengthen Eshkol, they will make a contribution to peace. Now is the time to prevent Egypt and Israel from wasting their substance and endangering the world in the blind alley of a nuclear arms race. I hope to report further on this in a later issue.

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Why Our Man in Laos Runs An Opium Den, P. 3

Look Who Now Laments The Decline of Moscow's Power in South-East Asia

"Washington, May 29—The most dangerous new element in the foreign policy crisis now confronting President Johnson is the resounding collapse of Russian power in Southeast Asia. . . . For nearly a decade—from the fall of Dienbienphu in 1954 until last year—Russia was a significant power in the East-West pulling and hauling over Southeast Asia. Indeed it was the major Communist military presence in Laos, where Soviet planes were busy airlifting supplies to the Pathet Lao rebel forces.

"Russia played the game hard, and against America's best interests. But it contributed on the whole a stabilizing influence highly valued by U.S. officials . . . a restraining influence on North Vietnam, for a while, even on Red China. For example, Moscow played a key role in checking the Pathet Lao grab for Laos in 1962, when a direct collision with the U.S. threatened. The Soviet also helped American negotiators engineer the patchwork Geneva agreement on Laos, then worked to put it into effect. . . .

"American Kremlinologists regard Russia's present noisy declarations of support for the Communist effort in southeast Asia as just a smoke-screen. They feel this is Moscow's way of confessing that it is really no longer in a position to influence its old partners. . . . This fact greatly complicates and limits the choices of action for the U.S."

—Michael O'Neill's Capitol Stuff column in the Neanderthalish right-wing **New York Daily News** ***May 30.***

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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Some Truths About Laos Adlai Helped to Hide

Adlai Stevenson's speech to the Security Council on Southeast Asia was a moral disaster. He deserves better employment than reading the repellant scripts of the State Department. Once before on Cuba, as now again on Indochina, he found himself assigned the defense of the indefensible. Morse was right when he told the Senate last Thursday that the speech "extinguished a light of world statesmanship," and that Stevenson should have resigned rather than make it. Morse was particularly disturbed, in view of the growing speculation about the use of nuclear weapons, because Stevenson declared the U.S. ready to "'take whatever means are necessary" to enforce its will in Southeast Asia. As an exercise in the disingenuous and the palpably false the Stevenson speech topped even McNamara's March 26 address on Vietnam to the National Security Industrial Association. A striking example pointed out by Morse: Stevenson cited the special report by the Indian and Canadian members of the International Control Commission in June, 1962, accusing North Vietnam of violating the Geneva accords by armed aid to the South Vietnamese rebels. Stevenson did not mention that the report also accused the U.S. of violating those accords by its military activity in South Vietnam! We had a right to expect something better from a man like Stevenson.

Three Rightist Coup d'Etats

Stevenson spoke of the alternation of periods of calm with periods of limited aggression in Laos. He failed to mention that the "periods of calm" have been broken by the intrigues of our military-intelligence establishment. The recent outburst of fighting was a reaction to the third attempt by the rightist military on our payroll (Laos was long the only country in the world whose Army was entirely paid by the U.S.) to overthrow a coalition regime headed by Souvanna Phouma. The first time was in 1958, the second in 1960. Morse told the Senate we should have taken our case against the violation of the Geneva accords in Laos to the United Nations. In his judgment the U.S. "has a case it can prove" in an international investigation. The fact is that our first effort to overthrow Souvanna Phouma *has* been investigated and by a committee of our own Congress. In the spring of 1959 the subcommittee on foreign operations of the House Government Operations Committee took 984 pages of testimony on what we were doing in Laos. They showed gross violation of the Geneva accords by the United States.

What If The Mistake Had Been Made With An Atom Bomb A La Goldwater?

"Cha La, South Vietnam, May 25—At six one morning about two weeks ago, an Air Force plane swept low over Cha La. What followed was one of the more tragic mistakes of the war in South Vietnam. Major Victor Chandler of Austin, Tex., watched in shocked dismay as a plane whipped back and forth over the rice paddies and pineapple groves on which Cha La depends for its prosperity. Major Chandler recognized it immediately as a defoliation plane. Obviously the pilot had misread the map. Plant-killing chemicals intended for enemy country deeper South sprayed the ground below. Major Chandler's shouted protests went unheard.

"That, Col. Jim Keirsey of Durant, Okla., senior adviser to a South Vietnamese division, said grimly later on, was the last defoliation mission flown on the Ca Mau peninsula—until we get some things straightened out. But that does not save Cha La's paddies and pineapple growers. Today their green is slowly turning to brown, and the months ahead look bleak indeed. Cha La is the outpost we have selected to turn into a model town."

—Jim G. Lucas in the Scripps-Howard press May 25.

The Geneva accords provided for free elections to reunite Laos as well as Vietnam. We blocked free elections in Vietnam but failed in Laos. In the spring of 1958 elections reunited the northwestern provinces under Pathet Lao control

(Continued on Page Two)

(Continued from Page One)

with the rest of the country. A coalition government was formed under Souvanna Phouma and the Pathet Lao troops taken into the Royal Lao Army. The U.S. used its power to overthrow Souvanna Phouma and set up a military dictatorship. The Leftists were purged from the Parliament, the Pathet Lao troops thrown into concentration camps and their leader Prince Souphanouvong, Souvanna Phouma's half-brother, was jailed on trumped up charges of treason. The troops and the Prince both broke out, and renewed rebellion with them.

We Overthrow Phouma Again

Souvanna Phouma came back to power again in 1960 in the wake of a revolt by a parachute Colonel, Kong Le, disaffected by the corruption whose roots in the U.S. aid and military program were uncovered in the 1959 investigation. Souvanna Phouma again set up a coalition Cabinet intended to reunite the country. He offered the post of Deputy Premier and Minister of the Interior to our favored military man, Gen. Phoumi Nosavan. But Nosavan with the support of the U.S. and Thailand began a military revolt instead. Its failure led the U.S. to agree to the 1962 Geneva conference at which a new coalition government was set up under Souvanna Phouma. Our military and intelligence agencies caused the Kennedy Administration a lot of trouble during the prolonged negotiations; they opposed a new coalition Cabinet; the were never reconciled to it. The rightist military they favored overthrew Souvanna Phouma again in the coup of April 19.

The U.S. reacted quickly against the coup—it could hardly have done otherwise in view of the united opposition by Moscow and London—and forced the reinstatement of Souvanna Phouma as Premier. But it would be a mistake to believe that this put a happy ending on the affair. The U.S. military in South Vietnam was as hostile to the neutralist regime in Laos as in Cambodia. Just as those who favor neutralization believe it must be applied to the whole region so the military see the existence of neutralist regimes in part of the region as a bad example for war-weary South Vietnam. The U.S. has allowed the men who made the coup to remain the real power in Laos. They have sought to achieve their aims more subtly and to use Souvanna Phouma as their front and captive. The U.S. which shut off aid in 1958 and 1960 to overthrow Souvanna Phouma has not cut it off this time to force the rebel Generals out of power.

Those Invaders From Red China

"Pro-rightist Meo tribesmen have captured two Communist Chinese soldiers in Phongsaly Province in the far north of Laos. . . . This was the first definite evidence that there are Red Chinese troops in Laos. . . . One of the captured Chinese is said to be an officer, and the other is a sergeant. Both men, in their 20s, were wearing Chinese uniforms when captured."

—UPI from Vientiane in Washington Daily News *May 23, which played it under banner headlines on page one "First Evidence of Chinese Red Troops in Laos."*

"Coupled with Kong Le's indictment of the North Vietnamese was a report by a Western observer that right-wing troops at Paksane are holding two men who were found to be carrying Communist Chinese documents when they were captured by Meo guerrillas in northern Laos. He said he was shown the captives and the soldiers told him they were an officer and a noncom but did not say whether they were Chinese."

—AP from Vientiane in Washington Post *May 24.*

"The Vientiane headquarters of the right-wing army claimed a wave of terror followed the capture of two Chinese Communist soldiers in the northwest corner of Laos bordering China. The right-wing official bulletin, Laos Presse, said that Communist Chinese authorities, together with the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese, arrested all village and district leaders and people in the area and killed and tortured many.

"The right-wing army had claimed the two Chinese were captured May 8 in Muong Sing, 20 miles southeast of the Chinese frontier. The two men were reportedly brought to Vientiane, but Western newsmen have not been able to find them."

—AP from Vientiane in Washington Star *May 27.*

Calmer View of The Laotian Fighting Taken By The Responsible British Press

"Recent advances by the Left-Wing Pathet Lao forces in Laos have certainly jolted this part of Southeast Asia, but after visiting Laos and Siam as well as South Vietnam in the last two weeks it is possible to suggest that the Pathet Lao's immediate territorial objectives are probably more limited than appear from a distance. . . .

"1. Regaining all territory lost or threatened by earlier Right-wing probes since 1962. . . . Right-wing advances there last year had threatened, and occasionally cut, the main Pathet Lao supply line from North Vietnam.

"2. Establishing complete control over the central Plain of Jars, where until recently the whole of the neutralist army of 9,000 men and some units of the Right-wing forces were said to be 'dug in.' . . . Since the coup, the Right-wing forces had been deliberately withdrawn in the hope that the Pathet Lao would not attack the purely neutralist force, but the Pathet Lao have preferred to take the opportuniy to gain an even easier victory than usual with the excuse that under the new Vientiane regime 'neutralists' no longer exist except on their side—to which some have indeed defected. . . .

"They may be poised now to demand objective No. 3—the reconvention of the Geneva conference of 14 nations to consider the Right-wing breach of the 1962 agreements, followed by a restitution of a 'coalition Government' on their own terms."

—The Guardian *(London) from Saigon, May 21.*

"The critical situation which developed last week in Laos after the pro-Communist Pathet Lao forces occupied the neutralist headquarters in the Plain of Jars seemed to have eased somewhat by the week-end. The situation, both on the spot and diplomatically, remained confused, but the tone of the Chinese press showed that Peking supports Prince Souphanouvong, the Pathet Lao leader, in declaring that he wishes merely to restore the situation as it was before the recent Right-wing coup in Vientiane and to have the declared amalgamation of Right-wing and neutralist forces cancelled. Both China and the Pathet Lao appear, therefore, to be content to consolidate their recent gains in the Plain of Jars, and to be working for a restoration of tripartite coalition government in Laos."

—Diplomatic Correspondent, The Times *(London) May 25.*

The Generals insisted that Souvanna Phouma agree to reorganize his Cabinet, to appoint new members named by the military and to merge the neutralist forces with the rightists. He agreed over the protests of the Pathet Lao. On May 16 the Pathet Lao attacked and took the neutralist headquarters on the Plain of Jars. Souvanna Phouma in a press conference two days later (*Le Monde,* May 20) disclosed that he had been warned by Prince Souphanouvong that the Pathet Lao would attack if he agreed to these changes particularly the merger of the armed forces. Indeed Peking claims that the attack was a revolt by neutralist troops objecting to the merger. *Le Monde* (May 19) in reporting the attack said that "of the ten battalions of Leftist troops which have participated since Saturday in the offensive on the Plain of Jars, six came from the neutralist camp and even constituted, so one is told officially, the elite troops." These battalions passed over to the Pathet Lao, *Le Monde* reported "because they rejected the integration of the armed forces decided upon by Prince Souvanna Phouma in the wake of the rightist coup d'etat."

Notorious for False Battle Reports

Whether an uprising or an attack, the fighting seems to have ended with resumption by the Left of the control it had over the Plain of Jars before the cease-fire of June, 1962. These movements were not much more than skirmishes with few casualties, and indeed little contact between the opposing forces. The neutralists with Kong Le seem to have withdrawn as soon as shelling began, or even when hostile forces appeared in the neighborhood. But all this has been blown up in the headlines of the U.S. press as if it were a major war. Laos is not very accessible to the outside world. Few reporters get to Vientiane. Fewer still ever get to see a battlefield. They are dependent for their information on the military, local and U.S., in rightist-controlled Vientiane. These have made Laos notorious for exaggerated battle reports.

In 1959 false reports of North Vietnamese and Chinese invasions created a crisis atmosphere on the eve of Khrushchev's visit to Eisenhower but when a United Nations commission investigated it could find no evidence of these supposed incursions. Then in June 1962 another crisis was generated by false reports that the Pathet Lao were marching on Thailand; Lao troops fled in panic across the Mekong river but reporters, when they arrived in their wake, could find no trace of the invading army. Now again the dispatches fed the headlines with reports of invading Red Chinese and North Vietnamese. Proof of the former seems to have evaporated (see box top of page two) while the only proof of the latter we have seen was an *AP* dispatch from Vientiane in the *Baltimore Sun* May 30 which quoted some villagers near the Plain of Jars as saying that Communist North Vietnamese must have been among troops they encountered because "military commissary agents bought two dogs as well as rice and chickens from them and this proved foreigners were among the Red soldiers because Laotians do not eat dogs." On such rubbish the peace of the world may hang.

Some Merger

"Although the coup of right-wing generals had dissolved somewhat under pressure from Western governments, it did result in a merger of neutralist and right-wing armies."

—Washington Sunday Star's Weekly Summary, May 24

"Vientiane, May 21 (AP)—Still unused in the fight against the Pathet Lao is a rightist army of about 50,000 troops, allies of the neutralists in the coalition government. Military authorities said it was impossible for the rightists to move from garrison centers in the major towns without leaving vital routes open to the pro-Communists and that air transport necessary to carry out a sufficiently rapid reinforcing move was not available."

—New York Times, May 22.

"Thus far Laotian army right-wing forces haven't been heard from. They are concentrated mostly in the Laotian panhandle. Their combat record is, to put it charitably, undistinguished."

—Keyes Beech of the Chicago Daily News Service from Vientiane in the Washington Post May 27.

Why Our Favorite General in Laos Opened A Gambling Joint And An Opium Den

"Phoumi Nosavan is 44 years old. No one questions his intelligence, his guile and his political sense. . . . He linked his fortunes to those of Prince Boun Oum and the Americans. When Boun Oum disappeared from the political scene two years ago, Phoumi Nosavan entered the coalition government of Prince Souvanna Phouma and patiently began the slow process of regaining his place as the No. 1 man in Vientiane. Last year Phoumi Nosavan hesitated. The Americans had left, drying up the source of those dollars without which the hundred and twenty Generals of the nationalist army [which General Phoumi commands—IFS] would not remain faithful. What to do? Play the neutralist game? Or bring about so anarchic a situation in Laos that the Americans would have to intervene directly? . . .

"In the meantime, a thunder clap in Saigon. Last November 1, a group of Generals overthrew the Diem regime. In Vientiane Phoumi was worried. He had a great many Generals around him. Some of them might be tempted to adventure politically. It was necessary to calm the impatient, and for that to find money.

"One then witnessed at Vientiane some remarkable financial operations. To begin with the abattoirs of the capital, which are very profitable, were assigned to the military. Then—again for the profit of the army—Phoumi Nosavan authorized the opening of a gambling house. One could play there at roulette, dice or dominoes. The Asian passion for gambling emptied the pockets of Vientiane inhabitants for the profit of the General Staff. . . .

"Finally, the latest monopoly of the military in Vientiane: an opium den. It is the only one in the whole world which exists legally. Since its opening, it has always been full. It is very primitive, but contains 150 cots. A pipe costs 70 kips, that is to say about 100 old francs [about 20 cents]. That is not much when one smokes only two or three; it is a great deal when one smokes 50 or 100 pipes. The money rolls in.

"To forestall the expected criticism from their American allies, the Vientiane military hit upon a wonderfully clever idea. They put a placard over the doorway of the opium den: 'Clinic for The Cure of Addicts'."

—G. Penchenier, well known French writer on military and South-East Asian affairs in Le Monde *(Paris) May 24-25, one of a series of four articles (also May 23, 27 and 28) on the three Indochinese States we recommend highly.*

A Sad Footnote to Nehru's Death; The Supreme Court's Belated Action on Loyalty Oaths

Dr. Leo Szilard Matched His Humanity to His Science

Dr. Leo Szilard helped to create The Bomb and then spent most of his life trying to save humanity from it. He rose, as if by sheer will, from what was supposed to have been his death bed from cancer to found the Council for A Liveable World. He set his fellow scientists and his fellow men a noble example. We mourn his passage. . . .

To all that outpouring of sorrow and eloquence about Nehru we would add only a small, sad note of our own. When Nehru last appeared May 16 before the central Committee of the Congress party, he was given an ovation. But when he ended (so London's *Peace News* noted May 22) there was meagre applause. He had spoken of his hopes for peace with Pakistan and he had dwelt with sorrow on the violence done to Moslems by the Hindus in India. So long as Gandhi and Nehru led the Hindus against the British, they were adored. But when they tried to restrain the evil passions of their own people: Gandhi was shot by a Hindu religious fanatic. Nehru's last public reception was cold. . . .

The Height of Treason

More shocking than any Southern mob is the record remorselessly set forth by Mr. Justice Harlan for a unanimous Supreme Court in *NAACP v. Alabama.* For here Alabama's best people, its judges and highest law officers, stand convicted of conspiring to abuse basic concepts of fair trial for eight years in their campaign to outlaw the NAACP. Among the charges against the NAACP, along with aid to the Montgomery bus boycott, was that it tried to pressure the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Penn State football team into "a boycott of the Alabama football team!" This was the very peak of its high treason. . . .

Loyalty Oaths and the First Amendment

"A teacher must swear that he is not a subversive person. . . . The Communist Party is declared in the statute to be a subversive organization. Does the statute reach endorsement for Communist candidates for office? Does it reach a lawyer who represents the Communist Party or anyone who supports any cause supported by the Communist Party? . . . Is it subversive activity to attend international convention of mathematicians and exchange views with scholars from Communist countries? Would any person supporting peaceful but far-reaching amendments be engaged in subversive activity? Could one support participation by this country in a world government? We also conclude that the 1931 oath offends due process because of vagueness. The oath exacts a promise that the affiant will, by precept and example, promote respect for the flag and the institutions of the U.S. and the State of Washington. . . . The oath may prevent a professor from criticizing his state judicial system or the Supreme Court. . . . Or it might be deemed to proscribe advocating the abolition of the Civil Rights Commission, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, or foreign aid."

—Mr. Justice White invalidating loyalty oaths required by the State of Washington for teachers and other public employes.

Two notions, one simple-minded, the other sinister, lay behind the wave of loyalty oath legislation which inundated this country in recent cold war years. One was that "subversives" would be inhibited from their "subversion" by a loyalty oath; the other was that the vagueness of these oaths would make it easy to punish non-conformity by perjury prosecution. The Supreme Court's 7-to-2 decision in the State of Washington cases (see box this page) recognizes the threat of such oaths to First Amendment rights. It is a pity our highest tribunal in the regrettable years of the witch hunt was not as clear-sighted as it is now, when the country is coming out from under this nonsense. Mr. Justice Clark dissenting (with Mr. Justice Harlan) indicates the magnitude of this recovery when he protests that in 1951 the Court unanimously affirmed a Maryland Act (the notorious Ober law) "written in language identical" with Washington's. Clark also protested that the language of the Washington statute was no more vague than that upheld by the Court that same year of 1951 when it validated the Smith Act intended to outlaw the Communists. "Where," Clark asks plaintively, "does this leave the constitutionality of the Smith Act?" A good question.

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To Prevent Bloodshed in Mississippi, P. 4

A Glimpse of Hell or How to Kill 25 Guerrillas and Recruit 1500 More

"Tay Ninh, South Vietnam, June 5 (AP)—Loudspeakers blared strident orders Monday night above Vietnamese villages in a 20-mile-long strip of Communist-infested territory adjoining the Cambodian frontier. 'We are going to clear out this area,' warned airborne spokesmen for a jungle-trained task force of Americans and South Vietnamese. 'There will be no life left here. Move out!'

"Today that strip of territory is wrecked and barren. A hazardous scorched-earth operation that may set a new pattern in the war against Viet Cong guerrillas ended last night. About 25 guerrillas were killed, but the prime targets of air and ground attacks were shelter, food and transport. Huts are in ashes. Sampans are sunk. Bullock carts are smashed. Rice stores, poultry and livestock are destroyed or carried off.

"About 700 civilians—women, children and old men—have been moved. That clears the region for later all-out strikes against the able-bodied villagers and Viet Cong troops based among them who chose to flee and fight on under the Red flag. Officers estimated these totalled 1500. . . . American advisers were divided in their opinion of the effect of breaking up Viet Cong families, some feeling it might spur the men to fight harder."

—Baltimore Sun, *June 6*

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On Goldwater, Ike and The GOP's Gutless Wonders

It looks like Goldwater, and if that ruins the Republican party it's no more than its so-called liberal leaders deserve. We have yet to see a bigger collection of gutless wonders and inane mediocrities, from Eisenhower down. In particular, after watching Scranton (see adjoining box) on *Face The Nation* last Sunday, we found our sympathies with Goldwater. If we were a Republican, we might be for him, too. He may be a crazy mixed up kid from Phoenix, but like Popeye he is what he is. Nobody knows what the rest of them are. Rockefeller is more dangerous because sugar-coated by the necessities of New York state politics. He's just about as liberal as Allen Dulles and a little more belligerent in foreign policy. As for Eisenhower, it is time the truth were told about him. No man ever got further on less: he hasn't the foggiest notion what domestic politics are all about, he seems to think Lincoln fought that war to defend States Rights. He showed his spinelessness years ago when he refused to defend his friend George Marshall against McCarthy, and he's too lazy ever really to exert himself. His off-again, on-again performance about Goldwater was true to form.

Put The Birchites Where They Can Be Seen

The Goldwater campaign will probably put a half dozen Birchites into Congress but that doesn't make us nervous either. One of the things that killed McCarthy was making him visible on TV. The more the public gets a look at these crypto-Fascist screwballs, the worse for them. Rather than leave the Goldwater coalition of Birchites and Rip Van Winkle McKinleyites feel that they had been cheated of their chance by Eastern seaboard influences, we'd rather see them get it. We have no doubts about the outcome. The bad thing about a Goldwater campaign is that it will enable Johnson to move rightward, but maybe that will free the liberals from his clutches for action on their own. On Cuba and on Vietnam, it's hard to distinguish between the so-called "extremists" and the men in power; the only difference between them is in the degree to which they would wage war, and this difference is largely the difference between being in power and sobered by it, and being out of power and free to indulge in demagogy. We remember how Kennedy spoke against Eisenhower in 1960 on Cuba, Laos and that imaginary missile gap. The *Financial Times* of London said quite rightly last week that a campaign between Goldwater and Johnson would be like a contest in England between the extreme right wing of the Tory party—and its left wing, i.e. between a bit of a crackpot and a moderate conservative. In any case, should Goldwater be nominated, we don't advise readers to leave for New Zealand. It'll be much more interesting here.

June 8

Just A Man of Principle

Mr. OTTEN (Wall St. Journal): Are you saying that Sen. Goldwater does not fit that image of Lincoln and Eisenhower?

Gov. SCRANTON: No, I am not saying that. . . . I think the most important thing, first of all, is to find out precisely where the Party is moving in this, and to make sure that it does stand by the principles that it has always stood for. And if I am convinced that this will not occur, then you will see quite a little activity on my part to make sure that it does.

Mr. NIVEN (CBS News): Does that mean becoming a candidate, perhaps?

Gov. SCRANTON: I would doubt that, sir . . . I don't plan to go out and try and defeat Sen. Goldwater . . . But I do think it important . . . that the Party keep to a sound footing. . . .

Mr. NIVEN: Would you consider Mr. Goldwater an unsuitable nominee if he had just voted against the civil rights bill?

Gov. SCRANTON: No, not necessarily. I don't think one bill makes the difference. . . .

Mr. NIVEN: Would you accept a nomination to run with Sen. Goldwater?

Gov. SCRANTON: Well, maybe. . . .

Mr. OTTEN: Even though you would not be comfortable campaigning with him?

Gov. SCRANTON: I am usually pretty comfortable campaigning. . . .

—On CBS Face The Nation, Sunday June 7

West German Bundestag Ratifies Nuclear Test Treaty Only After U.S. Assurances on MLF

British Laborite Wilson Claims K Agreement to Mideast Peace Moves

We hope there was more to the Johnson-Eshkol meeting than appeared in public. Otherwise the meeting was little more than a bit of mutual electioneering. It helped Johnson with the Jewish vote, without committing the U.S. to anything which would antagonize the Arabs and their friends among the oil companies. It may help Eshkol in the fight he now faces with Ben Gurion over the Lavon affair. Most disappointing was the lack of any concrete progress on Johnson's unexpected offer last February of "cooperative research" in the desalinization of sea water by nuclear power. The final communique only promised joint studies.

One Way to Get Nazi Scientists Out of Egypt

In this respect Labor Party leader Harold Wilson's trip to Moscow seems more promising than Eshkol's visit to Washington. The U.S. press and wire services paid little attention to Wilson's Middle East initiatives there. He claimed at a press conference in Moscow after seeing Khrushchev that the Soviet Premier had responded favorably to proposals (1) for a treaty forbidding any nation to let its scientists help others build nuclear weapons and missiles and (2) for an arms shipment control commission to prevent an arms race in the Middle East.*

On general disarmament Wilson's talks were less fruitful. The stumbling block is the MLF, on which the U.S. is proceeding despite the fears of the Eastern bloc and the misgivings of all its Western allies except the Germans. Moscow cannot take our talk of wishing to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons seriously while we propose to put a German finger on the nuclear trigger via the MLF. We would feel the same way if Moscow were setting up a joint satellite nuclear force for *its* Germans. The British Labor Party has made it clear that it will not support MLF if it wins the next election. Belgian, Dutch and West German trade union leaders pointedly abstained when Jean Monnet's unofficial Committee for a U.S. of Europe backed a joint U.S.-European nuclear force though without endorsing the MLF. Fears East and West will be increased by the fact that the West German Bundestag did not ratify the nuclear test ban treaty until U.S. negotiator Wm. C. Foster arrived in Bonn with assurances that U.S. disarmament proposals at Geneva "will do nothing to endanger the planned multilateral nuclear force." (*Baltimore Sun,* June 6).

The State Department and undercover agencies are still doing their best to keep full awareness of MLF's significance from the U.S. public. The visit to the Hague of a Women's Strike for Peace delegation representing women from all NATO countries was blacked out of the U.S. press though it provided picture and feature story material otherwise attractive and widely played in Dutch papers. The barring of Mrs. Linus Pauling at the Dutch border was the kind of disgraceful business in which FBI and CIA specialize. The women presented a petition to the NATO Council meeting signed by some of the world's greatest scientists and thinkers but it is hard to find any mention of this in the U.S. press. WISP is planning nationwide demonstrations July 15 when the Destroyer Biddle is launched at Norfolk as an MLF pilot project with 49 German sailors aboard. This will probably also get blackout treatment.

*** Le Monde of June 5 which arrived at press time carries an AFP dispatch from Moscow quoting Wilson as saying, "I asked Khrushchev if he was against Egypt and other countries becoming nuclear powers. He was very categoric. He said he did not want countries like Egypt to become nuclear powers."**

Why Korea's Students Revolt

"The dismal fact, which neither South Korea nor the U.S. will admit publicly, is that the costly American program to rebuild agrarian South Korea has failed while industrial North Korea under Communist methods has achieved relative stability and prosperity. Two months ago North Korea dramatically contrasted conditions in the divided halves of the country by offering unemployed South Korean students full-time jobs. . . . Of more than 30,000 students leaving university in South Korea this year only 600 have secured worthwhile employment. The Japanese believe that in these circumstances and with the bitterness of the Korean war receding many South Koreans would rather seek reunion than adopt the only alternative of closer ties with Japan—and the risk of reimposed Japanese financial dominance."

—Richard Hughes from Tokyo in The Guardian *(London) May 17, quoting an un-named U.S. diplomat as saying, "We don't shout it aloud but with all its risks and dangers, a reunion of the two halves of Korea has never been nearer than now."*

So The Pentagon's Real Purpose Is Not To Keep An Eye On Castro But To Humiliate Him

"U.S. reconnaissance satellites have been photographing the face of the earth, including Russia and her satellite nations for five years. But the Pentagon has said little about its satellite system since a few months after the first experimental vehicle was orbited in 1959. So no official Pentagon comment was stirred by the report yesterday that Khrushchev has expressed belief that this country should conduct its inspection of Cuba in this manner and avoid a new crisis arising out of overflights. . . .

"American officials, when asked about the feasibility of using satellite reconnaissance over Cuba, say that this would not meet the American purpose at all. The American surveillance must be conspicuous in order to demonstrate that the 'right' to fly over Cuba claimed since the missile crisis is still being exercised. Actually no one in a responsible position in the American government believes that there are offensive missiles in Cuba. Introduction of long-range missiles could be checked easily by satellite photography, radar-carrying aircraft flying off Cuba, or by conventional espionage.

"But these methods would be invisible to Premier Fidel Castro and the Cubans. Surveillance is maintained by U-2 aircraft flying over the island at an altitude that is high but not so high that the Cubans cannot try to shoot them down. Administration policy is that if one is shot down all of the Cuban surface-to-air missiles, supplied by Russia, will promptly be destroyed in retaliation.

"In other words, the over-flights are really a dare to Mr. Castro to start something."

—AP in the Washington Evening Star *May 30*

Should U.S. Scientists in Drug Frauds Be Allowed to Plead "Superior Orders"?

Time to Hit A Sensitive Nerve By Calling It "Johnson's War"

Aiken's speech on Southeast Asia in the Senate June 2 was doubly significant: the first Republican to join the small peace force gathered around Morse and Gruening; and, unlike Morse, who has been tactfully calling this "McNamara's War," Aiken put the responsibility where it belongs—on the President. Johnson cannot be allowed the mantle of peacemaker and war-maker at the same time. True, he inherited the war from Kennedy. But the decisions now are his. His favorite line is, "Come, let us reason together." When will he apply it to Southeast Asia? In Eastern Europe his policy is to detach the Soviet's satellites by trade and cultural relations. When is he going to apply the same method to Vietnam? Aiken opposed extension of the war and favored an international conference. This is the way to avoid the stigma of "Johnson's War." The peace forces ought to step hard on this sensitive nerve.

The Case For A Cease-Fire Now

"It is becoming increasingly evident that the undeclared war in Vietnam can and will ultimately be settled only at the conference table. If that is the case then the sooner the U.S. takes the initiative in the UN to obtain a cease-fire the better. On June 1 the Washington Post editorialized that the U.S. should take a 'middle course.' Admitting that the issues of Vietnam will ultimately have to be settled at the conference table, the editorial would nevertheless advocate needless sacrifice of thousands of American lives to strengthen our hand at the conference table. The military might of the U.S. does not need to prove itself by the needless loss of thousands of its fighting men nor by the incineration of villages by napalm bombs. The New York Times adopts a similar position editorially, saying in its May 29 issue, 'The prelude to a peaceful settlement through negotiation may have to be a temporary increase. . . . To get our troops out of the area . . . it may be necessary first to put more in.' In other words we have got to kill a lot more American boys as well as Vietnamese and spend more millions of dollars before we do what we know we will have to do ultimately. What utter folly!"

—Gruening of Alaska in the Senate June 3 (abridged) a speech most of the press ignored.

The Moral Duty of Scientists

At the Nuremberg trial, the court insisted men could not escape punishment for inhuman acts by pleading they had only been carrying out orders from their superiors. Federal Judge McGuire here in the District of Columbia applied a more lenient rule in the Richardson-Merrell case. Three scientists who pleaded *nolo contendere,* the equivalent of guilty, to charges of supplying misleading reports to the Food and Drug Administration on a harmful anti-cholosterol patent medicine were allowed to go free on six months probation. Judge McGuire said he felt the blame rested "on the failure of proper executive, managerial and supervisory control." This is dangerous judicial doctrine. Scientists know what they are doing. Not to punish them is to encourage similar violation of moral duty in other laboratories. MER-29, marketed as an anti-cholosterol drug, caused cataracts and impotence. The company sold $12,000,000 worth—and now gets away with an $80,000 fine!

The wisdom of outlawing loyalty oaths is reinforced by a figure the *Baltimore Sun* disclosed June 4. The editorial welcomed the Supreme Court's decision against the oaths imposed by the State of Washington and suggested repeal of Maryland's Ober Act which has a similar loyalty oath. The *Sun* pointed out that "on a secret list Ober enforcers have 3,000 names, although they admit there are no more than 100 'diehard' Communists in the State." This means that the Ober Act in its 15 years of existence has given Maryland an excuse to keep Left and liberal organizations of all kinds under surveillance and to build a black (or "Red") list.

While Secretary Rusk hailed the Shah of Persia as "a symbol of stability" and the *Washington Star* as "a cause for democratic rejoicing," the State Department and the Iranian Embassy did their best to frustrate a press conference called in protest by the Iranian Student Association. The Shah is a symbol of police state rule and a fake land reform used to siphon U.S. aid dollars into Swiss banks. Hardest of all for the students to understand is why three American universities confer honorary degrees on a ruler who sent troops with "shoot to kill" orders into the University of Teheran two years ago killing one student and wounding 2,000 others. The only appropriate degree would be Doctor of Despotism.

Ignorance and Inhumanity Uncovered in the Defoliation-by-Atom-Bomb Controversy

The defoliation controversy is uncovering not only the irresponsibility of Senator Goldwater but the ignorance and inhumanity of the Air Force. The atomic physicist Ralph E. Lapp in a letter (New York Times June 5) takes issue with the General from whom Goldwater got the idea of using atomic bombs to deprive guerrillas in Vietnam of their leafy cover. The proposal for defoliation-by-atom-bomb (of Hiroshima power) was put forward in the Air University Quarterly Review (Spring, 1960) by Gen. Frederic H. Smith, Jr., now retired but then at U.S. Air Force HQ in Europe.

Dr. Lapp wrote that Gen. Smith's "thesis is in violent disharmony with the official data on nuclear weapons effects." He pointed out that on page 346 of "The Effects of Nuclear Weapons", the Bible on the subject, "there appears a photo of an area 1.25 miles from Ground Zero at Hiroshima." The trees in the photo are "intact, no limbs ar broken, and leaves are in place." Where trees were denuded in Hiroshima or Nagasaki it was by fire storm. The probability of a fire storm in the rain forests of Vietnam, Dr. Lapp went on, was very low "due to the high water content of the leaves."

Dr. Lapp's letter dealt only with the defoliation problem. A more serious question is raised by Gen. Smith's article. "We must achieve," the General wrote, "through education and through clear-cut, logical tactical doctrine, a general acceptance by the U.S. of the requirement for the use of nuclear weapons in limited war." He expressed the belief that "limited aggression" could be deterred if enemies were convinced "that we can and will employ nuclear firepower from the outset." Thus his article is to be read as part of a campaign to get the American public used to the idea. We don't think it will endear us to the peasants of Vietnam.

Five Unsolved Negro Murders in Five Months in Mississippi

Will the White House Wait for More Bloodshed This Summer Before Acting?

There will be murder this summer in Mississippi. More urgent than the Civil Rights Bill, which seemed sure of passage as we went to press, are steps to inhibit violence in Mississippi when 1,000 volunteers invade the State to help Negroes register. The Council of Federated Organizations, which is running this Mississippi Summer Project, held a hearing here last Monday before a panel of writers and educators on which we hope to report more fully in next week's issue. The testimony showed a campaign of terror by official and unofficial white agencies in the State to prevent the registration of Negro voters.

The Basic Law Is White Supremacy

Law enforcement there is enforcement of white supremacy. This is an old story but it still, as naive questions at the hearing indicated, seems to surprise good people in the North. Some of our best boys and girls are going to get the same treatment in Mississippi this summer unless strong preventive action is taken in advance.

The ideal move would be to send troops or Federal marshals to Mississippi before instead of after bloodshed. A politically more practical move would be to press for hearings in Mississippi this summer by the Civil Rights Commission. The Kennedy Administration vetoed hearings in that State. Johnson ought to be petitioned to order them. The crisis in civil rights will come in Mississippi this summer. The Commission ought to be on hand to observe it. Its presence would inhibit violence. The restraining influence would be strengthened if the President announced that an FBI man and a Justice Department man would be on hand at each hearing.

If the White House cannot be moved then we urge that a citizens' panel like that (under Dr. Harold Taylor) which presided at the hearing last week be formed to hold hearings during July and August in Mississippi.

Steps of this kind will save lives. The testimony at the hearing showed that there have been five unsolved murders of Negroes in Mississippi during the past five months. One was that of Louis Allen, who witnessed the unpunished 1961 slaying of Herbert Lee, a registration worker by E. H. Hurst, a member of the State legislature. Allen later signed an affidavit saying that Hurst had killed Lee "without provocation." Allen was warned to leave; had his jaw broken by a deputy sheriff; asked the Justice Department in vain for protection. His head was blown off by a shotgun just 12 hours before his scheduled departure. That is how they play it in Mississippi.

The gap between what Congress enacts and what Mississippi obeys is an abyss. One brave Negro testified that after he tried to register his house was fire-bombed—and then he was arrested for arson! James Travis, a SNCC field worker, was shot in the back of the head while returning from a voter registration rally. Suspects were arrested after pressure on the FBI but have never been brought to trial. These stories are a sample of what to expect this summer.

Another Nail in the SACB's Coffin

As we were about to go to press a major victory was won in the fight against the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act. The Supreme Court, by refusing to grant a review, left standing a unanimous decision by Chief Judge Bazelon in the Court of Appeals which held that officials of the Communist Party could not, under the 5th amendment, be required to register the Party. Just three years ago, the Supreme Court 5-to-4 upheld the registration provisions as not in violation of the 1st amendment but declined to pass on the 5th amendment question until someone had been convicted for failure to register. The dissenters, Warren, Black, Douglas and Brennan, held then that the 5th amendment applied. Of the original majority, Harlan, Clark and Stewart are still on the Court. White took no part, since he had been in the Justice Department when the case was being prosecuted. The government may, under the decision below, ask for a new trial and take on itself the almost impossible burden of proving that the Party may find a "willing volunteer" to register it without incriminating himself. In the absence of such a request, an acquittal will be ordered. This would not mean the end of the Subversive Activities Control Board with its power of blacklisting radical organizations, but it would be another judicial nail in its coffin.

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Johnson's Brinkmanship in Laos, P. 4

"It'll Be A Hot Summer in Mississippi—And I Don't Mean The Weather"

"Well, I can say there will be a hot summer in Mississippi, and I don't mean the weather. Because the people are really getting prepared. They have been riding with guns. But Ruleville is a very small town. There are about 2,000 people in there. I see now they have a tank, and they are keeping the dog riding on the back of the truck so if the truck stops, the dog won't have anything to do but jump off. And the mayor, he would ride around and tell folk don't let the outside people come into their homes, because after they stay awhile, they would just beat them up. But they say, 'Don't say anything to Fannie Lou.'

"I'm not even going on that street. My husband was fired the day after I qualified to run as congresswoman in the Second Congressional District. Last week he had gotten a second job. The mayor went out on this job on which he was working, so he will probably be fired by the time I get back home."

—Testimony of Fannie Lou Hamer before COFO Citizens Panel on Mississippi. Transcript put in Congressional Record June 17 by Rep. Ryan (N.Y.)

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A Noble Task for This Generation in America

At every turn the long fight over the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 has attested the power of minorities. A minority of Southern Senators was able to hold up action for months by filibuster until shut off by a two-thirds vote. A minority of the minority Republicans was able to water the bill down as the price of reaching the two-thirds required for cloture. Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats could afford to antagonize the Negro minorities in the urban and industrial centers of the North. The bill itself, the first comprehensive Federal civil rights legislation since the days of Reconstruction, marks the arrival of the Negro as a major force in American politics; what the Radicals sought to confer upon him as a gift after the Civil War he has now obtained on his own. Finally, it is no secret that the Negro upsurge has been the work of a minority of a minority. SNCC and CORE and SCLC and NAACP are made up of heroic but pitifully small numbers well padded out on every picket line with white sympathizers. As in almost every revolution, social, national or racial, the discerning will see the apathetic or cautious mass behind the glamorous scene. Here we see again what a few who care can do.

'I Could Hear People Screaming'

On August 31, in 1962, I traveled 26 miles to the county courthouse to try to register (to vote.) I was fired the 31st of August from a plantation where I had worked as a timekeeper and sharecropper for 18 years. My husband had worked there thirty years.

On the 10th of September, they fired into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Tucker 16 times for me. That same night two girls were shot at Mr. Herman Sissel's. Also, they shot Mr. Joe Maglon's house. I haven't had a job since that day I was fired.

In 1963, I attended a voter registration workshop and was returning back to Mississippi. At Winona, Miss., I was arrested. After I was locked up in a cell, I began to hear the sounds of licks, and I could hear people screaming. I don't know how long it lasted before I saw Miss Ponder, the Southwide supervisor for SCLC (Southern Conference Leadership Conference) pass the cell with both her hands up. Her eyes looked like blood, and her mouth was swollen. Her clothes was torn. (Then) I was carried out of the cell into another cell where there were two Negro prisoners. The state highway patrolman gave the first Negro a long blackjack that was loaded with something, and I was beat until I was exhausted.

—Testimony of Fannie Lou Hamer, Ruleville Miss. (abr.) before the COFO panel.

Russell Deplores The Clergy

The bill is also a triumph of conscience. "I have observed with profound sorrow," Russell of Georgia told the Senate last Wednesday, "the role that many religious leaders have played. . . . We have seen cardinals, bishops, elders, stated clerks, common preachers, priests and rabbis come to Washington to press for the passage of this bill." He complained —could there have been a greater confession of obtuseness?— that they had sought to make its passage "a great moral issue"! The four little girls killed in that bombing of the Negro Church in Birmingham last September did not die in vain. Here again a minority played its part, a religious leadership minority and the minority of the imaginative and sympathetic whites. Right was on the Negro's side, and the white majority was ashamed.

There was a third major factor. "Lyndon Johnson," Russell said bitterly on the floor the day the filibuster was shut off, "had more to do with this than any one man." The remark was not meant as an accolade. Russell himself later struck it from the Record lest so burning an accusation come back to haunt him later as a party regular. But the fact is that the same Lyndon Johnson who made his debut in the Senate 15 years ago as an opponent of Federal civil rights legislation of any kind, even against lynching, has made his debut as President by successfully putting through Congress the most sweeping civil rights bill in a hundred years. He who once upheld the filibuster as a guarantee of minority rights has now presided over the first application of cloture to shut it off on a civil rights measure. The bill as passed under Johnson is better than the bill originally proposed by Kennedy. The latter found himself stalemated between the deep hatred of the South for this Catholic Yankee Negro

(Continued on Page -Two)

Biggest Defect Absence of Stronger Powers Against Police Brutality . . .

lover and the glee of the Republican leadership which hoped to benefit by a party split. The appearance of a new President, the fact that he spoke with a Southern accent and was himself a conformist rather than maverick Southerner, the fact that he had to prove himself to the Northern liberal and the Negro, changed the political situation overnight. Johnson's enormous gifts as a persuader and wheeler-dealer made themselves felt in both House and Senate. He was the No. 1 lobbyist for civil rights.

The Value of Three-Judge Courts

Republicans in the Senate exacted compromises to supply the votes needed for cloture and passage, but even so the bill retains sections on fair employment practices and equal access to public accommodations. Neither was included in Kennedy's original proposals. Voting rights were still the main emphasis of his Civil Rights message. Then he suggested that the courts be authorized to appoint voting referees where the Attorney General certified that less than 15% of any racial group was registered. Now the Attorney General can act wherever he finds a "pattern or practice" of discrimination. Best of all he may detour around the white supremacist judges on most of the Federal District Courts in the South by asking for a three-judge court to be set up by the Chief Judge of the Circuit. Three-judge courts may also be asked where Negroes are refused access to public accommodations.

Except for the absence of stronger powers against police brutality and the deletion of authority to allow the Attorney General to initiate preventive action against the suppression of basic rights, the bill is almost as broad as one would have wished. Its weakness lies in its enforcement provisions. This is most striking in the case of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which has been steadily watered down. The Clark and Roosevelt bills would both have established a Commission with power to issue cease and desist orders, like other regulatory commissions, enforcible in the Circuit Courts of Appeals. The House Republicans moved the enforcement power to the Federal District Courts and gave them the right to make their own findings *de novo*. The Dirksen substitute weakened this further. If the Commission is unable to obtain voluntary compliance, the complainant is free to bring a civil action in court! If the employer or labor union fails to obey the court's order "the Commission may commence proceedings to compel compliance." This is certainly going the long way round. On the other hand where the Attorney General finds a "pattern or practice" of discrimination, as in the South, he can bring a civil action on his own.

Without Anaesthesia

"February 28, 1963, I attended a voter registration meeting in Greenwood, Mississippi, along with Robert Moses and Randolph Blackwell. After the meeting was over, we left the SNCC office en route to Greenville. A white Buick began following us. There were three white men in it. When no other cars were in sight, it pulled up alongside and opened fire with a submachine gun. I was hit in the back of the head and shoulder.

"They took me to the hospital in Greenwood. The doctor took some X-rays and he wanted to remove the bullet. But I did not want him to because I was afraid he would not do his best. The following day I was transferred to a hospital in Jackson, a university hospital. The bullet was removed that afternoon without any anaesthesia.

"Two days after they took the bullet out, the doctor came in after breakfast and said, 'You are discharged.' I told him I didn't feel up to it. He came in (again) after supper and he said, 'You are discharged and you got to leave.' So I left.

"The people who did the shooting were arrested and released on bond. And in November the trial was to come up, but after the death of Pres. Kennedy they postponed it. They said people would have resentment because of the assassination. And nothing more has come of it."

—Testimony of James Travis, SNCC worker.

Going Easy on the North

The essence of the Dirksen-Humphrey compromise was to go easy on the North for the sake of better enforcement in the South. The North has been provided with a major loophole by requiring that fair employment and public accommodations cases first be brought before State civil rights agen-

The Sheriff Put One Hand On His Blackjack And The Other on His Pistol

Mr. FREEDMAN: I understand you have been involved in attempts to register to vote. Have you been successful?

Mr. TURNBOW: No, sir, I haven't. The second time I went to take it over again, the Circuit Clerk told me no, I didn't pass, I wouldn't never pass. And he tried to raise a big fuss with me, so I walked out. The first time we had lots of trouble. We had heard of a citizenship school being taught in Leflore County. Some of the citizens in our area asked them to come down and tell us about it. John Ball, he come, and he talked to us and told us that he was learning us how to register, since we were not familiar with registering in Mississippi. So in a two week period, fourteen of us thought we knowed it well enough to go register. We went to Lexington. We didn't drive our cars up in town. We stopped them outside and we walked uptown. We didn't walk in a big gang. We walked in two's about ten or twelve feet apart, so they couldn't say we was demonstrating.

So we was met by the sheriff, Mr. Andrew P. Smith. He met us at the south door of the courthouse. And he stopped us. So Samuel Block was leading us. And Samuel Block said "March forward." And Mr. Smith put one hand on his blackjack and the other one on his pistol and said, "None of that goddamned forward stuff here."

So I stepped out the line. I said, "Mr. Smith, we only come to register." He said, "Well, Turnbow, go around to the north side of the courthouse and stop under that tree and don't go in no big crowd, go in two's." So we did that, Mr. Smith, Mr. Andrew P. Smith, he came round there under the tree where we were standing and he looked at us, he put one hand on his blackjack and the other on his pistol and raised his voice. He said, "All right, now, who will be first?" And the fourteen of us got scared and looked at the other. So when the fourteen commenced looking one at the other, I just stepped out of the fourteen. I said, "I will be first, Mr. Smith." No sooner I said I will be first than Mr. Smith calmed his voice. He said, "All right, Turnbow, go down the side, and go in the courthouse and do what you go to do." [See the sequel next page.]

—Testimony of Hartman Turnbow, Tchula, Miss. (abr.).

. . . Courts Can Shut Down Non-Complying Businesses Until They Obey

cies; these exist only in the North. Most of them are pretty poor. There has been speculation that the South might set up agencies of its own to take advantage of this method for giving the Negro a run-around. But one hopes this would prove little more than a delaying action since time limits are placed on the state agencies and the law requires that they be "effective."

The South's Big Loophole

The big loophole for the South is the Morton amendment requirement for jury trials in all criminal contempt cases—except those arising out of voting rights where a Judge may still impose a prison sentence of up to 45 days and a fine of up to $300 without a jury. Southern juries are expected to acquit. In public accommodations and fair employment cases the courts nevertheless have a powerful civil remedy. They can close down a restaurant or a factory until it complies. The most important new punitive power in the bill—and the one the South most fears—is the cutting off of Federal aid where there has been discrimination in its use. Much will depend on the will to enforce, especially on the part of the Attorney General; on the militancy of the Negro; and on the extent to which opinion can be mobilized by the President for large-scale voluntary compliance, particularly in access to public accommodations. Here it will be easiest for the Negro to make his impact felt without prolonged and costly litigation.

Fresh Heart to Fight

No one can tell just what effect the law will have. Some Northern States like New York have long had much better civil rights laws and yet the Negro in them still lives a life apart and degraded. The testimony from Mississippi in the boxes on our first three pages from the hearing held in Washington June 8 by a citizens' panel shows the brutal reality which confronts the Negro when he tries to vote in many parts of the South. The law will not change that, except in encouraging the Negro to be more militant. That is perhaps its most important function. By recognizing his rights, it gives him fresh heart to fight for them. But his road to freedom is still a long, rocky and probably bloody one. His rights must remain theoretical so long as his education is inferior, and he is caught in the vicious circle of poverty and ignorance. But he is not the only one who needs to be educated. The fight which the Presidency, the clergy, the labor leadership and intellectuals of all kinds have waged to win this bill must now be applied to the harder task of changing white men's attitudes. The bill and the effort behind it does our country proud. There are few nations on earth which have so mobilized all their leadership circles in a concerted drive against racism, a disease that poisons human relations everywhere on this planet. India has done far less for the untouchable than we for the Negro; the new Negro republics tend to be as racist as the white. To set a better example here, to bring Negroes into the full orbit of American life, to make them feel this is their country, too—what a noble task for this generation of Americans.

It's Dangerous To Go Home Again

Mr. PERCY BREWER: (brother of Charles and Greene Brewer) Well, now, after he (Charles) came to three days later, after he got where he could talk, he said he [had gone] in the store and called for two pops, one for him and one for my brother over here (Greene) and said the store owner asked him if he wanted the pops opened, and he told him yes. The man said, "When a damn nigger goes north and comes back, he gets beside himself, and he gets where he can't respect white folks." (Charles) turned to walk out of the store. Mr. Rittle reached behind a heater and pulled out an axe handle and cut him off between there and the door. He turned around and Mr. Hunter, the store owner, swung at him with an axe handle. He throwed up his left arm, and grabbed the axe handle with his right hand and said a lick come from behind him, and that is all he remembered before the next four days in the hospital. So I asked the doctor what condition was he in, and the doctor told me he didn't have no broken bones but for about five days he would throw up blood by the pan full, bleed from his nose and mouth and ears. He stayed in the hospital for eight days. He came out of the hospital on the 12th and was drafted into the army on the 17th. And that is where he is now."

—Testimony before COFO panel.

They Fire-Bombed His House—And Then Arrested Him for Arson

Mr. TURNBOW: So after dinner, I went back in [the courthouse] and [the clerk] was in. He said, "What do you want?" I said, "I want to register to vote." He just handed me the form and I filled it out and signed it and handed it back to him. So then after that I noticed the next day the Lexington Herald, a little local paper they write—they had a write-up that "Hartman Turnbow was an integration leader." About two weeks or little after that my house was fire-bombed and shot in all at the same time. My wife and daughter, she is sixteen, they jumped out of bed screaming and hollering that the house is on fire, it has been bombed. I had a little old 22 automatic Remington sitting over in the corner. I picked it up and pushed the safety off and run out. And no sooner I got out in the open with my rifle in my hand, I saw two white men, and one of them no sooner he saw me shot at me. I had my 22 already in position and I just commenced shooting at him right fast. But while me and this one on the back were shooting at each other, somebody on the front was shooting all in the front of the house.

After daylight broke, we got in the car and we went out to Mitchell's, and we asked them to call the Justice Department and ask them to send an FBI to investigate the shooting and burning. They were there investigating when the sheriff [Mr. Smith] got there. After the FBI left, he asked me "How did it start?" I told him how it started. He said, "You could have done it." Then when he said I could have done it, I said, "Mr. Smith, can I ask you a question?" He said, "Yes, you can ask me a question, one." I said, "Well, do you think I would set my house on fire and don't have no insurance on it?"

So late that evening, about dark, Mr. Smith come back to my house and called me. I walked out there where he was. He said, "I got an arson charge against you, get them up." I got them up, and they pat me down. I got on in the car. So they took me to Lexington and put me in jail.

—From testimony of Hartman Turnbow, resident of Tchula, Mississippi, Leflore County (abridged).

Senator Bartlett Again Urges That We Try de Gaulle's Road to Peace in Asia

Johnson Practicing Brinkmanship in Escalating The War in Laos

It now seems the purpose of the Honolulu meeting was to prepare for the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, to use bombing planes in Laos and to get ready for wider action if the Chinese meet the challenge. This is brinkmanship on a particularly deep brink—a war with China which would begin with successful bombardment of Chinese cities and then bog down into a prolonged conflict on the ground. The human suffering that could lie ahead is beyond conception. The split between Moscow and Peking is so fundamental that the Russians may not be at all averse to letting us weaken China for them, and at the same time tie our power down in Asia. It is appalling that we should let ourselves be sucked into this deadly quagmire without the American people being consulted or even made aware of what is happening. . . . As the war clouds gathered, Bartlett (D. Alaska) made a speech in the Senate (June 15)—largely unreported in the press, like most of the peace speeches—warning that we could not make peace in Southeast Asia without China and supporting de Gaulle's proposal to reconvene the Geneva conference and seek a settlement by neutralization. . . . After hearing Rusk in executive session, Morse told the Senate that same day, "I am more convinced than ever, after listening to the Secretary of State, that we are heading for a major war in Asia if we continue our unilateral military action. . . ."

At the Supreme Court

The essential conflict in the historic reapportionment decisions may be seen from a passage in a dissent by Justice Stewart complaining that the majority "forever freezes one theory of political thought within our Constitution," denying the States freedom by districting to avoid "absolute domination by a geographically concentrated or highly organized majority"—in plainer words, the philosophy of majority rule. The obstacle to its "absolute domination," in Justice Stewart's question-begging phrase, lies in constitutional guarantees of minority rights and free expression. It does not lie in district lines which give a rural minority the right to govern urban majorities. These new decisions should end the one-party system in the South and advance the Negro struggle. . . .

First Voice for Peace in The House

"One possibility [for negotiating peace] would be a minimal agreement that both North and South Viet-nam would not join any military alliances or attempt to overthrow each other, either by subversion or direct warfare. Each would be allowed to develop its own form of government and to live in peace. Under this proposal the South would agree to normalize trade relations with the North, but that would not necessarily mean diplomatic recognition. The relationship between East and West Germany could be used as an example. A variation of this proposal might include joint economic development projects between North and South, which could look toward eventual reunification and free elections for the entire country."

—Rep. Wm. Fitts **Ryan** **(D. N.Y.)** *June 10, the first speech in the House for a negotiated peace.* **Burton** **(D. Cal.)** *rose to commend him and to associate himself with Ryan's remarks.*

The Supreme Court last Monday agreed to hear the appeal by Dr. James A. Dombrowski and the Southern Conference Educational Fund from the 2-to-1 decision of a statutory 3-judge court in their suit to recover records seized from them by the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee. Circuit Court Judge John Minor Wisdom, the dissenter in that ruling, said the real question was whether Louisiana "under the pretext of protecting itself against subversion, has harassed, and humiliated the plaintiffs and is about to prosecute them because their activities in promoting civil rights for Negroes conflict with the State's steel-hard policy of segregation." The Court also allowed the National Lawyers Guild and the American Civil Liberties Union to file briefs amicus in the appeal. Justice Black took no part. . . .

The *Washington Star* in an editorial June 8 called the MLF a "multilateral farce." . . . The State Department is encountering strong disagreement from leadership groups being briefed privately in favor of these floating naval Towers of Babel in which the Germans would be given a finger at last on the nuclear trigger. . . .

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That Delusive Parallel Between Vietnam and Cuba, P. 4

Morse Tells Senate That Johnson Is More Belligerent In Asia Than Ike Was

"President Johnson's comments in San Francisco about our Asian policy grossly overstepped his moral and legal rights. His reference to an "offensive pursuit of peace based on overwhelming military power" is as artful a piece of double-talk as has been uttered in the Cold War. No President is alone entitled to threaten war or to commit the United States to war. . . .

"The President's lamentable excuse is said to be that the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization gives him all the power he needs. He should read the Treaty again. It makes no provision for war by the Organization as a whole, much less the United States acting alone. It calls for nothing more than consultation. . . .

"President Johnson is making the United States the world's leading threat to world peace, and he will discredit himself and his Administration in the eyes of history if he leaves our people the legacy of a unilateral war in Asia. Even President Eisenhower declined in 1954 to commit this country to a unilateral war in Indo-China, unsupported by allies or a specific mutual defense treaty. . . .

"The only possible result of such an American adventure would be that the United States would do Russia's "job" on China, leaving the Soviet Union free from confinement on both her borders. I cannot imagine a greater service the United States could do the Soviet Union than to whittle down her Chinese adversary at a huge and bloody cost to ourselves."

—*Sen. Morse, in the Senate, June 22.*

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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Judicial Sustenance for the Southern Racist

Justices Black, Harlan and White have done the country a double injury by their dissent in the sit-in cases. The majority decisions, by one device or another, found it possible to reverse or remand the convictions without passing upon the fundamental issue, which is whether the States may under the 14th Amendment *in any way* enforce racial discrimination in public accommodations. The case which Black, Harlan and White made their main battle ground was *Bell v. Maryland,* which involved 12 Negro students convicted of criminal trespass for a restaurant sit-in in Baltimore in 1960. Since that time both the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland have passed public accommodations laws. Under these laws what the students did is no longer a crime. The majority, speaking through Mr. Justice Brennan, therefore vacated the judgments against them and remanded to the State courts for such action as may now seem justifiable under the State law as changed.

The Right to Travel Decision

Practically the Supreme Court's decision upholding the right to travel is a victory. Philosophically it's a disappointment. It leaves loopholes that may prove dangerous in the future. Practically, it is another blow at the Internal Security Act, a thought control measure fathered by Mundt and Nixon in the Fifties. It holds that Section 6 of that Act, in denying passports to members of Communist organizations or "fronts" is unconstitutional because it "too broadly and indiscriminately restricts the right to travel and thereby abridges the liberty guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment." But this implies that a more carefully drawn statute might command a majority on the Court. Only Mr. Justice Douglas firmly upholds the right to travel (see box bottom of p. 3); even Black, while condemning the Internal Security Act altogether says that Congress has "broad powers to regulate the issuance of

(Continued on Page Three)

A Mischief-Making Dissent

At this moment in our national history, when Congress is in the final stage of passing the first public accommodations law since the Civil Rights Act of 1875, there was good grounds for restraint in the Court. If it could not muster a majority clearly to affirm the right to equality then it was wiser to postpone the issue, especially when there were sound legal grounds for doing so. The risk otherwise was to throw doubt in advance on the constitutionality of the new statute by a split within the high Court itself and thus to cast a baneful influence into the scales wherever public opinion is precariously poised between resistance and compliance. It was mischievous of Black, Harlan and White to open the question up and to open it in such a way as inevitably to give emotional support to mass resistance. "We fully recognize," Black wrote apologetically for the dissenters, "the salutary general judicial practice of not unnecessarily reaching out to decide constitutional questions. But this is neither," he quickly added, "a constitutional nor a statutory requirement." So off they went, in an opinion which sounded as if it were written by David Lawrence.

They protected themselves in the small print, of course. They said they were not passing on the constitutionality "of any existing or proposed state or federal legislation." In his oral, as in his written text, Mr. Justice Black was careful to say that he meant only that the 14th Amendment did not *of itself* and without Congressional legislation, prohibit denial of public accommodations to Negroes. These fine points will not protect the country from the bigots who will now say, "Why even Black. . . ." The whole emotional coloration of the Black dissent is on the side of the aggrieved white Southerner, not his Negro victim. He waded in with joyous abandon on the side of Harlan and White, with whom he otherwise rarely agrees. For Harlan property rights have always been a No. 1 consideration; he has always subordinated

(Continued on Page Two)

A State With A Color Line Can't Suddenly Claim It's Color Blind

civil rights to them. But this was a new stance for Black.

The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments were intended to free the Negro from slavery and give him first class citizenship. The Southern States sought to circumvent them first by the Black Codes and then by Jim Crowism. In this they were aided by Supreme Court decisions which read the 14th amendment so narrowly as to take the heart out of the first Civil Rights Act. Their spirit lives on in the Black-Harlan-White dissent. Here is a sample of its question-begging formulations. The 14th Amendment, it says, "does not forbid a State to prosecute for crimes committed against a person or his property, however prejudiced or narrow the victim's views may be." Of course not. But is it a crime for a Negro to try and buy a meal at a lunch counter which otherwise serves the public? "Nor," they go on, "can whatever prejudice and bigotry the victim of a crime may have be automatically attributed to the State that prosecutes." Not automatically, of course. But the records of these cases is full of testimony that restaurant and hotel owners refuse service to Negroes not because of their own prejudices but because they fear those "local customs" the Southern States foster.

Hardly "Past History"

The Solicitor General, in a brilliant supplemental brief *amicus,* argued that "a State which has drawn a color line may not suddenly assert that it is color blind." Black argues that if this were accepted "we would have one 14th Amendment for the South and quite a different and more lenient one for other parts of the country." It is not the 14th Amendment which is more "lenient" in the North. It is the North which is far less harsh and brazen than the South about defying the Amendment. Black complains that to infer State responsibility where there is racial bias in public accommodations would leave constitutional rights to be "governed by past history in the South—by present conduct in the North and West." Surely these Justices do not think racial discrimination in the South is merely a matter of "past history?"

It is the standard Southern answer, to say as the dissenters do, that "the 14th Amendment of itself does not compel either a black man or a white man running his own private business to trade with anyone against his will." This is a tissue of invidious misstatement. The 14th Amendment can and should be read as part of the public policy of this country, which is against racial discrimination. What a man does in his "private business" may be his own affair. But where he has a business which opens its doors to all comers then he cannot deny entrance or service to some solely because of their race. When he does so, he cannot under the 14th Amendment have State support in the shape of police and judicial action to enforce the discrimination via "criminal trespass." Nor can States which have done all they could to maintain the Negro in subjection then come into court and claim that they are merely enforcing property rights. This was the argument of the Solicitor General and of counsel for the sit-in demonstrators.

The Choice The 14th Amendment Made

"In granting Negroes citizenship and the equal protection of the laws, it was never thought that the States could permit the proprietors of inns and public places to restrict their general invitation to the public and to citizens in order to exclude the Negro public and Negro citizens. . . . A fundamental assumption of the 14th amendment was that the States would continue, as they had for ages, to enforce the right of citizens freely to enter public places. . . . The dissent would hold in effect that the restaurant proprietor's interest in choosing customers on the basis of race is to be preferred to the Negro's right to equal treatment by a business serving the public."

—Mr. Justice Goldberg, with Chief Justice Warren and Mr. Justice Douglas in Bell v. Md.

Of course it is not easy, in this as in other basic questions of constitutional law, to find clear answers to present problems in the debates and intentions of its framers. But Black in other cases has not hesitated to pour new wine into the old bottles. However obscure the details may be, the main lines are clear. The South has been engaged for a century in attempting to nullify the Negro's emancipation. It has done its best, in the vivid phrase of the first Mr. Justice Harlan, this one's grandfather, to turn the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments into "splendid baubles, thrown out to delude those who deserved fair and generous treatment at the hands of the nation." Those words are from a dissent in 1883 which at last is being made the law by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Congress is thereby reversing the Supreme Court. Goldberg, Warren and Douglas would have had the Court, too, reverse that 1883 decision on public accommodations. Mr. Justice Douglas felt that the Court dodged its duty in not doing so. He asked scornfully, "how is a 'personal' right infringed when a corporate chain store, for example, is forced to open its lunch counters to people of all races?" He put the issue unanswerably when he wrote:

> **Segregation of Negroes in the restaurants and lunch counters of parts of America is a relic of slavery. It is a badge of second class citizenship. It is a denial of a privilege and immunity of national citizenship and of the Equal Protection guaranteed by the 14th Amendment against abridgement by the States. When the state police, the state prosecutor and the state courts unite to convict Negroes for renouncing that relic of slavery, the 'state' violates the 14th amendment.**

It is tragic at this moment, when the strongest kind of stand is necessary to avoid bloodshed, that the Supreme Court did not do its duty and take that unequivocal position.

The Bitter Protest From Douglas Against The Court's Dodging Of The Issue

"On this last day of the Term, we studiously avoid decision of the basic issue of the rights of public accommodation under the Fourteenth Amendment, remanding the case to the state court for reconsideration in light of an issue of state law. . . .

"The whole Nation has to face the issue; Congress is conscientiously considering it; some municipalities have had to make it their first order of concern; law enforcement officials are deeply implicated, north as well as south; the question is at the root of demonstrations, unrest, riots, and violence in various areas. The issue in other words consumes the public attention. Yet we stand mute, avoiding decision of the basic issue by an obvious pretense."

—Justice Douglas's Separate Opinion in Bell v. Md.

Court Implies State Dept. May Put Iron Curtain Around "Sensitive" Areas

(Continued from Box on Page 1)

passports under its specific power to regulate commerce with foreign nations." Congress also has power to regulate interstate commerce. Would that give it power to require passports between one State and another?

There were three passport decisions.* Two non-Communists, who refused to take a non-Communist oath on principle, had been denied passports. The denials had been upheld in the Courts of Appeals. Without opinion and with only Clark, Harlan and White dissenting, the Court ordered these lower court orders vacated in the cases of Milton S. Mayer and of Vincent Copeland, the former a well-known writer and lecturer of pacifist inclination; the latter, editor of *Workers' World*.

No Dodges Available

The Court's opinion was handed down in appeals refreshingly free from subterfuge. They were brought by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and Herbert Aptheker, editor of its theoretical organ, *Political Affairs*. The Court could not dodge the issue by declaring party membership unproven. It had to decide the right of indubitable Communists to travel. This eliminated the familiar question-begging procedural and evidentiary detours. The advantage of a decision upholding the right of known party members to travel is that it lifts from other radicals and liberals the onus of proving themselves politically antiseptic to get a passport.

But the majority's reasoning was not as clear-cut as the cases. No doubt this was due to the difficulty of finding a common denominator for agreement, but this only shows how few members of the Court are willing to uphold the right to travel with no strings attached. Mr. Justice Goldberg for the majority objected to Section 6, the passport section, of the Internal Security Act on the ground that it applies to travel by a member of a registered organization "regardless of the security-sensitivity of the area in which he wishes to travel." Even were he to apply for a passport "to visit a relative in Ireland, or to read rare manuscripts in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University, the applicant would be guilty of a crime." (The Act makes it a crime merely to *apply* for a passport, if a member of a proscribed organization).

How "Security" is Best Safeguarded

"The Subversive Activities Control Act is supposed to be designed to protect this Nation"s "internal security." This case offers another appropriate occasion to point out that the Framers thought (and I agree) that the best way to promote the internal security of our people is to protect their First Amendment freedoms of speech, press, religion and assembly, and that we cannot take away the liberty of groups whose views most people detest without jeopardizing the liberty of all others whose views, though popular today, may themselves be detested tomorrow."

—Mr. Justice Black concurring in the passport case.

We don't like the implications. It implies that to travel one must explain one's purposes, to say one is only going to visit a maiden aunt in Killarney or to check Chaucer's spelling. The right to travel is not secure if one's motives and journeys have to be explained. Above all, we dislike the reference to "the security-sensitivity of the area" in which one wishes to travel. This plays directly into the State Department's hands. It can no longer deny passports to individuals. But it still shuts off travel to whole countries and areas in its own "Papa knows best" fashion.

Travel has become a weapon in its hands, of reprisal against the tourist trade of countries like Cuba and of an Iron Curtain against countries it does not wish to recognize. North Korea, China, North Vietnam and Albania—all accessible to visitors and journalists from every other Western country, are off-bounds to us. The dangerous ignorance this may develop is all too apparent in the current Far Eastern crisis. In two obscenity cases, one involving a movie, the other sexy books, Black joined Douglas in asserting that under the First Amendment there is no right to censor in this country. By doing so he cut through a lot of nonsense which is turning the Nine Old Men (as we used to call them in the 30's) into a general board of censorship over pictures and books unfit for their venerable eyes. Why can't Black be as forthright about the right to travel?

*** The Court in another Internal Security Act case also granted an appeal by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade from a Subversive Activities Control Broad registration order.**

Douglas Calls Freedom of Travel Essential to Free Society

"I would not suppose that a Communist, any more than an indigent, could be barred from traveling interstate. I think that a Communist, the same as anyone else, has this right. Being a Communist certainly is not a crime; and while traveling may increase the likelihood of illegal events happening, so does being alive. If, as I think, the right to move freely from State to State is a privilege and immunity of national citizenship (see Edwards v. California, 314 U.S. 160, 178), none can be barred from exercising it, though anyone who uses it as an occasion to commit a crime can of course be punished.

"Free movement by the citizen is of course as dangerous to a tyrant as free expression of ideas or the right of assembly and it is therefore controlled in most countries in the interests of security. That is why riding box cars carries extreme penalties in Communist lands. . . .

"Those with the right of free movement use it at times for mischievous purposes. But that is true of many liberties we enjoy. We nevertheless place our faith in them, and against restraint, knowing that the risk of abusing liberty so as to give rise to punishable conduct is part of the price we pay for this free society.

"War may be the occasion for serious curtailment of liberty. Absent war, I see no way to keep a citizen from traveling within or without the country, unless there is power to detain him. Ex parte Endo, 323 U.S. 283. And no authority to detain exists except under extreme conditions, e.g., unless he has been convicted of a crime or unless there is probable cause for issuing a warrant of arrest by standards of the Fourth Amendment. This freedom of movement is the very essence of our free society, setting us apart. Like the right of assembly and the right of association, it often makes all other rights meaningful—knowing, studying, arguing, exploring, conversing, observing, and even thinking."

—Mr. Justice Douglas concurring in the passport case.

How Does A Nation Take A Firm Stand, When It Has Nothing Firm to Stand On?

Those Parallels Between Vietnam and Cuba—or Berlin—Are Delusions

Some silly parallels are making headlines and creating new illusions in the Far Eastern crisis. The favorite is with Cuba. The two situations are quite different. In the Cuban crisis, the U.S. threatened war unless the Soviet Union removed its intermediate range nuclear missiles. Khrushchev backed down and took them out. But even if he wanted to, Mao Tse-tung couldn't take the guerrillas out of South Vietnam. He might shut off aid but that wouldn't end the war. The unnamed senior American military adviser who gave that pessimistic off-the-record briefing to the press the day Gen. Harkins left Saigon "said 90% of the guerrillas' weapons" came from the supplies we sent South Vietnam (Reuters in *New York Times,* June 18). It's not the Mao Tse-tung trail; it's the LBJ pipeline that keeps the war going.

Made to Order for Miscalculation

Kennedy's success in the missile crisis was due not only to a limited aim but to his close relations with Moscow. He had met and sized up Khrushchev personally. The two capitals were in touch through normal diplomatic relations. The two heads of State were engaged in a private correspondence which facilitated settlement. But in the Far East we have no listening posts in either Peking or Hanoi, no diplomatic relations, no personal contact between Johnson on the one hand and Mao or Ho on the other. On both sides decisions are being made in considerable ignorance of the other. This is a situation made to order for miscalculation.

The parallel with West Berlin is equally deceptive. When a nation takes a stand, it has to know where it's standing. In West Berlin we defend a geographical and political entity. Its people don't want to be swallowed up by the East. Their supply lines to the West were established by agreement of both sides and are clearly marked. The line the Communists cannot cross is unmistakable.

But where is the line in South Vietnam? A substantial part of its people support the rebellion, and see it simply as a continuation of their struggle against the French. Another large portion undoubtedly wish the Americans and the Communists, home-grown or otherwise, would go fight somewhere else. Those who support the Khanh government are few; a Saigon dispatch in the *New York Herald-Tribune* June 21 reports that the Vietcong even collects taxes inside Saigon from contractors working for the U.S. Of all the troubles we don't talk about in Vietnam, the foremost is our fear lest Khanh's government fall to a new neutralist coup from within and expose our political nakedness. We can threaten to bomb Peking and Hanoi all we want to but nothing they (or we) can do will turn Khanh into an Asian Willy Brandt.

As for Laos, that's not a war, it's a chess match, punctuated by occasional artillery blasts. Whichever side blows noisier, the other retreats. Our favorite General, Phoumi Nosavan, seems to be the world's No. 1 military pacifist. We keep his large army (the numbers range up to 70,000) on our payroll but in all the recent fighting on the Plain of Jars, they haven't fired a shot. They've left the fighting if any to Kong Le's split neutralists. The only outcome we can see in Laos is an ultimatum to Ho. Either he puts some fighting men on our side, too, or we bomb Hanoi.

Another Senator Questions the War

"One of the most important assumptions of all which still needs to be tested concerns the very nature of the war itself. Is it indeed a war supplied and directed from Hanoi as our government insists or is it a civil war as many critics have suggested? . . . If we are in fact confronted with a civil war fought under self-contained direction and only incidental outside encouragement, we must start again to ask new questions and test new assumptions. We will need to know if the Viet Cong has a coherent set of political objectives. We will need to know the probable limits of endurance to which the Viet Cong must be pushed before its political objectives can be modified. And we will need to know what possible accommodations can be reached, short of total annihilation of the Viet Cong forces, to resolve the internal conflict. The important thing is that there be no further delay in bringing the tools of diplomacy into full play."

—Sen. Claiborne Pell (D. R.I.), in a speech at a public meeting in Wash., D.C., June 17.

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Morse Challenges Johnson to Act in Asia As He Does in Cyprus, P. 3

While LBJ Talks of "A Brutal and Bitter Struggle for the Freedom of A Friend"

"The army's heart is not in the fight with the Vietcong. It is ashamed of waging a civil war. . . . A westerner visiting the countryside not long ago was held up for half a day by a Vietcong detachment. While he was waiting, he was surprised to see several government soldiers walking casually and unarmed through the village and asked his guards why they did not arrest them. 'They come from [a local government outpost]. We have given them permission to do their shopping here,' came the answer. On another occasion, a French reporter was out in the field with an artillery battery that was 'advised' by an American captain. The two stopped to have a drink, and when they came out of the hut were surprised to see the column about to make off in an unexpected direction. 'We have just heard there is a strong Vietcong barrier on the road,' the Vietnamese commander explained, 'so we shall take another route.' 'But you can attack and break it up with your guns,' said the astonished reporter. 'If he'—designating the American officer with his head—'wants to go, he is free to do so. But this is not our war,' replied the Vietnamese officer leading the convey off in the opposite direction."

—A French reporter in the London Economist, June 27.

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How to Avoid A Military Occupation of Mississippi

Two days after Attorney General Kennedy told the NAACP the Federal government had no power to take preventive police action in Mississippi, the FBI—under pressure from the White House and public opinion—showed that it could. The arrests at Itta Bena dispose of the idea that, short of a military occupation of Mississippi, the Justice Department has no power to protect the youngsters down there for the Summer Project. Two Northern young white men and a local Negro volunteer were threatened by three white men while passing out leaflets advertising a voter registration meeting. They managed to get away without harm, but were routed out of bed in the Negro section early next morning by FBI agents, and asked for descriptions of the men who threatened them. That day the three white men were arrested under the old Civil Rights statute which makes it a crime punishable by ten years in jail and a $5,000 fine to conspire to "injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate" any citizen in the exercise of rights conferred upon him by the Federal Constitution, in this case the right to vote. A few more instances of such quick preventive action may not only save lives in Mississippi but prevent the Kluxers from taking over.

Protect Negroes As We Would Banks?

"If you have, for example, a bank robber at the American Security & Trust Co., who is going into that national bank and you know it and you call up the FBI or Federal marshals, they are going to be there quick. That guy isn't going to have a chance. . . .

"Under the statutes there is absolutely nothing, for example, to prevent the Attorney General of the U.S. from stationing 20, 40, 200 marshals in various cities in Mississippi and having a marshal present whenever he is notified that a registration effort or a freedom school or any other situation which might result in retaliation from the local authorities is about to take place.

"There is no reason why he could not have Federal law enforcement officers there, precisely as would occur if he were notified that a bank robbery of a national bank were about to take place."

—Wm. L. Higgs, Washington civil rights consultant, before the citizens' panel June 8, transcript in Con. Rec. of June 16, p. 13523.

Before the Mob Gets Out of Hand

It begs the question to keep on saying that under our constitutional system primary responsibility for law and order rests with local and State authority. Federal law has always been the responsibility of Federal officers. This is particularly true where Federal law is in fact obstructed by State and local officials engaged in a conspiracy to "keep the Negro in his place" and preventing Negroes from registering to vote. The volunteers of the Summer Project are only doing what an adequately staffed and properly motivated force of Federal officers would do. These boys and girls are doing the government's work and deserve the government's protection. There is no reason why Federal marshals and FBI men cannot be on hand at voter registration rallies and attempts to register Negroes. Two hundred Federal marshals and FBI men working out of the dozen or so Federal courthouses in Mississippi would go far to prevent trouble. It would be better to send them in now than wait until some outbreak makes it difficult even for troops to reestablish order.

The notion that the Federal government cannot move in until there is virtual insurrection is dangerous nonsense. Those who would like to get some idea of the broad powers available to the Federal government may be referred to the testimony of three lawyers before the hearing held here by a citizens' panel on Mississippi June 8 and reprinted in the *Congressional Record* for June 16. Not only Federal marshals but FBI men now have the power to make arrests without warrant on the spot where they have reasonable grounds to believe that a Federal offense has been or is being committed. The law was changed in 1951 to give FBI men this power, as a result of the Coplon case.

The two main laws available in the Mississippi affair are the conspiracy statute under which the arrests were made in

(Continued on Page Four)

Fulbright Pleads Unsuccessfully for More Attention to Human Needs on Earth

House Kills Medicare and Senate Approves $5 Billion "Moon Doggle"

The House killed medicare and the Senate approved $5.3 billion for space travel within one day of each other. The same Southern conservatives who have bottled up the health insurance bill in the Ways and Means Committee for three years will enjoy almost $1.5 billion in space contracts. This inversion of national priorities did not escape one Southerner. "Is it more important to make a more adequate attack on some of the grave deficiencies of our society or to put a man on the moon by 1970?", William Fulbright asked the Senate. His effort to cut 10% from the NASA authorization was narrowly defeated 42-38.

The Senate leadership threw its weight on the side of the space industry. The first time round the bill was rushed through an almost empty Senate in one-half hour and was passed by a voice vote. When the next day Wayne Morse demanded reconsideration and a roll-call vote, Majority Leader Mansfield waited until the liberals were absent and then arranged a one-hour time limit on debate. Even then Fulbright could muster only six Senators to listen to his plea.

A New Form of Pie-in-the-Sky

How is it that in four years a nation can spend $16 billion for space and not vote one penny for any new major social welfare projects? Fulbright turned for the answer to Amitai Etzioni's new book, *The Moon-Doggle*. It all began, says Etzioni, as an attempt to rebuild U.S. prestige after the Bay of Pigs and to end the 1960-61 recession with federal funds acceptable to conservatives in Congress.

Now that the funds have been distributed—"a goody for everybody here," Fulbright complained—the program is almost impossible to stop. "Not having any State interest involved, I can be objective about it," said Fulbright. So could most of the 37 other Senators voting with him. Their states' share in 1964 space funds was only $850 million compared with $4.8 billion for the states of the 42 Senators who voted against the Fulbright amendment.

The 10% cut would have removed only a small portion of the padding from NASA's request. Last year 77% of space contracts were cost-plus-fixed-fee. The Senate Space Committee is supposed to protect the taxpayer against this kind of inflated profit, but it has been designed to protect the contractor instead. On it sit S. L. Holland of Florida (location of Cape Kennedy), Stuart Symington of Missouri (home of McDonnell Aircraft, the company which produced the Mercury capsule and now is on contract for the $308 million project Gemini) and Warren Magnuson of Washington (home of Boeing Aircraft).

Too few realize that the enormous sums voted for NASA are being used by the Air Force for the militarization of space. The 1958 Space Act established NASA as a civilian agency. A 1963 United Nations resolution outlawed nuclear weapons in space. Contrary to both, the Air Force, whose own space funds have been limited to a "mere" $1.5 billion, is using NASA's project Gemini to train pilots for space bombers and interceptors. For the hardware itself, NASA pays the heavy cost of research and development that go into building first models; then the Air Force buys the next ones "at cost." "The space program of NASA is completely tied in with the space program of the military. They are identical," Senator Anderson, the Space Committee's chairman, told the Senate last year. This should answer those liberals who push the space race as the answer to the arms race.

The Old Stalinist Methods

The Soviet government claims that it has abolished the forced labor camps which were so dreadful a feature of the Stalin period and that it no longer uses "administrative measures" against unorthodox writers. Both claims seem to be untrue, according to the story told by Patricia Blake in the New York Times Book Review **(June 21) of how the non-conformist poet Josif Brodsky has been sentenced to five years of forced labor in the far north. We know Miss Blake as a warm friend of Russia's best young intellectuals. By clandestine route she has received copies of protests sent to the court by Shostakovitch, Chukovsky and Marshak. Philistinism and anti-Semitism mark the attacks on this gifted young poet. We recommend a reading of Miss Blake's article to all concerned with the fight for justice and artistic freedom in the Soviet Union, and suggest a round robin protest to Moscow by U.S. intellectuals which we would be glad to join.**

Bobby Baker Himself Couldn't Have Picked A Better Chairman for Inquiry Into His Affairs

> ***At the end of Everett Jordan's first day in the Senate at dusk of May 6, 1958, a reporter stopped him in the corridor and inquired what great things had transpired in those first auspicious hours. "Oh, I went over to the Senate chamber," the kindly old man replied, "and I stayed there until Bobby Baker told me I could come home."***
>
> *—Bobby Was The Boy To See, by Don Oberdorfer and Ben H. Bagdikian, Saturday Evening Post, Dec. 7, 1963.*

Under the chairmanship of this same Senator Jordan of North Carolina, the Senate Rules Committee has just voted out about as weak a resolution as was politically possible in the Bobby Baker case. Never has a greater scandal been more skillfully and swiftly hushed up. Baker was the right-hand man of Lyndon Johnson as majority leader of the Senate and the fair-haired boy of the Southern conservatives who are the inner core of the Senate Establishment. He resigned last October rather than answer questions about his conduct as secretary to the Democratic majority. The charges he preferred not to discuss involved the sale of legislative favors and the political use of call girls.

But for the assassination of President Kennedy, the Baker scandal might have cost Johnson the Vice Presidential nomination this Fall. His elevation to the Presidency inhibited investigation of his own links to Baker. But the Senate Rules Committee has gone beyond a reluctance to embarrass a new President in an atmosphere of emergency.

It has limited its investigation to Senate employes, exempting Senators, and it has now reported a conflict-of-interest rule so weak that as Senator Case said, "it would not have brought into the open some of the most flagrant of his (Baker's) financial dealings." A stronger rule for Senators and Senate employes by Clark, supported by Pell and Cooper, was rejected in the committee. For the honor of the Senate and the sake of clean government in the future, we hope they will take their battle to the Senate floor, and at least make the whitewash visible.

"War Against China Safer Than War Against Russia? I Think Not"

Morse Asks Why LBJ Practices Peace-Making in Cyprus But Not in Asia

By Senator Wayne Morse *

The words of President Johnson yesterday in Minneapolis give rise to both hope and despair. They give hope because the President recognized the great contribution to world peace afforded by the United Nations and by our adherence to it. But they give rise to despair because President Johnson seems to have separated our responsibility to the rule of law from our activities in Southeast Asia.

How can the United States, through its President, proclaim the rule of law for the problems and issues of other nations, and practice the law of the claw where our own problems are concerned? The President quoted from the Sermon on the Mount when he said, "Blessed are the peacemakers. . . ." But a few lines later in the Sermon on the Mount we are given some clues of how to go about making peace, "Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou has paid the uttermost farthing."

Every War A Gamble

No government that is prepared to risk war can know where or how that war will end, and more often than not an entire nation and a generation of its people pay the "uttermost farthing." Before any Administration threatens to take the U.S. into war it should exhaust the last possibility to avoid it.

This Administration has not exhausted any possibilities in Asia. We are exhausting all the possibilities to keep Greece and Turkey from war. We are using personal mediation, summit diplomacy and the United Nations. But what of our own conflict in Asia? There we talk of nothing but war.

We look upon China as a weak adversary, lacking not only nuclear weapons but much of the ordnance and industrial capacity for even a modern conventional war. We are willing to practice a brinkmanship against China in her backyard that would be unthinkable against Russia in her backyard. But does that mean that war against China is safer for the U.S. than war against Russia? I think not. The nuclear bombs may not fall upon American cities. But the casualties and the cost would still vastly exceed the value to us of the territory we claim we are protecting.

I think we would find our interests in Southeast Asia severely weakened by such a war. Communism has fed on war. It has spread its dominion through war. Unless the U.S. is prepared to do with China what we did with Japan at the close of World War II—to occupy it, rebuild it, and reconstruct its society—there is every likelihood that Communism would spread in Asia if a full-scale war developed there.

I say to President Johnson and to his Secretary of State and to his Secretary of Defense, and to Admiral Felt, that not a single one of you has offered to the American people a goal, a purpose in Asia, that could be accomplished or advanced by war. You have not been able to establish those viable nations about which you like so much to talk even with an investment of billions of dollars. How do you expect to establish the viable nations with war? No, Mr. President let us get away from the policy of peace for Cyprus but war for Asia.

Scientists Oppose Anti-Ballistic Missile

"The cost of the presently proposed American Nike-X anti-ballistic missile system for deployment around 'twenty-odd metropolitan centers containing some 35% of the population' is about $14 billion. For a fraction of that cost an enemy could double or triple the number of missiles he could launch against the same targets. The answer to the creation of an ABM system by an adversary does not lie in the erection of one of our own but in shifting the nature of our offensive system.

"The U.S. [ABM] would be destabilizing. If either party in a deterrent situation should become appreciably more secure and invulnerable, or appear so, the deterrent balance will be upset. The side which feels its security reduced might be inclined to strike first in crisis situations.

"Optimistic evaluations of the ABM could lead to disastrous decisions. In any nuclear strike, an ABM system would tend to insure that greater numbers of warheads and higher levels of megatonnage would be employed with the probable consequence of greater, not lesser destruction."

—Statement prepared by the Committeee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and signed by twenty-three scientists and strategy experts (abridged).

Federation of American Scientists Protests Use of Defoliants in Vietnam

"Biological weapons are potentially very cheap, and their dissemination, particularly among the non-nuclear nations, would have the effect of providing these nations for the first time with a striking power comparable to that afforded by nuclear weapons. Thus, most nations, small and large, could easily and secretly acquire a significant biological and chemical warfare capability, which, furthermore, would be much less susceptible to inspection and control than are nuclear weapons.

"Civilian masses are peculiarly vulnerable, not only because of their relative lack of discipline and protective equipment, but because of the greater effectiveness of biological agents in areas of high population density. Though some mention has been made of the development of so-called "humane" weapons resulting in incapacitation rather than death, the published information suggests that considerable effort is being devoted to development of lethal agents such as those causing anthrax and pneumonic plague.

"Reports that defoliating agents have been used [in Vietnam] to destroy protective cover have been confirmed by representatives of the Defense Department. These charges give rise to the broader implication that the U.S. is using the Vietnamese battlefield as a proving ground for chemical and biological warfare. FAS is opposed to the "first-use" of chemical and biological weapons. We are further opposed to experimentation on foreign soil."

—Federation of American Scientists statement, released to but ignored by the press, June 19 (abr.).

*** Slightly abridged from a speech to the Senate June 29.**

The Main Enemies of Civil Rights in The South Are The Poilce Themselves

(Continued from Page One)

Itta Bena and the statute making it a misdemeanor punishable by a year in jail or $1,000 fine to deprive anyone of his rights "under color of law." This applies to local police officials who pick up voter-workers on faked traffic violations or arrest peaceful demonstrators. If FBI men were to take pictures of a few such incidents and then arrest State or local officers, it would have a salutary effect. In addition, as Professor Robert Harris of the University of Michigan Law School pointed out, the Supreme Court held in the Debs case that the Attorney General "without any specific statutory authority, may seek injunctions against those who obstruct the Government in carrying out its enumerated powers." Prof. Harris testified:

> **If the courts today should hold that the Federal government's duty to keep open the franchise and the political process in Mississippi is as important as it was to keep open the railroad lines during the Pullman strike, police officers and conspirators may find themselves in contempt of court without jury trials if they persist in ignoring Federal civil rights laws.**

Not The Same Enthusiasm

Mr. Lawrence SPEISER [Wash. office, American Civil Liberties Union]: We feel there is a serious misconception on the part of the Justice Dept. as to what their role could be in the State of Mississippi as well as in other States in utilizing more effectively the Civil Rights Act, section 242, to prosecute local law enforcement officers who violate constitutional rights of citizens.

Mr. Monroe FREEDMAN [counsel of the hearing panel]: Mr. Speiser, perhaps you can confirm my recollection that the Justice Dept. prosecuted James Hoffa five times unsuccessfully before they finally convicted him on the sixth try. Are you aware of any similar extended efforts on the part of the Justice Dept. in prosecution of any State official accused of brutality or violation of civil rights?

Mr. SPEISER: I have never heard of any.

—Citizens' Panel Hearing on Mississippi in Washington June 8, transcript in Con. Rec. June 16, p. 13521.

Reluctant to Prosecute

It's not the power but the will that has been lacking. If the Summer Project were threatened by Reds rather than racists, J. Edgar Hoover would never have left the headlines to his old rival, Allen Dulles, or waited for White House orders to infiltrate the Klan. The G-man would have gone South and had his picture taken with the men arrested at Itta Bena. The denial of rights to Negroes, and the murder of Negro militants, have too long been taken for granted. Even now it's only the tragic disappearance of two white volunteers, and the danger to others, which has roused the country. Mistreatment of Negroes by the police, a means of enforcing white supremacy, is regarded as a peccadillo; the FBI does not like to upset its fraternal relations with the local cops by making a fuss over such things. Letters submitted to the Mississippi hearing here showed that though there were 102 complaints of police brutality in Mississippi in the 14 months ended Feb. 28 of last year (and remember not many Negroes have the nerve or knowledge to make a complaint) only 18 were ever presented to grand juries. The ACLU protested in a letter to Burke Marshall of the Civil Rights division that he was applying a stricter standard to these than to ordinary cases. He replied that he did not think he should use his prosecutive authority more broadly "even where the ultimate purpose is to effect a desirable sociological change." We don't like that word "sociological." It unconsciously echoes the Southern notion that the race problem was something thought up by Gunnar Myrdal. It implies that Southern police brutality to Negroes is a kind of folkway, a matter for sociology rather than law.

It is against this attitude that the heat must be applied if the brave youngsters of the Summer Project and the even braver Negroes working with them in Mississippi are to be protected. For the enemy often is not the mob but the local police or Sheriff. Thus one question which cries out for FBI investigation in the disappearance of the three is the timing of their arrest and nocturnal release which so suited the convenience of their kidnappers. Another, as raised by Wm. Bradford Huie, in a dispatch to the *New York Herald-Tribune* June 29, is how many Mississippi police officers are themselves Klansmen.

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IFS Speaks at the Sherton Palace, San Francisco, 8 p.m., July 10

Will the Murchisons Control the SEC? P. 2

Gruening Asks the Senate: If A Cease-Fire in Laos, Why Not in Vietnam?

"I congratulate President Johnson and Secretary Rusk on joining Britain, Canada, Thailand and South Vietnam in calling for a cease-fire in Laos. . . . But our action should be extended to a cease-fire in South Vietnam. . . .

"Suppose we win an apparent military decision. Suppose we succeed in identifying all the Vietcong and containing them behind barbed wire. . . . We would have to feed and clothe them well into the future. We would have to seal off the borders with U.S. soldiers. We would have a U.S. colony in Southeast Asia. This might have been considered an accomplishment in the 15th or 16th centuries but not in the 20th. . . . What about the South Vietnamese people not behind bars? Would we have instilled in them a love of the U.S. as the great peace-maker who killed or imprisoned their fathers, brothers and cousins? Is this the way to spread the light of democracy abroad? . . .

"The GOP would-be policy-makers are advocating war and the perpetual colonization of South Vietnam. The action to be taken with respect to South Vietnam is to call for a cease-fire and take the issue to the United Nations."

—Gruening (D. Alaska) in the Senate July 2, in another peace speech which the press blacked out.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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"Let Us Close The Springs of Racial Poison"

The words are from President Johnson's statement on signing the Civil Rights Bill. Their noble plea matched the high occasion. The moment was one to make every American proud. In a world poisoned by racialism and tribalism of one kind or another, from Mississippi to the Congo, the U.S. is the one country which has made the eradication of racial discrimination a major national goal. Side by side with this political accomplishment, on behalf of the Negro in a country 90 percent white, is an even more extraordinary spectacle. A small band of college youngsters has headed South ready to risk beatings and death in the cause of racial equality. Most of them have never themselves suffered from the evil they propose to eradicate. Most are white, from well-to-do families, children of the privileged, well-educated, with sure futures. Three have already disappeared, victims of the racial savagery which makes the Deep South as dangerous for them as the jungle. Their disappearance has not stopped the others. History can show few examples of such pure idealism. These youngsters honor our country and our generation; they stand among the foremost in the family of man.

No Time for Euphoria

But we dare not pause more than a moment in the mood of euphoria brought about by passage of the Act and its first few successful tests in such deep South cities as Jackson, Miss. The President, in nominating former Governor Leroy Collins of Florida, to be director of the Community Relations Service the Act sets up, has made a first-rate choice. Governor Collins set an example of courage on the civil rights issue in Florida which seemed at one time to have cost him his political future. The country is fortunate to have, in Collins and in Secretary Hodges, two liberal Southerners who may help to smooth the path toward compliance. It may also be grateful to Ellender of Louisiana for being the first Senator from the South to speak up against disobedience to the civil rights law. To rally the better elements in the South swiftly, to give them support against the lawless, to show by determined enforcement that the Federal government means business is urgent and essential if serious trouble is to be avoided.

Just A Racially Impartial Fellow

"Sheriff Rainey [of Neshoba County where the three "disappeared"] killed two Negroes in the past four years, but said both killings were in self-defense. The six-foot one inch, 250-lb. Sheriff said it also had been necessary to 'knock the fire out of' persons resisting arrest several times, but that he used such force 'more often against whites than niggers'."

—Wash. Daily News from Phila., Miss., July 1.

One step would be an immediate expansion of the ludicrously small Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice. Another is for Attorney General Robert Kennedy to admit that he was wrong in saying that the Federal government has no power to protect civil rights workers in the South. A third is pressure on the FBI to find those responsible for the kidnapping and probable murder of the Missing Three. They seem to have been the victims of a conspiracy in which local law enforcement officials played a key part. The FBI has been most reluctant to do anything in the past about the racist police officers of the South.

The students working in the South are doing the Federal government's work in making the right to vote a reality. There is no reason why a specially deputized Federal marshal cannot be assigned to each group. A letter in the *New York Times* July 7 from a student voter rights' worker in Fayette County, Tennessee, reports that "in the past two weeks these students have been subjected to beatings, shootings, threats and intimidation" with no protection from the local police. Charles A. Haynie writes with force and justice:

> **Our nation must appear foolish if, although it sends millions of American soldiers to all corners of the globe to defend the liberties of free men, it cannot preserve the right to travel, to vote, to walk, to talk, to assemble and to think in one of our own States of this Union.**

Proxmire Reveals Struggle for Control of Giant Investment Empire

How Budge Appointment May Give Murchisons Control of SEC

The day the Senate approved Hamer Budge by a voice vote as Securities and Exchange Commissioner, Senator Proxmire delivered a speech in opposition. It brought to light a struggle by financial titans for control of $4.1 billion in other people's money. This is the sum managed for five affiliated and four subsidiary firms by Investors Diversified Services, Inc., the country's largest investment trust complex, which in turn is controlled by Alleghany Corp., a $6.7 billion holding company that can siphon IDS funds into its other properties, New York Central, Missouri Pacific and Webb & Knapp.

When Murchison Bros. of Dallas controlled IDS from 1953 to 59, they used it as a market for securities offered by their own financial interests. (*see box below*). In 1959, after five years' litigation, a court order divested the Murchisons of controlling interest in IDS because of "improper activities" in acquiring it. Alleghany had allowed them to "buy in" after they helped it wrest New York Central from the Vanderbilts. One month after the divestiture order, the Murchisons began a proxy contest for indirect control of IDS through Alleghany. In 1961 they won the entire empire for a mere $28 million investment.

The Abuse of Proxies

Small investors enjoy little protection against investment advisors who have secret interests in the securities they promote. A limited form of protection may result from a court suit brought against IDS, Alleghany, and Murchison Bros. by Randolph Phillips. As *amicus curiae,* the SEC can influence the outcome. Victory would mean the refund by IDS of $10 million in underwriter and advisor fees to the shareholders of its largest affiliate, Investors Mutual, Inc. At issue in the case is whether investors are to be protected under the 1940 Investment Act against an unauthorized change in control of their investment advisor when that change results from a proxy contest in the holding company. U.S. District Judge Archie Dawson has denied a trial to determine whether brokerage house proxies were committed to the Murchisons in return for IDS business. Instead he ruled that the Investment Act does not apply to proxy contests because they are "democratic elections." Phillips will appeal.

Proxmire's speech disclosed that Budge's vote may determine the position the SEC takes in court. It first voted 4-1 for the broad (pro-investor) construction of the Act urged by Alan Conwill, Director of Corporate Regulation. It then reversed itself 3-2 in favor of the Murchisons and will soon reconsider again. Proxmire was warning Budge that he could not serve on the SEC with the same immunity he enjoyed as spokesman for private power, mining and banking interests while congressman from Idaho. (He once voted against a public power project unanimously approved by his state legislature.) But to keep an eye on Budge, Proxmire must stop the SEC from voting in secret, a practice it began in 1960.

The Murchisons soon may regulate the SEC rather than the other way round. Johnson's personal adviser, Abe Fortas, is their lawyer before the SEC. A Murchison-appointed president of IDS, Tom Moses, was being considered for the position finally given to Budge. It was decided instead that Moses should replace resigning SEC Chairman William Cary. When Moses turned out to be a Republican (Cary is a Democrat), the plan had to be dropped. Alan Conwill's resignation was also a Murchison gain. He resigned when Johnson did not carry out Kennedy's intention of appointing him as replacement for Commissioner Allen Frear. Frear resigned the day after the Bobby Baker scandal broke. Johnson could dispel suspicion by replacing Chairman Cary with a liberal. Even better, he might initiate reforms in the 1940 Investment Act to prevent practices by which Texas oil millionaires can control—and manipulate—a $4 billion pool of investment capital with a $28 million investment.

As Goldwater Is To Carry Harlem

"Regulatory bodies have great power and discretion. They are constantly subject to great pressure by the people whom they regulate. It takes a man of remarkable character and objectivity to resist that kind of pressure. . . . In the course of hearings before the Committee on Banking and Currency, I asked Mr. Budge to give his views concerning the function of the SEC and what he believed his job should be. He said, 'If a person were a crook, whether he is in the securities industry or any other industry, I would deal with him as such. This position is not a bit different from the position I now hold on the trial bench.' . . . There is all the difference in the world between being a Securities and Exchange Commissioner and being a judge or one who will carry out the law as written.

"This nominee is about as likely to help make the SEC the vigorous watchdog of the marketplace that it should be as Senator Goldwater is to carry Harlem for the Presidency next November."

—Proxmire (D. Wis.) in the Senate, June 26.

How the Murchisons Used Their Control of Alleghany's Investment Trusts

"From December 1953, when Murchison Brothers acquired their first block of Investors Diversified Services, Inc. common stock until April 1960, when control of IDS was returned by Murchison Bros. to Alleghany Corporation, no less than a total of $113,587,000 of IDS and its affiliated companies funds had been lent to or invested in banks, oil and gas and miscellaneous companies identified as having transactions with the Murchison interests.

"In 1955 a company called Grilling Oil privately obtained $5,000,000 in capital funds from IDS or a subsidiary company. The IDS Finance and Law Committee subsequently discovered that Grilling's controlling persons were Holman Jenkins, principal Dallas attorney of the Murchisons, and other associated persons. In April 1956, IDS and Mutual bought no less than $22,500,000 of 5-year notes of T. J. Bettes Co., a Dallas Mortgage broker. It was discovered that Bettes had acted as a broker in finding mortgage money for the customers of Murchison companies in the house-building business."

—From the Phillips' petition to enjoin the Murchisons from use of Investors Mutual funds after they had gained control of Alleghany Corp. and IDS in 1961.

Despite The Furore Over Bobby Baker, The Senate Is Hostile to Its Own Reform

Loopholes Clark Would Close to End Influence On Capitol Hill

This issue went to press before the release of the long awaited Senate report on the Bobby Baker case. But two votes in the Senate July 2 showed how little disposed that body is to end any suspicion of influence-peddling. It voted 66 to 25 against a Morse amendment to a Federal pay raise bill which would have required all members of Congress, all Federal employes earning over $10,000 a year, all officers of the Armed Services with the rank of Colonel or above and all members of both national political party committees to disclose all income and gifts and all dealings in commodities and securities. A "little Morse amendment" covering only members of Congress and its employes was then offered by Keating. This more limited version was also rejected 61 to 25. The leadership of both parties in the Senate opposed these amendments, and the Southerners (except for Thurmond of South Carolina) were a solid bloc against disclosure. These votes do not augur well even for the weak disclosure rule reported out by the Senate Rules Committee last week which will come to a vote later this summer. So our readers can see the issues involved we reprint the heart of the separate report made by Clark of Pennsylvania, who has played a leading part in seeking reform of the Senate rules.

By Senator Joseph S. Clark

While I have joined with the Committee in voting to report this [disclosure] Resolution to the floor, I view it as merely a small and timid first step. My proposal would broaden the committee's resolution in . . .

1. *Asset disclosure.* The Committee's proposal would require disclosure of the identity of business entities in which an interest is held, but not the value. My amendment would also require disclosure of the fair market *value* of the asset.

A Senator Should Disclose His Creditors

2. *Liability disclosure.* In my view, the holding of an obligation of a person in high public office is as much a lever for evil influence as the sharing of a business undertaking. Consequently, my amendment would require the disclosure of each liability in excess of $5,000, together with the name of the holder thereof, owned by a member, officer, or employee of the Senate, or by his spouse.

3. *Capital gain disclosure.* A familiar means of passing a reward to one to whom a gift cannot be given is the "hot issue." By means of this device, one in possession of information concerning a future dramatic rise in the value of a particular security can pass that information on to others, thus permitting them to take advantage of the surge in value. . . .

There is nothing in the Committee's recommendation which would force disclosure of transactions of this sort if the securities had been sold prior to "reporting day": January 1 of the preceding year. My amendment on the other hand requires disclosure of both the *source* and *amount* of all capital gains realized during the year in any amount exceeding $5,000, by (1) the person required to report (2) by his spouse, or by him and his spouse jointly; or (3) by any straw man. My amendment would require the disclosure of the source and amount of every item of income in excess of $100 received.

5. *Disclosure of association with professional firm.* The Committee resolution goes part way toward meeting the problem of the Senator or Senate aide who maintains an association with a professional firm which engages in practice before an agency of the Federal government, by requiring disclosure of the name and address of the firm. My amendment carries the rule to the logical next step by requiring disclosure also of the name, address and principal business of any client of the firm for whom any services involving representation before a government agency are performed, together with a statement of the total fees which were charged for such services.

6. *Disclosure of financial condition and activity of spouse.* The splendid cartoonist Lichty, in his "Grin and Bear It" depicted an address being delivered by "Mrs. The Hon. Senator Snort"—"The pressure of public service is indeed terrific and a wife must do all she can to help . . . such as letting the Senator put all his investments in my name." By failing to make any provision for this time-honored technique, the Committee left a gaping loophole which renders all but worthless the other provisions of this Resolution.

7. *Prohibition of joint ventures with lobbyists.* These activities would be prohibited by my amendment.

8. *Accepting gifts from lobbyists.* It would seem to me to be wholly salutary to set a limit on the value of a gift which a Senator or Senate aide might properly receive from a lobbyist. My amendment sets this at a most generous $100. . . .

9. *Testimony of Members of the Senate.* My amendment would authorize any duly authorized Committee of the Senate to request any Senator to come before it and give any pertinent testimony which it has reason to believe he can give on the subject matter under investigation.

10. *Moonlighting by Senate officers and full-time employes.* The facts of the Baker case are such as to cast grave doubt on the practice of permitting officers and full-time employees of the Senate to serve as managers or proprietors of business enterprises, to engage in a regular professional or consulting practice, or to maintain an association with a professional or consulting firm. My amendment would prohibit moonlighting of this sort. Even if there had been no Baker case, this rule would stand well recommended by the Biblical dictum that no man shall serve two masters.

An Appeal by SCEF to the Senate

A petition was filed in the U.S. Senate July 7 by the bi-racial Southern Conference Educational Fund asking the Senate to order the Internal Security Committee to return records illegally seized from its offices in New Orleans last year. The petition was signed among others by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the SCEF, and Aubrey W. Williams, its president emeritus. This is believed to be the first time that the Senate has been petitioned to police action taken by one of its own committees. The petition cited a deposition taken last December 30 from J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel of the subcommittee, that the records were seized on the basis of a phone call to the Chairman, Eastland, without authorization from the committee. Sourwine admitted that the records disclosed no evidence of any illegal or subversive activity. "Now that the Senate has passed the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964," the petition said, "it is imperative that organizations seeking to bring about peaceful compliance with that law should not be impeded or harassed."

Irrevocable Steps Toward German Atomic Rearmament May Be In The Making

The Best Time to Sneak A New Nuclear Arms Agreement Past Congress

While public attention is focused on Mississippi and Vietnam, irrevocable steps may be taken on the path toward German nuclear rearmament. On June 30 the President sent Congress a message on a new agreement with NATO and the NATO countries for the exchange of nuclear weapons information. The message, and the appended letters from Secretary Rusk and (jointly) from Secretary McNamara and Chairman Seaborg of the Atomic Energy Commission can only be described as opaque. If, as explained privately, this has nothing to do with the creation of a multilateral nuclear force, why isn't this said plainly and publicly?

Tricky Timing

The timing of the message is tricky. Under the 1958 revision of the Atomic Energy Act, agreements of this kind become law 60 days after their submission to Congress unless overruled in the meantime by a joint resolution. This negative veto is difficult to wield under the best circumstances. The 60 days ahead will find Congress mostly out of session, its members attending the two political conventions, the scanty sessions in between taken up with urgent domestic legislation. Even if the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy should hold hearings, little attention will be paid them during the excitement of the campaign. Its chairman, Senator Pastore (D. R.I.) is up for reelection this Fall. This is an ideal time to sneak something through.

The *New York Times* (July 1) reported that the Atomic Energy Commission had just announced that the gas centrifuge process has been put on the secret list again. It may some day provide a cheaper way of producing the enriched uranium necessary for speedy accumulation of a nuclear stockpile. Some short-cut of this kind would change the whole picture, and speed up the proliferation of nuclear arms. Will information on this process be made available to the Germans under the new agreement?

The Russians at Geneva on July 2 declared that if the Western powers wanted an agreement to stop proliferation of nuclear weapons, they would have to abandon the MLF. To the U.S. argument that the MLF was a device for keeping nuclear arms *from* the Germans, M. Zorin replied that he didn't think men as shrewd as the leaders of West Germany—which will foot 40% of the cost—would put up billions of dollars "for a fiction" (*Le Monde*, July 4)!

The British seem to be fighting a rear-guard action against MLF. On July 2 they presented to a NATO working group in Paris plans for mixed manning of existing aircraft and missile forces. The Defense Correspondent of the London *Times* (July 3) reported that despite official assurances to the contrary these are intended as alternatives to MLF. He wrote that one reason for British reservations about MLF "is that a newly constituted force is more likely to be provocative for the Soviets than a new command system for an existing force."

To permit a German finger on the nuclear trigger so soon after the second world war, and with so many of the same Germans responsible for it in charge of the West German industry and military, is criminal negligence, inviting a third and final holocaust. Those who would like to stop it may find useful information in a remarkable pamphlet put together here by a group in *Women Strike for Peace* (Box 4005, Washington, D.C. $1) on "The German Problem."

5,000 Appeal on Vietnam

"We, five thousand American college and university educators, urge a neutralized Vietnam. It would end the terror and suffering in this war-ravaged land. It would end the continuing loss of American and Vietnamese lives. It would be preferable to deeper involvement or irresponsible pull-out. We therefore appeal to you, Mr. President, not to enlarge the scope of the war, but instead to work for a neutralized North and South Vietnam, as separate, federated or reunified states protected by international guarantees and peacekeeping forces against all outside interference."

—Circulated by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and presented July 10 by Hans Morgenthau, David Brooks Arnold and Robert S. Browne, the latter two recently returned from government service in Vietnam.

David Dellinger Will Report on His Trip to Cuba and IFS Will Speak on Peace With Castro, First Congregational Church, 945 G St. NW., Washington, D. C., July 22, 8 P.M.

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We Go on Every-Other-Week Summer Schedule — Next Report From San Francisco

Special Issue on The Indochinese War

The International Law We Violated in Our Reprisal Raids on North Vietnam

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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What Few Know About the Tonkin Bay Incidents

The American government and the American press have kept the full truth about the Tonkin Bay incidents from the American public. Let us begin with the retaliatory bombing raids on North Vietnam. When I went to New York to cover the UN Security Council debate on the affair, UN correspondents at lunch recalled cynically that four months earlier Adlai Stevenson told the Security Council the U.S. had "repeatedly expressed" its emphatic disapproval "of retaliatory raids, wherever they occur and by whomever they are committed." But none mentioned this in their dispatches.

When Britain Staged Reprisals

On that occasion, last April, the complaint was brought by Yemen against Britain. The British, in retaliation for attacks from Yemen into the British protectorate of Aden, decided to strike at the "privileged sanctuary" from which the raids were coming. The debate then might have been a preview of the Vietnamese affair. The British argued that their reprisal raid was justified because the Fort they attacked at Harib was "a centre for subversive and aggressive activities across the border." The Yemeni Republicans in turn accused the British of supporting raids into Yemen by the Yemeni Royalists. "Obviously," Stevenson said, "it is most difficult to determine precisely what has been happening on the remote frontiers of Southern Arabia." But he thought all UN members could "join in expressing our disapproval of the use of force by either side as a means of solving disputes, a principle that is enshrined in the Charter," especially when such "attacks across borders" could "quickly escalate into full-scale wars." The outcome was a resolution condemning "reprisals as incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations." That resolution and Stevenson's words are as applicable to Southeast Asia as to Southern Arabia. Though the Czech delegate cited them in his speech to the Council on August 7 about the Vietnamese affair, no word of this appeared in the papers next day.

In the August 7 debate, only Nationalist China and Britain supported the U.S. reprisal raids. The French privately recalled the international uproar over the raid they had made under similar circumstances in February, 1958, into the "privileged sanctuary" afforded the Algerian rebels by Tunisia. They struck at the Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef camp just across the border. Senators Kennedy, Humphrey, Morse and Knowland denounced the raid and Eisenhower warned the French the U.S. would not be able to defend their action in the Security Council.

Whose Freedom? What Freedom?

"He (Stevenson) ventured to repeat that the peoples of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia wished to be left alone. To whom was he addressing himself? Would he not do better in telling this to his Government, to the Pentagon, to the CIA? He alleged that the U.S. is in Southeast Asia for the purpose of helping friends to preserve their opportunity to be free. What kind of friends are these? Yesterday it was the Ngo family, with their torture chambers; then it was a military junta; and now it is Khanh who, in order to save himself from impending fall, has just now proclaimed martial law and suppressed the last vestiges of freedom in the remnant of the territory he holds with U.S. support, and is trying to create new provocation of war and following the example set by the aggression on the coast of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, by unleashing aggressive actions against his neighbors. Tomorrow it may be perhaps another puppet, equally as corrupt or possibly even more so, and perhaps more brutal."

—Czech delegate to the Security Council Aug. 7.

Reprisals in peacetime were supposed to have been outlawed by the League of Nations Covenant, the Kellogg Pact and the United Nations Charter. All of them pledged peaceful settlement of disputes. Between nations, as between men, reprisals are lynch law. Some White House ghost writer deserves a literary booby prize for the mindless jingle he turned out to defend ours in Vietnam. "The world remembers, the world must never forget," were the words he supplied for Johnson's speech at Syracuse, "that aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed." This gem of prose is a pretty babble. What the world (and particularly the White House) needs to remember is that aggression is unleashed and escalated when one party to a dispute decides for itself who is guilty and how he is to be punished. This is what is happening in Cyprus, where we have been begging Greeks and Turks to desist from the murderous escalation of reprisal and counter-reprisal. Johnson practices in Southeast Asia what he deplores in the Mediterranean.

More Reprisal Raids Coming?

Public awareness of this is essential because the tide is running strongly toward more reprisal raids in the Far East. The first was the raid by U.S. Navy planes in June on Pathet Lao headquarters in Laos in retaliation for shooting down two reconnaissance planes. We would not hesitate to shoot down reconnaissance planes over our own territory; such overflights are a clear violation of international law. But the U.S., now seems to operate on the principle that invasion of other people's skies is our right, and efforts to interfere with it (at least by weaker powers) punishable by reprisal. This is pure "might is right" doctrine.

The very day we took the Vietnamese affair to the Security

Council, Cambodia illustrated a sardonic point to be found in Schwarzenberger's *Manual of International Law*—"military reprisals are open only to the strong against the weak." The UN distributed to Security Council members the latest in a series of complaints from Cambodia that U.S. and South Vietnamese forces had been violating its borders. It alleged that at dawn on July 31 "elements of the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam, among them Americans in uniform," opened fire "with automatic weapons and mortars," seriously wounding a peasant and killing a bull. If Cambodia could only afford a fleet large enough, we suppose it would be justified by Johnsonian standards in lobbing a few shells into the U.S.A.

The Law We Applied at Nuremberg

Even in wartime, reprisals are supposed to be kept within narrow limits. Hackworth's *Digest,* the State Department's huge Talmud of international law, quotes an old War Department manual, *Rules of Land Warfare,* as authoritative on the subject. This says reprisals are never to be taken "merely for revenge" but "only as an unavoidable last resort" to "enforce the recognized rules of civilized warfare." Even then reprisals "should not be excessive or exceed the degree of violence committed by the enemy." These were the principles we applied at the Nuremberg trials. Our reprisal raids on North Vietnam hardly conformed to these standards. By our own account, in self-defense, we had already sunk three or four attacking torpedo boats in two incidents. In neither were our ships damaged nor any of our men hurt; indeed, one bullet imbedded in one destroyer hull is the only proof we have been able to muster that the second of the attacks even took place. To fly 64 bombing sorties in reprisal over four North Vietnamese bases and an oil depot, destroying or damaging 25 North Vietnamese PT boats, a major part of that tiny navy, was hardly punishment to fit the crime. What was our hurry? Why did we have to shoot from the hip and then go to the Security Council? Who was Johnson trying to impress? Ho Chi-minh? Or Barry Goldwater?

This is how it looks on the basis of our own public accounts. It looks worse if one probes behind them. Here we come to the questions raised by Morse of Oregon on the Senate floor Aug. 5 and 6 during debate on the resolution giving Johnson a pre-dated declaration of war in Southeast Asia. Morse was speaking on the basis of information given in executive session by Secretaries Rusk and McNamara to a joint session of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and Armed Services. Morse said he was not justifying the attacks on U.S. ships in the Bay of Tonkin but "as in domestic criminal law," he added, "crimes are sometimes committed under provocation" and this "is taken into account by a wise judge in imposing sentence."

Morse revealed that U.S. warships were on patrol in Tonkin Bay nearby during the shelling of two islands off the North Vietnamese coast on Friday, July 31, by South Vietnamese vessels. Morse said our warships were within 3 to 11 miles of North Vietnamese territory, at the time, although North Vietnam claims a 12-mile limit. Morse declared that the U.S. "knew that the bombing was going to take place." He noted that General Khanh had been demanding escalation of the war to the North and said that with this shelling of the islands it was escalated. Morse declared the attack was made "by South Vietnamese naval vessels—not by junks but by armed vessels of the PT boat type" given to South Vietnam as part of U.S. military aid. Morse said it was not just another attempt to infiltrate agents but "a well thought-out military operation." Morse charged that the presence of our warships in the proximity "where they could have given protection, if it became necessary" was "bound to be looked upon by our enemies as an act of provocation." The press, which dropped an Iron Curtain weeks ago on the anti-war speeches of Morse and Gruening, ignored this one, too.

Neither Party for Peace

"The last episode—the attack by North Vietnam vessels on U.S. naval vessels—I consider an inevitable development of the U.S. steady escalation of our own military activities. . . . I regret, and consider it a pity, that both our political parties appear now to be committed to a policy of war. Yet American public opinion, judged by my mail, is overwhelmingly committed to a different policy—a policy of peace. My mail pours in with virtual unanimity on this subject. It comes from a truly representative cross section of the American people. It includes bishops, deans of colleges, university professors, business executives, teachers, retired Army officers."

—Sen. Gruening (D. Alaska), in the Senate, Aug. 6 who with Morse cast the only two votes in Congress against the war resolution.

Yet a reading of the debate will show that Fulbright and Russell, the chairmen of the two committees Rusk and McNamara had briefed in secret session, did not deny Morse's facts in their defense of the Administration and did not meet the issue he raised. Fulbright's replies to questions were hardly a model of frankness. When Ellender of Louisiana asked him at whose request we were patrolling in the Bay of Tonkin, Fulbright replied:

> **These are international waters. Our assistance to South Vietnam is at the request of the South Vietnamese government. The particular measures we may take in connection with that request is our own responsibility.**

Senator Nelson of Wisconsin wanted to know how close to the shore our ships had been patrolling:

> **Mr. Fulbright: It was testified that they went in at least 11 miles in order to show that we do not recognize a 12-mile limit, which I believe North Vietnam has asserted.**
>
> **Mr. Nelson: The patrolling was for the purpose of demonstrating to the North Vietnamese that we did not recognize a 12-mile limit?**
>
> **Mr. Fulbright: That was one reason given. . . .**
>
> **Mr. Nelson: It would be mighty risky if Cuban PT boats were firing on Florida, for Russian armed ships or destroyers to be patrolling between us and Cuba, 11 miles out.**

When Ellender asked whether our warships were there to protect the South Vietnamese vessels shelling the islands, Fulbright replied:

> **The ships were not assigned to protect anyone. They were conducting patrol duty. The question was asked specifically of the highest authority, the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State. They stated without equivocation that these ships, the Maddox and the C. Turner Joy, were not on convoy duty. They had no connection whatever with any Vietnamese ships that might have been operating in the same general area.**

Fulbright did not deny that both destroyers were in the area at the time of the July 31 shelling and inside the territorial limits claimed by North Vietnam. He did not deny Morse's charge that the U.S. knew about the shelling of the islands before it took place. He merely denied that the warships were there to cover the operation in any way. Our warships, according to the official account, just happened to be hanging around. Morse's point—which neither Fulbright nor Russell challenged—was that they had no business to be in an area where an attack was about to take place, that this was bound to appear provocative. Indeed the only rational explanation for their presence at the time was that the Navy was looking for trouble, daring the North Vietnamese to do something about it.

Why Our Ships Moved Out to Sea

Morse made another disclosure. "I think I violate no privilege or secrecy," he declared, "if I say that subsequent to the bombing, and apparently because there was some concern about the intelligence that we were getting, our ships took out to sea." Was this intelligence that the ships were about to be attacked within the territorial waters claimed by North Vietnam? Morse said our warships went out to sea and "finally, on Sunday, the PT boats were close enough for the first engagement to take place." This dovetails with a curious answer given by Senator Russell at another point in the debate to Senator Scott of Pennsylvania when the latter asked whether Communist China had not published a series of warnings (as required by international law) against violations of the 12-mile limit. Russell confirmed this but said, "I might add that our vessels had turned away from the North Vietnamese shore and were making for the middle of the gulf, *where there could be no question,* at the time they were attacked."

The italics are ours and call attention to an evident uneasiness about our legal position. The uneasiness is justified. A great many questions of international law are raised by the presence of our warships within an area claimed by another country as its territorial waters while its shores were being shelled by ships we supplied to a satellite power. There is, first of all, some doubt as to whether warships have a right of "innocent passage" through territorial waters even under peaceful circumstances. There is, secondly, the whole question of territorial limits. The 3-mile limit was set some centuries ago by the range of a cannon shot. It has long been obsolete but is favored by nations with large navies. We make the 3-mile limit the norm when it suits our purposes but widen it when we need to. We claim another 9 miles as "contiguous waters" in which we can enforce our laws on foreign ships. While our planes on reconnaissance operate three miles off other people's shores, we enforce an Air Defense Identification Zone on our own coasts, requiring all planes to identify themselves when two hours out. In any case, defense actions may be taken beyond territorial limits. The law as cited in the U.S. Naval Academy's handbook, *International Law for Sea-Going Officers* is that "the right of a nation to protect itself from injury" is "not restrained to territorial limits . . . It may watch its coast and seize ships that are approaching it with an intention to violate its laws. It is not obliged to wait until the offense is consummated before it can act."

Prize Explanation

Mr. Robert PIERPONT (CBS News): Do you have any thoughts yourself on why the North Vietnamese Navy would have decided to take on the U.S. Navy?

Senator Eugene McCARTHY (D. Minn.): I don't know. It may be that they were bored."

—On CBS Face The Nation, Aug. 9.

If the Cubans Shelled Key West

More important in this case is the doctrine of "hot pursuit." The North Vietnamese radio claims that in the first attack it chased the U.S. warships away from its shores. "The right of hot pursuit," says Schwarzenberger's *Manual of International Law,* "is the right to continue the pursuit of a ship from the territorial sea into the high sea." The logic of this, our Naval Academy handbook explains, is that "the offender should not go free simply because of the proximity of the high seas." It is easy to imagine how fully these questions would be aired if we spotted Russian ships hanging around in our waters while Cuban PT boats shelled Key West. Our actions hardly fit Johnson's description of himself to the American Bar Association as a champion of world law.

There are reasons to believe that the raids at the end of July marked a new stepup in the scale of South Vietnamese operations against the North. These have been going on for

U.S. Secret Operations Against North Vietnam Began 3 Years Before Rebellion in South

"However sensational the latest events in the Gulf of Tonkin and whatever their exact circumstances, they should not make one forget that the American 'Special Services' for several years have encouraged and supported guerrilla operations against North Vietnamese territory.

"Thus as early as 1957 there was created at Saigon a 'service of liaison in the presidency', headed by several American specialists and charged with the organization, training and command of parachutist commandoes specializing in intelligence and counter-espionage. Within this service 'Section 45,' assisted by four American advisers, was trained for operations in the North. . . . These recruits finished one stage of training in a camp at Nha-Trang. Then the best were sent on to Formosa or Guam for more advanced training. It was only then that these agents, grouped in commandoes, tried their luck in Tonkin. . . .

"Until 1960, however, the pace of these operations was very slow. The United States had not yet intervened directly in the second Indochinese war and the southern commandoes lacked zeal. Things changed from 1961 on when Washington decided to step up its efforts in Vietnam. The objectives also were to be changed. The purpose henceforth would be to disorganize the economic and military potential of the North in order to prevent its aid to the rebels in the South, an aid one feared without yet having formal proof of it. The overturning of the Communist regime was consigned to second place. The famous Staley-Taylor plan, which forecast the pacification of the south in 18 months, assigned an important role to commando operations against the North. At the same time, the government of Hanoi, from 1961 on, more and more often announced the capture of 'American-Diemist saboteurs, caught in the act.' . . . Most of the agents intercepted had been recruited among Catholic refugees from Tonkin or former soldiers in the French army."

—Georges Chaffard in Le Monde, Aug. 7.

Was the Reprisal Raid A Long Planned Strategic Bombardment?

some time. In fact, a detailed account in *Le Monde* (Aug. 7) says they began (See Box p. 3) three years before the rebellion broke out in South Vietnam. Ever since January of this year the U.S. press has been full of reports that we were planning to move from infiltration and commando operations to overt attacks against the North. *Newsweek* (March 9) discussed a "Rostow Plan No. 6" for a naval blockade of Haiphong, North Vietnam's main port, to be followed by PT boat raids on North Vietnamese coastal installations and then by strategic bombing raids. In the middle of July the North Vietnamese radio reported that the U.S. had given South Vietnam 500 "river landing ships" and four small warships from our mine sweeping fleet. A dispatch from Hong Kong in the *New York Times* (Aug. 14) quoted an "informed source" as saying that the North Vietnamese had concealed the fact "that the shelling of the islands" on July 31 "had been directed at a sensitive radar installation." The shelling of radar installations would look from the other side like a prelude to a landing attempt.

How The Public Is Brain-Washed

These circumstances cast a very different light on the Maddox affair, but very few Americans are aware of them. The process of brain-washing the public starts with off-the-record briefings for newspapermen in which all sorts of far-fetched theories are suggested to explain why the tiny North Vietnamese navy would be mad enough to venture an attack on the Seventh fleet, one of the world's most powerful. Everything is discussed except the possibility that the attack might have been provoked. In this case the "information agencies," i.e. the propaganda apparatus of the government handed out two versions, one for domestic, the other for foreign consumption. The image created at home was that the U.S. had manfully hit back at an unprovoked attack—no paper tiger we. On the other hand, friendly foreign diplomats were told that the South Vietnamese had pulled a raid on the coast and we had been forced to back them up. As some of the truth began to trickle out, the information agencies fell back on the theory that maybe the North Vietnamese had "miscalculated." That our warships may have been providing cover for an escalation in raiding activities never got through to public consciousness at all.

The Day After The Battle Was Over

"I find the speech of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern] very interesting but very belated. For approximately 6 months the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening] and the Senator from Oregon have been urging support for the very suggestions which the Senator from South Dakota made this morning. If Senators who have held the views of the Senator from South Dakota—and many of them have held them privately for these many months—had joined the Senator from Alaska and the Senator from Oregon 5 or 6 months ago in urging a diplomatic settlement of the Asiatic strife under the rules of international law, we might have been able to change the warmaking course of our government in Asia. But one of the saddest things is that during all those months the talk of many Senators in the cloakroom has been noticeably different from their silence on the floor of the Senate."

—Morse Aug. 8, day after the war resolution passed.

The two attacks themselves are still shrouded in mystery. The Maddox claims to have fired three warning shots across the bow of her pursuers; three warning shots are used to make a merchantman heave-to for inspection. A warship would take this as the opening of fire, not as a warning signal. The North Vietnamese radio admitted the first encounter but claimed its patrol boats chased the Maddox out of territorial waters. The second alleged attack North Vietnam calls a fabrication. It is strange that though we claim three boats sunk, we picked up no flotsam and jetsam as proof from the wreckage. Nor have any pictures been provided. Whatever the true story, the second incident seems to have triggered off a long planned attack of our own. There are some reasons to doubt that it was merely that "measured response" against PT bases it was advertised to be. Bernard Fall, author of *"The Two Vietnams,"* who knows the area well, pointed out in the *Washington Post* Aug. 9 that "none of the targets attacked" in the reprisal raids "was previously known as a regular port or base area. Hon-Gay, for example, was one of the largest open-pit coal mining operations in Asia, if not the world." Was this one of the strategic industrial targets in Rostow's "Plan No. 6?"

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State Dept. Admits Risk of Spreading Nuclear Arms, P. 2

The GOP Turned Into A Peace Party on Korea—It Might Again on Vietnam

Johnson and Humphrey, at a loss for a way out of the Vietnamese mess, ought to go back and take a hard look at what the Republicans did about Korea in the 1952 campaign. Then, as now, they began by talking tough. In the platform they adopted in July, 1952, they accused the Democrats of having "produced stalemate and ignominious bartering. . . . They offer no hope of victory." Then in the final hours of the campaign, the GOP did an about-face. On Oct. 24 Eisenhower cinched the election with his pledge to go to Korea and end the war. After accusing the Democrats of appeasement, the Republicans made peace.

Something similar may be brewing. On his yacht Aug. 27 Goldwater suddenly suggested peace talks with Red China. "Any President should always be interested in negotiations," he said. "That's the way to end wars. I've thought for some time that a talk like that with the Red Chinese might be profitable." Maybe this was just another eccentric remark from an eccentric candidate. But it resembled the equally sensational proposal by Clare Boothe Luce, one of Goldwater's principal advisers, in her speech June 14 at St. John's University. "While the key to peace in Europe still lies in Moscow," Mrs. Luce said, "today the key to peace in Asia lies in Peking. Let us be no less ready, and no more afraid, than our allies to discuss ways of relaxing tension with Mao Tse-tung." From so ferociously right wing a lady, this was indeed a surprise.

It's time for a new tack. That "show of strength" in Tonkin Bay was followed by the collapse of our pet Khanh regime, demonstrating again that bombings in the North cannot solve the hard political problems in the South. Behind the anti-Catholic riots was resentment against a fanatical minority which wants continuation of the war. Soon we must assume power openly in Saigon, taking up the hopeless task of pursuing gnats with sledge-hammers which the French gave up ten years ago, or negotiate peace. Viable and face-saving terms are possible: an independent South Vietnam linked in a neutral belt with Cambodia and Laos is the National Liberation Front program. North Vietnam would be glad to underwrite it in return for resumption of trade with the South. If Johnson plunges instead into a new Korea, the Republicans will make the most of it.

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Why We Support Johnson and Humphrey

Like Atlantic City's Steel Pier, with fun for young or old, the Democratic convention under the new LBJ brand had something for almost everybody, except the Daughters of the Confederacy, and it would not surprise me if the indefatigable Ladybird paid them a visit soon as a consolation prize. Everybody complained but everybody secretly had a good time, including the youngsters who sat on the boardwalk for hours in support of the Mississippi Freedom Party delegation. Sympathetic bystanders brought them box lunches; a white woman from Virginia distributed salt water taffies among them with assurances of sympathy; and one lady from Mississippi, who seemed totally unaware of the civil rights struggle, came around to inquire if any were delegates from her part of the State, with whom she could have a cozy gossip about folks back home.

Mississippi's Isolation and Defeat

Humanity obtruded itself into this otherwise mechanical and controlled proceeding only on the Saturday afternoon before the convention opened when the Freedom Democratic Party's delegation pleaded its case before the credentials committee. There, under the able and devoted generalship of Joseph L. Rauh, the brave handful from Mississippi had a chance to give the convention and the television audience a glimpse into the realities of white supremacy in Mississippi. Even then the President soon shut them off from view when he preempted the networks in the middle of their presentation to make his talk to the Governors in Washington. To the managers of the convention the Freedom Party delegates were an unwelcome guest, though among the rank-and-file they commanded the widest sympathy. A floor fight would have expressed their moral revulsion against the murderous folkways of the deep South but it would also have torn the party apart. The efficacious mechanics of the Johnson-Humphrey team were demonstrated even before the Vice Presidential choice was announced. While Johnson sold the compromise package to the Southern delegates, Humphrey, with aid from Walter Reuther, kept the Freedom Democratic Party delegates from expressing their dissatisfaction too wildly.

Planning Is Not A Dirty Word In Japan

"Paris, Aug. 30—The Western industrial powers declared today [in a report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] that the growth and performance of Japan's economy since World War II has been 'remarkable' . . . Japan has grown faster in the postwar years than any other non-Communist country, and approximately as fast as the Soviet Union in its best years. In its postwar recovery period, through 1953, Japan's total output grew by almost 11 percent a year. Since then it has averaged close to 9½ percent. . . . The principal lesson that the report drew from other countries was government planning. It said that the readiness of business to invest and expand itelf 'is thought in Japan to have been stimulated by the process of central economic planning,' because planning has strengthened business men's confidence in continued economic growth."

—New York Times financial page Aug. 31.

From the standpoint of conventional politics, the compromise was an extraordinary victory for what began as little more than a publicity gimmick. From the standpoint of the cost the Freedom Party delegates may pay on their return,

(Continued on Page Four)

Five Congressmen Try to Stop New Atomic Exchange of Information Pact

State Department Admits It Risks The Spread of Nuclear Weapons

A new agreement for transferring nuclear information to NATO has provoked a minor rebellion in Congress. Just before recess for the Democratic convention, five congressmen (Kastenmeier, Rosenthal, Burton, Ryan of New York and Brown of California) submitted resolutions disapproving the agreement. It has yet to be shown, they argue, that the agreement "is essential to the military mission of NATO," "would not aid and abet the development" of national nuclear forces, and "would not contribute to the negotiation and execution" of an MLF.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy discouraged inquiry into these matters at its public hearing. Witnesses against the agreement (Women Strike for Peace, WILPF, and Rep. Rosenthal) were made to play the part of humble petitioners come before royalty. Rosenthal even received a gently chiding lecture on the select quality of the Joint Committee when he complained that Congress was being asked to approve an agreement whose contents it was not permitted to know.

Who's Pounding On Our Nuclear Door?

They can hardly be blamed for failing to ask some important questions. Rep. Holifield denied that "Germany was pounding on our door for more weapons." Rep. Hosmer claimed that past agreements "have stood in the way of extraordinary efforts on the part of some nations to obtain nuclear weapons." No one explored the possible contradiction. Senator Aiken said he "understood this agreement would permit us to give blueprints to NATO nations." Did his understanding come from the secret hearings? Were the blueprints for missiles? No one asked.

The Committee was more cooperative with Administration witnesses. Evasive answers went unchallenged. When Holifield asked Robert Shaetzel, Asst. Secretary of State for the Atlantic Community, whether the agreement would "be used as a means of transferring information to an MLF when and if it is established." Shaetzel answered, "No, there is nothing in this agreement designed to facilitate the negotiations now going on in Paris in connection with the MLF." One hopes the Committee listened more closely in its executive session.

An Ignored Soviet Offer

Too little attention has been paid revelations made by Matthew Meselson, a Harvard professor of Biology and a close student of disarmament, in his August 17 letter to The New York Times. Newspaper stories out of Geneva have left the impression that the Soviet Union will not agree to a treaty against dissemination of nuclear weapons until the United States abandons its plans to create a nuclear mixed-manned fleet (MLF). Meselson's study of the official verbatim record of the July 2nd conference reveals a different impression. The Soviet delegate, V. A. Zorin, told the conference, "If the Western Powers are really anxious for a positive solution to the problem of non-dissemination, we are prepared to negotiate . . . without putting forth any preliminary conditions." This would be good news were it not for the fact that some Administration officials have implied a willingness to relinquish our veto power over the firing of MLF missiles. This obviously would mean dissemination and therefore would be unacceptable to the Russians. "Would we guarantee to retain our veto," asks Meselson, "in order to obtain a nuclear non-dissemination agreement?"

The agreement, even if unrelated to MLF, is based on the same dangerous assumption that NATO can be held together with nuclear bait. Shaetzel, in an unusual lapse into candor, admitted this when asked the purpose of the agreement:

> **I think the foremost point I would like to stress is the continued commitment of the Administration to NATO and to having a more cohesive and effective alliance. We certainly have been persuaded as the years go by of the need to balance out the role of sharing on the part of members of the alliance, and the staff of NATO itself, with nuclear information, with retaining security of information and therefore not creating a situation which would see a further proliferation of national nuclear forces.**

This short-sighted policy of risking nuclear proliferation for the sake of political unity is far too important to remain under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Joint Committee. Congress should seek a public debate and, in particular, should ask the Secretaries of State and Defense for a full report on just how close Germany and other NATO nations are to having independent nuclear capability. A Resolution of Inquiry, passed by either house, would compel them to answer.

"As Dangerous As Quenching Thirst With Salt Water"

"I appear here this morning in support of my resolution and three other similar resolutions expressing congressional disapproval of the proposed [NATO] agreement [on atomic information]. The pressures for the dissemination of nuclear information are still competitive pressures, not cooperative ones, and buying cohesion among nations with the currency of nuclear information is still as dangerous as quenching thirst with salt water because the short-run formula for survival may become in fact the ultimate cause of death.

"One fundamental question about this agreement is why is it needed, unless it is to usher in a major change in our NATO nuclear policy. Under this proposed agreement, for the first time we shall provide NATO with information for the development of delivery systems compatible with the atomic weapons which they carry. It would appear from the testimony of the other witness this morning [Asst. Secretary of State Shaetzel] that the United States is already providing this information under bilateral agreements and therefore that we should not object to the new agreement because on the face of it it is superfluous.

"However, it seems to me that under the proposed agreement, we are opening a backdoor approach to establishing MLF. We may find ourselves having established MLF without ever really intending to do so.

"If there is no legitimate reason for the agreement, if it is superfluous, if we have the bilaterals with the nine countries and we can give them all we want to give them under those agreements, why enact the agreement? If the administration's answer to that is that there are valid reasons for the agreement, let them show the necessity and that there are no undisclosed reasons for the agreement."

—Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D. N.Y.), before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Aug. 18 (abridged).

Morse Splits With Humphrey In Fight Over Foreign Aid

Liberals Join Southerners In Attacking Arms for Military Dictators

For three days a handful of Senators tried to eliminate the boondoggle that sits just beneath the surface of foreign aid. It was like attacking an iceberg with a rowboat. "The Senator from Minnesota [Humphrey] talks about the malaria program, the health program, and the farmers' cooperative. I'm all for it," said Senator Morse, "but these are only minor features of foreign aid. The Senator has not addressed himself to the bulk of the program."

The bulk, over $1 billion, is mostly military aid. Rep. Otto Passman recently called it "a dumping ground for excess military equipment" and suggested it was a way "to keep a certain industry alive in America." Morse sought to reduce it indirectly. His amendment would have given priority in economic aid to "those countries whose military budgets do not exceed their legitimate and reasonable needs." Among the few (17) Senators voting for it was Richard Russell, chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Only one other reform amendment received fewer votes. This would have outlawed aid to governments seizing power via military coups. Six Latin American Foreign Ministers told Morse that no single action could be more helpful to the Alliance for Progress. It was defeated 59-12.

A Guarantee for Gunrunning

The reformers, this time led by Ellender (*D. La.*), did succeeding in eliminating a new military aid provision that had the U.S. government underwriting credit sales of military equipment. "Why," asked Ellender, "should Fairchild, Douglas, General Motors or other large suppliers to our arsenal be allowed to encourage the sales of hardware to foreign nations with a full guarantee of the U.S. government" Senator Aiken (R. Vt.) was even more blunt. "If we guarantee gunrunning, we will likely find some people encouraging conflicts between countries."

A surprise amendment by Senator Proxmire has also put the oil lobby to work. It eliminates a $20-to-$35 million a year handout that AID and its predecessors have been giving for the past decade to seven major international oil companies. "AID virtually insists upon purchases of oil at posted prices," Proxmire told the Senate. A posted price is the artifically high price that integrated oil companies pay their affiliates in producing countries so that profits can be retained there where taxes are low. Proxmire's amendment requires AID to purchase oil at competitive prices, usually 20-40% below posted prices. Unexpected approval from Senator Fulbright, a sometime friend of the oil lobby, permitted the amendment to pass by a voice vote.

A Pyrrhic Victory?

House passage of the anti-reapportionment Tuck bill may have been a pyrrhic victory for rural conservatives. In order to report the bill to the floor for a vote, the Rules Committee had to rely on an obscure precedent which permits it to consider a bill even though it has not been reported out or even considered by one of the legislative committees, in this case, Judiciary. By his point of order challenging this action, Rep. O'Hara (D. Mich.) forced Speaker McCormack to establish the precedent anew. Now it can be used to pry liberal legislation like medicare from the clutches of conservative committee chairmen. The one stumbling block is the conservative Rules Committee. Originally the Committee worked in harmony with the House leadership because both were elected by party caucus. Now that committee's posts are filled by seniority. When the 89th Congress convenes, the liberals will seek a return to elections.

Few taxpayers realize that a large part of economic aid, called program loans, finances an artificial export market for American business. The exact nature of these loans is often undisclosed even to Senators. "If the Senator could get the details," Aiken explained to Morse, he would find this money goes "to pay off American creditors of foreign governments." Last year about two-thirds of development loan fund money, intended for specific projects like dams and roads, went instead for general program loans. Even the veteran Senator Douglas said he was "shaken" by this "unrefuted" information. Morse's amendment to curtail these loans was narrowly beaten 42-40. "The Senator from Alaska must not despair," he told Gruening. "We are making a little progress."

Congress Establishes Automation Commission That Could Be Planning Board

The President recently signed into law a National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress. The legislation is careful not to say so explicitly, but it in fact creates a national economic planning board, the first civilian one of its kind in our history. The Commission has authority to assess (although none to enforce) "the most effective means for channeling new technologies into promising directions, including civilian industries . . . and [to] assess the proper relationship between governmental and private investment in the application of new technologies to large-scale human and community needs." One indication of the President's commitment to the war on poverty will be the man he appoints to head the Commission. Another will be his efforts to extend its life. Its final report is scheduled for January, 1966.

Other legislation lost in the flood of convention news is the Freedom of Information Bill which has passed the Senate but faces pigeonholing in the House Judiciary Committee. The present disclosure statute for administrative agencies contains loopholes so broad that, according to the Senate Judiciary's report, "it is cited as authority for withholding virtually any piece of information that an official or an agency does not wish disclosed." The new bill, sponsored by Senator Long (D. Mo.), would replace the vague withholding standard of "public interest" with the more specific one of "national security." It would also require regulatory agencies to disclose the votes of individual commissioners. Voting in secret, as is regularly done by the SEC, invites obvious abuse.

The new Housing Bill is less admirable. It contains no provision that would prohibit the building of luxury housing on slum-cleared land. Rep. Farbstein's attempt to include one was defeated by a voice vote after the influential Albert Rains, chief architect of the federal housing program, said it was "totally incompatible to build extremely low-cost housing on extremely high-cost land." Incompatible with what? The profits of the nation's landlords and slumlords or an end to Harlem and "The Jungle."

LBJ's Choice of Humphrey Indicates His Ultimate Direction

(Continued from Page One)

and the hypocrisy about a "legality" that is only legalized fraud and race oppression, the compromise looked too much like another offer of tokenism, and of separate but unequal representation. There was talk of mass civil disobedience, and of several hundred going to jail. This might have sparked the kind of outburst in Atlantic City that happened a few days later in Philadelphia, with irremediable harm to the Negro and the nation. As it was, the affair ended with Mississippi isolated from the rest of the South, Alabama split, and Bull Connor led off from the floor in humiliation. Georgia with four Negroes in its delegation became the symbol of a new moderate South, and leverage has been provided for open Democratic parties in 1968.

The Savage Within Us

There are three main objectives to be sought in this election and it's not going to be easy to keep our minds firmly on them amid the pulling and hauling on specific issues. One is to defeat Goldwaterism so overwhelmingly as to demonstrate for a long time to come that the American people, of all classes and origins, are opposed to the irruption of Fascistic elements into our political system. The second is to make progress on the racial front with a minimum of trouble. Everywhere we look in the world we see how murderously men hate each other across the divisions of color, race, religion or tribe; the bloody riots in Vietnam are only the latest evidence of the savage within us.

Our country is doing more about racism than any other country in the world. To the extent that the South can be cajoled, coaxed, and persuaded peacefully, we are all the gainers. This is what Johnson is doing, and it is important that this Southerner emerge from the election not rejected by his own section but with considerable Southern support. This means to unite, rather than divide, the country. In this respect Johnson is not just a superb political tactician but serving the highest national and human purposes. If the platform is tepid on civil rights, if it gives some semantic comfort to the South, that's worth the acquiescence it purchases.

The CIA Just Can't Resist A Bargain

That CIA Board of National Estimates paper by Willard Matthias, which leaked to the Chicago Tribune, and made headlines about a possible neutral solution in Vietnam is open for inspection by newsmen at the State Department. One remarkably sensible passage has not been reported in the press. "Despite any disinclination to get involved in crises or any interest in a detente which may exist," Matthias wrote, "the situation in most of the underdeveloped world is so disorderly that many situations are likely to develop from which the great powers will have difficulty remaining aloof or which they will have difficulty controlling if they get involved. Individuals or groups calling themselves Castroites or Communists might stage revolutionary attempts or initiate guerrilla movements not on the orders of Moscow, Peiping or Havana but in the hope of gaining their support. Similarly individuals or groups may organize or execute plots simply to gain U.S. support. Once outside powers do become involved, whether by accident or design, crises can develop which will engage their prestige to a degree incommensurate with the intrinsic or strategic value of the area itself." The paper concludes, "One consequence of this disorder and of inhibitions upon open involvement is likely to be an increase in clandestine activities designed to influence the course of events." Then it recommends such activities because of their low cost among other things!

In any case the Negro has the new Civil Rights Act and a vice-presidential candidate who has been his firmest champion in the Senate.

No man deserved the nomination more; none has worked harder for liberal causes; Humphrey's choice by Johnson for the succession creates confidence in LBJ's ultimate direction, especially in the third great objective. That is slowly to bring this country back to a sense of reality, to face up to its limited power and to adjust in Vietnam and Cuba to change. Peace is the third great objective. I believe Johnson will move toward it, and that when he picked the chief architect of the nuclear test ban treaty as his running mate, he gave evidence of where he really stands on this issue, too.

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Togliatti's Posthumous Blow for Freedom, P. 4

The Next Crisis Just Around the Bend in U. S. Relations With Chile

"In addition to providing previously ignored social outcasts with opportunities for genuine participation in the national life, Chile faces difficult tasks of capital formation if genuine economic advances are to be made. Given the past failures of private capitalism to respond to the challenge of capital formation, Chilean reform advocates of every political affiliation insist that it will be necessary, at least at the outset to rely on certain socialistic and even Marxian methods. Should a reform administration come to power in Chile the U. S., would be faced with certain psychological difficulties, for the majority of its citizens subscribe to the notion that in the name of the revered Monroe Doctrine all 'un-American' practices must be excluded from the entire hemisphere . . . in Chile there may be no other means by which new social elements can acquire purchasing power and education, gain bargaining power in the sociopolitical complex, and help ultimately thereby to usher in a system of effective democracy."

—Frederick B. Pike: **Chile and the U.S.** *(Notre Dame, 1963) highly recommended for the Left Catholic point of view.*

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What Chile Needs Is An Opening to the Left

While the center of gravity in U.S. politics is moving toward the right, the center of gravity elsewhere in the hemisphere is moving left. Here a broad national front has been formed behind a Texas conservative to defeat the danger of Fascistic influence in the White House. In Chile a broad national front was formed behind a Catholic Leftist to defeat a Popular Front candidate with Communist Party support. This divergence in development forecasts trouble unless the time the U.S. gained by the Chilean victory is put to good use. The first essential is to understand better what happened in Chile and what might have happened in the U.S. The election of a Communist-supported Socialist in Chile, pledged to nationalize U.S. copper and nitrate properties, would have pushed U.S. politics further rightward. The prospect of another Castro in the hemisphere, this time in one of South America's Big Three, would have let loose a burst of hysteria worse than that we have seen over Cuba. It would have given the Goldwaterites a boost in this election, impelled Johnson to new demonstrations of toughness this time in Latin America, set back the fragile beginnings of peaceful understanding with Moscow and the hope after the election of negotiating an end to the Indochinese war with Peking. When a power as big as the U.S. has fits, the whole world shakes, and fits we would have had if the Left had won in Chile.

Another Goldwaterite for Talks With China

"Sen. Goldwater in a spirit of desperation understandable in the light of the speed with which his enemies pounce on any realistic suggestion, has now said that maybe the time has come to negotiate with the Red Chinese Government. There is a sense in which, considering the politically available realities, he is absolutely and unchallengeably correct . . . the American people are not prepared to make the sacrifices that are apparently necessary to keep South Vietnam free. . . . So that President Johnson, like Barry Goldwater, has only the alternatives: We will surrender, or we will negotiate. . . . If you cannot beat the enemy, either because you lack the strength to do so, or the will, the thing to do is to negotiate. . . . Rather negotiate now with the Red Chinese, than a few months from now when Saigon falls into the hands of the neutralists."

—Wm. F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the rightist National Review *in his newspaper column, Sept. 6-7.*

No Victory for Free Enterprise

If we are to use the reprieve wisely, it is important to realize that Frei Montalva's victory in Chile was not a victory for democracy or free enterprise as they are defined in the simple-minded U.S. lexicon. Chile is barely beginning to be a democracy in our sense of the word; it is a nation in which a landed aristocracy has played the game of parliamentary musical chairs much as it was played in England before the Nineteenth Century Reform Bills gave lower class Englishmen the right to vote. It is only in recent decades that pressure from below has forced Chile's oligarchy to utilize one makeshift after another to protect its privileges. The latest was to support a Catholic Leftist as a lesser evil. This oligarchy is anti-democratic and anti-capitalistic. The paradox in Chile, as elsewhere in Latin America, is that U.S. capitalist interests allied themselves with the big landowners in policies designed to *prevent* industrial and capitalist development. U.S. copper and nitrate companies have been interested in getting raw materials out of Chile as cheaply as possible, not in developing native industry. For landowners and copper magnates alike this would mean higher labor costs. The biggest push toward industrialism and capitalism in Chile came from its first Popular Front government, which was elected in 1938 and launched the Chilean Development Corporation, the first of its kind in Latin America. It initiated a wide variety of public, semi-public and private enterprises, giving Chile its first steel plant, its first oil industry and its first public power company. The most important measure required for peaceful relations with Latin America and peaceful reform there is to educate the U.S. to the need for such governmental planning and direction if development is to get off the ground in time to match the population explosion and popular aspiration.

(Continued on Page Two)

Frei For Peace With Cuba and Trade With the Communist Bloc

(Continued from Page One)

U.S. public opinion will also have to accept the fact that this new regime will not "stand firmly with the West" if that means isolating Cuba and embargoing trade with the Communist countries. Even Frei's conservative predecessor had begun making copper deals with Moscow, Prague and Peking. Frei deplored the break with Cuba and in a press conference after his election expressed the hope that Cuba could be brought back within the hemispheric fold on the basis of the principles of self-determination after the U.S. elections. U.S. public opinion must also be prepared for domestic measures in Chile more drastic than those proposed by Bosch in the Dominican Republic, Villeda Morales in Honduras and Goulart in Brazil before U.S. interests encouraged their overthrow by the military.

Reforms Urgently Needed

The first necessity of the new Chilean regime is to stop Latin America's second worst inflation (after Bolivia), a bonanza for landowners and primary producers but a savage capital levy on its working class. This means effective taxes on large incomes and properties. The second necessity is swift land reform. Only about one-fourth its best arable land is under cultivation, forcing Chile to import food. With 600,000 landless peasants and most of the land in the hands of a few great families indifferent to its wise use, the big estates must be broken up. On top of this, Frei Montalva's Christian Democrats, while on record for the ultimate nationalization of the big copper mines, want immediate control of the industry to expand refining at home and marketing abroad. Here there will be a frontal conflict with U.S. interests.

The inner weakness of the Christian Democratic majority will make itself felt as soon as these conflicts begin. For in Chile, as in Western Europe after the war, all kinds of reactionary interests jumped on the Christian Democratic bandwagon because they had nowhere else to go. Only anti-Communism put together the big majority in Chile. As soon as Frei moves to implement his program in the Chilean Congress, to which elections are scheduled in March, his coalition will begin to fall apart. He will be reduced to a minority regime unless he can, like the Christian Democrats in Italy, achieve an "opening to the left" and form an alliance with those elements of the Popular Front which favor peaceful reform rather than revolution. Here Frei's friendship with Allende and the latter's own Socialist background should prove fruitful. It should also be facilitated by the shift in the position of the Chilean Catholic hierarchy in recent years from support of feudalism to support of social reform. Only a new alliance of this kind can give Chile the social reform it needs if major convulsion and perhaps war are to be avoided. But can U.S. public opinion be educated to understand this? Or will we back a military coup if the Chilean oligarchy and the U.S. copper companies cannot corrupt a Frei regime? Last January the *Engineering and Mining Journal,* welcoming the appointment of Thomas Mann as Johnson's policy "czar" for Latin America expressed satisfaction with his "tough, no nonsense approach" and said Chile would be his first test. In Chile the U.S. can easily destroy the last bulwark to what it fears.

Capitalism in Chile

"In its dealings with Chile, the U.S. appeared to align itself unquestioningly with the traditional groups of privilege, seeming to feel that if only they were allowed to preside over a free-enterprise system, the social deformities of the country would somehow be ameliorated. The Chile of the dispossessed has not until very recently, directly concerned the U.S. To a certain extent, this is because there has been a tendency to assume that private capitalism will function in Chile as it now operates in the U.S. Actually, Chilean capitalists have not been forced to heed the lessons brought home to U.S. business leaders after 1929. Their basic policies are still founded upon belief in suppressing rather than cooperating with lower classes, upon small-scale production and excessive per-unit profit, upon government protection—but never government regulation— and upon special privileges which make possible the perpetuation of superannuated means of production. . . . So far as Chile's lower classes are concerned, capitalism has been synonymous with social injustice."

—Frederick B. Pike: Chile and the U.S.

The House Un-Americans Give Students from Cuba Their Annual Go Over

There were some new tactics this year as the Un-American Activities Committee faced the young people who went to Cuba. Chairman Willis did not preside and was absent throughout most of the two-day hearing. Last year his temper got the best of him whenever the students charged that he was not entitled to sit in Congress because Negroes in his Louisiana district were being deprived of the right to vote. In his place as chairman sat Rep. Ichord, a shrewd former District Attorney from Missouri who professed a desire "to protect the Constitutional rights of the witnesses." Behind him, was the Committee's concession to the Civil Rights Act, a Negro employee who periodically fetched pitchers of water.

The announced purpose of the hearing was to uncover loopholes in the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The implication was clear. All who say a kind word about Castro or Cuba must be dupes of international communism. The students selected by the Committee, although they shaved their beards and dressed neatly this year, did not present a convincing case. They spoke in the language of super-revolutionary fantasy. To them Castro Cuba is a paradise, America a tyranny, and the American wage-slave about to burst his chains. In this they echo some old-timers from the '30s, like Truman Nelson, who was present to address an anti-HUAC rally after the first day's hearing. "We in America are being separated from revolutionary renewal," he said as if in the carnage of revolution there was nourishment for the soul.

The most painful voice came from a young Negro just back from Cuba. His name was Charlie "Mao" Johnson, and he earned his nickname. For him the Negro was no mystic revolutionary symbol but a "super-exploited beast of burden." He thought Cuba had only "begun to do away with racism" and he dismissed the American white worker as no friend of the black man. Not once did he mention HUAC, as if it were no worse than the rest of our society. This was really a voice from the depths of black racial despair.

Appalachia Act Tailored to Suit Coal, Rail and Power Interests

Feeble Development Plan A Challenge to Liberals in Congress

After four years' incubation, the Appalachian Regional Development Act comes before Congress next week. "Our problem," we were told by one of its drafters, "has been to show that the Appalachia program is not another TVA." About this there can be no mistake. This inadequate plan is a challenge to liberals in Congress, and calls for a complete overhaul if it is not to disappoint the hopes it has aroused.

The Act creates no federal planning authority. A regional commission composed of one federal representative and the governors of the 11 Appalachian states must pass on all development plans. This at best is cumbersome; at its worst it gives a near veto to the vindictive Governor Wallace and his sympathizers in the other southern Appalachian states. The victory won over states' rights in the Civil Rights Act has been surrendered here without a stir. Likewise, the central authority imposed upon federal agencies at work in the Tennessee Valley has no counterpart in the Appalachian Act. The regional commission must deal separately with each federal agency. The prerogatives of bureaucrats have become as impregnable as the "rights" of States.

A Public Power Program

Nowhere is the Act more timorous than before the power of the public utilities. Appalachia's primary resource is coal; mining it is the only skill of the region's unemployed. A low-cost federal power program, using coal to generate electricity at the mine mouth, would put the unemployed to work, attract industry to the region, and produce enough profits to finance schools, roads and other public works. (*See box below*). The Act does not mention this plan although it was submitted to the President's Appalachian Commission and to Congress by the region's own residents. There is instead a specific prohibition against the use of funds "to finance the generation, transmission or distribution of electric energy." Only the Senate Public Works Committee has encouraged the public power plan. In its report on the bill it recommends another study. "The public utility lobby has been conspicuous by its absence," one Committee staff man told us. Little wonder when the government does the lobby's own work.

The utilities are not alone in their opposition to a public power program for Appalachia. They are joined by a coalition of coal mine owners, the UMW, and the railroads. The coal interests oppose any step that might offend the utilities, which have become the primary purchasers of bituminous coal. The railroads are in opposition because the generation of electricity at the mine-mouth would eliminate a major part of their freight revenues derived from the shipping of coal to distant generating plants.

A Mellon Fief

This coalition is welded together by monopoly control. In fact, it is only a minor exaggeration to see Appalachia as personal fief of the Mellon family of Pittsburgh. Through Mellon National Bank and Trust the family controls the Appalachian-based Consolidation Coal Co., the nation's largest producer of bituminous coal. Through Consolidation Coal the Mellons used to control the Virginian Railway. Its recent merger with the Norfolk & Western may have diluted Mellon ownership, but Mellon intimates still sit on the Norfolk board to influence if not control it. The merged company is now the largest domestic originator of bituminous coal, carrying 76% of the total tonnage handled in 1962. With their influence firmly established in coal and rails, the Mellons in recent years have turned to utilities. In 1961, when Consolidation Coal acquired what many consider to be controlling interest in Chrysler Corp. and U. S. Steel, the company also purchased over 100,000 shares of American Electric Power, a holding company for six utilities operating throughout Appalachia. American Electric's president is Donald Cook, a close friend of President Johnson.

TVA never had to battle a monopoly like this one. At the American Public Power Association we were told, "If Johnson would back it, and some Senator with a heart—a Gaylord Nelson or a Maurine Neuberger would fight for it, Appalachia could have its own TVA." Perhaps, but it seems more likely that those who have exploited Appalachia in the past will continue to do so with all the impunity of monopolists in a foreign land.

The Case for A TVA-Style Approach to Appalachia's Problems

"In June and again in September, 1963, representatives of the Eastern Kentucky Redevelopment Administration sent resolutions to the President's Appalachian Commission calling for a Federal agency patterned after TVA to develop the electric power potential of the area and to undertake its general social and economic rehabilitation.

"The Edison Electric Institute has estimated that the colossal sum of $175 billion will have to be invested in new electric-power generating facilities in the next 20 years. Steps must be taken to insure that the huge coal resources of Appalachia are utilized in meeting this goal. Dams at strategic locations in the Kentucky highlands could provide storage for cooling water to be used by huge mine-mouth generating plants. Extra-high-voltage transmission lines and the expanding grid system would make it possible to send low-cost power into New England, a region of high power costs. The [proposal] of Consolidated Edison of New York to go some 1,100 miles to Labrador for hydropower points up the possibilities of using Appalachian coal for electric power in the Northeast.

"The hydro- and thermal-power potential of eastern Kentucky could be developed for a billion dollars. And this could be made entirely self-liquidating [within 35 years]. However, such a self-financing corporation should be given a stern mandate to plow back into the impoverished counties in which it would operate a substantial portion of the money from power sales. At least 1 mill per kwh should be added to the price and invested in schools, roads, airports, flood-control, reforestation and reclamation and perhaps the building of entirely new towns. Sustained capital investment over a generation would bring this deprived corner of the American hinterland abreast of the rest of the nation."

—Harry Caudill, Kentucky attorney and author of Night Comes to the Cumberland, *before House and Senate Public Works Committees, June, 1964.*

The Dead Italian Leader Attacked Khrushchevite Reluctance to Push On With Reform

Togliatti's Testament Will Inspire New Hope for Freedom in the Soviet Bloc

The memorandum written by Palmiro Togliatti on the eve of his death and now published by Luigi Longo, his successor as head of the Italian Communist Party, is a political event of first importance. It performs a service for the best elements in the Soviet bloc by protesting the "slowness and resistance" of the stodgy Soviet leadership in "overcoming the regime of restrictions and suppression of democratic and personal freedom introduced by Stalin." Khrushchev and his circle are still Stalinist in spirit, though much less harsh in conduct. This posthumous nudge from the foremost intellectual of world Communism, and from the Italian party, the most powerful and sophisticated in the West, will give fresh hope to the youth (and to the old idealists) everywhere in Eastern Europe from Warsaw to Moscow.

Lenin, Too, Allowed Little Freedom

Eight years ago, in his comments on the 20th Congress, the Italian Left Socialist leader Nenni, astringently noted how inadequate was the concept of "personality cult" to explain the horrors of the Stalin period. Now his old ally, Togliatti, also criticizes the effort "to explain this solely through Stalin's serious personal defects." To put the blame wholly on Stalin is to evade the need for basic reform. Even Togliatti fails to see how far these reforms must go. He speaks of the need to restore "the *Leninist* [our italics] norms that insured within the party and outside it, a wide liberty of expression and debate on culture, art and also on politics." The loss of liberty began with Lenin, as Rosa Luxembourg, Martov, Kautsky and Emma Goldman saw quite early. Leninist democracy is a Trotzkyist myth.

In opposing a world conference of Communist parties to deal with the obstreperous Chinese, Togliatti recognized that their expulsion and a split would inevitably mean a witch hunt for those suspected of Chinese sympathies and the reimposition of Stalin-style discipline directed from Moscow. The heavy-handed Russians do not have the brains to direct a world movement, and the situations confronted by the individual Communist parties are much too diverse for centralized control. When one recalls the fatal errors Moscow and the Communists made in dealing with the menace of Nazism, one shudders to think of a new Third International, embroiled with a new Fourth directed from Peking, "in internal polemics of a purely ideological nature (as Togliatti wrote) far removed from reality." In Italy Togliatti showed his wisdom in his friendlier attitude toward the Church and the non-Communist Left. There as in many other countries the Communists are a major political factor. More sensible policies on their part are essential to a saner world. Togliatti made a great contribution toward this by his testament.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

In one sense Elizabeth Gurley Flynn died a failure but in another she died a success. The Communist Party of which she was chairman had lost almost all influence and respect; younger, more independent-minded members drifted away when it failed to recognize the implications of the 20th Congress and remained an uninspiring echo of Moscow. Its leadership became a kind of leftwing Old Folks Home, clinging to the conspiratorial and bureaucratic habits of the past. It was a strange position for her latter years, as the stuffy atmosphere of Moscow's hierarchy was a strange place for her to die. The fiery young Irish labor agitator, most passionate and eloquent of America's now vanished IWW's, the long time mate in free love of her fellow anarchist, the wonderful Carlo Tresca, deserved a better end. The pity of it is that so few will realize how much Elizabeth did in her long and devoted lifetime for the betterment of the American working class. The great strikes she led on the eve of World War I were part of the epic struggle of U.S. labor to win its rights. The American Civil Liberties Union she helped organize is our oldest sentinel of basic liberties. A jail term under the Smith Act and isolation were the rewards of her old age, but some day, in a quieter atmosphere, her services to her country will be remembered. Because of her and other radicals like her, American workers are no longer the helpless victims of exploitation to be found elsewhere in this hemisphere. This was her success.

IFS Speaks on Arab-Jewish Relations Under the Auspices of THE NEW OUTLOOK Sept. 18 in New York, 8:30 p.m. at the Newspaper Guild, 133 W. 44th Street.

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How USIA Secretly Subsidizes Books and Writers, P. 3

But When Will These Humane and Pragmatic Views Be Applied to Cuba and Vietnam?

"The Senator's [Goldwater's] assumption that the Russians can be counted on to accept humiliation rather than war is a dangerous delusion. It is based on the fantastic premise that the American people will prefer the destruction of their cities and perhaps a hundred million deaths to an adjustment with the Communists, but that at the same time the Russians will surrender to an ultimatum rather than accept the risk of nuclear war. . . . Permeating Senator Goldwater's view of the cold war is an unshakeable belief that Communist and free societies cannot survive together in the same world. . . . It is, I believe, an understanding of human diversity, and of the inability of one man or nation to determine what is best for all others, that forms the core of the democratic idea. When 'freedom' is worshipped as a sublime and mystical state rather than simply a necessary condition for human fulfilment, the faith in freedom itself ceases to express the democratic spirit . . . it ceases to express the conscience of a conservative and becomes instead the faith of a fanatic. . . . Goldwater Republicanism is the closest thing in American politics to an equivalent of Russian Stalinism. Each makes a religion of its ideology. . . . The Republicans build their policy on the ideologies that divide the world; the Democrats look beyond ideology to the common hopes, the common interests and the common dangers that unite the human race."

—Fulbright in the Senate, Sept. 8.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XII, NO. 31 SEPTEMBER 21, 1964 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

What A Little Lanolin D Can Do for That War in Vietnam

We sat in at our TV the evening of Sept. 10 on the beginning of a new ABC series called *Letters from Vietnam* about "The Daring American." The program, if not the war, seemed to be self-sustaining. It was sponsored by Purex, the cleanser with the woman's touch; Instant Fels, with that built-in fabric softener; Trend, with the tiny suds, so much better than the big bubbles; and Sweetheart Soap, which makes elegance affordable today. Part of the hour long program permitted us to listen in as a U.S. Army Lieut. talked into a dictaphone for his absent wife those "Letters from Vietnam" which gave the program its name. Part of the program permitted us to sit in on battle scenes which lived up to the advance billing, "Specially mounted cameras on combat helicopters take you into battle, show you what it's like to come within a hair of being shot down on a rescue mission." It's a new sensation in warfare to know that you're going into battle with TV cameras trained on you for the folks back home, and that if you're wounded the whole country will see it, unless you have the misfortune of being hit during the commercial.

No Callus on Hand or Heart

It was nice to be assured that our soldiers don't take the war as personal. The lieutenant explained to his wife on the dictaphone that to our fighting men the Viet Cong are "vermin, they're not human, so you don't worry about it as you shoot them up." The finer feelings, like the finer hands in washing with Purex, are not calloused. In another memorable scene we could watch a village being shot up from the air. The announcer explained, "the VC got his back a thousand fold—a return designed to make VC even more unpopular in the countryside." Without this explanation, shooting up a whole village because we suspected a few guerrillas were hidden in it might be regarded as making us a little unpopular in the countryside, too. "We may sometimes kill women and children inadvertently," the Lieutenant wrote his wife that night, "but never on purpose." Then he added what seemed to us a dangerous thought, that he supposed the VC have a family, too. A later sequence, to demonstrate his kindly feelings, showed the Lieutenant visiting an orphanage in Saigon. As the orphans waved goodbye, the painful scene merged into a happy commercial, with American children playing about their mother, her hands protected against dryness by Gentle Fels soap, which contains Lanolin D, "nature's own skin conditioner to make your work easier." We hope the Vietnamese war can be kept going until this series is completed. It shows how smoothly a war can be fought, with a little Lanolin D.

Is Peace Breaking Out Despite Us?

"Both American and Vietnamese officials vehemently deny that any cease-fire measures are under consideration, or even possible under present circumstances. Such measures are very much in the minds, however, of Vietnamese not now in positions of responsibility. Buddhist leaders, for instance, have called on both the Government army commanders and Vietcong leadership to 'slow down' the war, if not actually cease fighting. Furthermore, independent military observers detect signs—there is no clear proof—of increasing numbers of de facto cease-fire understandings growing up in recent weeks among individual units in widespread parts of the country. These take the form of local stated or tacit agreements by Government and Vietcong commanders."

—Peter Grose from Saigon in the early editions of the New York Times (p. 20) Sun., Sept. 13. This passage was omitted in the Late City Edition.

The war may not be going as well as we would like it from a military point of view, but with this series we have hit our stride when it comes to merchandising it. The war is at last being packaged properly, and it's the package which makes the sale. The U.S. Army has achieved a break-through.

First Congressional Investigation in Quarter Century Into Economic Concentration

Senate Antitrust Examines A New Kind of Corporate Super Monster

For the first time in a quarter-century Congress is taking a look at economic concentration in American industry. Its last study was in 1939 when the Temporary National Economic Committee began work on 40 volumes of hearings and monographs. Now the Senate Antitrust Committee under Senator Hart is in the midst of a new set of hearings. Although virtually unmentioned in the press, the revelations have been as striking as any uncovered by Senator Kefauver when he led the Committee into price-fixing in the steel and drug industries.

The hearings have established the first broad consensus behind the opinion that concentration has been increasing and increasing rapidly since the end of World War II. Findings of the Federal Trade Commission, the Census Bureau and the Committee's own chief economist (Dr. John Blair) all indicate that the 100 largest U.S. manufacturing corporations control about 25% more of the nation's net capital manufacturing assets than they did 15 years ago. This means they now hold 57% or just short of three-fifths of all property used in U.S. manufacturing.

The Conglomerate Giant

Even more startling (and one does not startle easily after so many years of bigness) is the way these corporate giants have grown. At the time of the TNEC investigation, the giants confined themselves to activity within a single industry. They expanded horizontally to acquire competitors and vertically to acquire firms within their stream of production and distribution. John Blair's testimony reveals the growth of a new kind of super-giant, the conglomerate. It expands by diversifying into industries totally unrelated to its major field of production (*see box below*). Textron, for example, is now engaged in practically every U.S. industry except textiles, the one in which it began. At least one of the 100 largest manufacturing corporations is now among the 4 largest producers in more than half the product classes of U.S. industry. Since product class (rather than products) is the category that most closely approximates the market, these figures show the giants in direct "competition" with the majority of U.S. manufacturing firms.

How Much Bigger The Big Have Grown

"In 1962, the population of American manufacturing enterprises consisted of about 180,000 corporations and 240,000 partnerships and proprietorships. These 420,000 business units had combined assets of about $296 billion. The 20 largest manufacturing corporations had $73.8 billion in assets, or an estimated 25% of the total. The 419,000 smallest companies accounted for only 25.2% of total assets. Thus the total assets of the 20 largest corporations were approximately the same as those of the 419,000 smallest. Concentration, when measured in terms of net profits or net capital assets, is greater. For example, the 20 largest manufacturing corporations, with 25.4% of total assets, accounted for 38% of profits after taxes. The net profits of the 5 largest corporations were nearly twice as large as those of the about 178,000 smallest corporations."

—W. F. Mueller, head of Bureau of Economics at FTC, before Senate Antitrust Comm., July 2 (abr.)

These figures really underestimate the extent of concentration and conglomeration. They are based upon the assumption that a company must own more than 50% of the stock of another in order to control it. This standard has long been obsolete. Even the conservative SEC presumes control with the ownership of 25% or more of the stock. In large corporations, where ownership is widely diffused, control often comes with as little as 10% of the stock. "One is the recipient of so many slings and arrows in this work," one Committee staff member explained, "that we lean over backwards to use the most conservative statistics."

The corporate giants, unwilling to risk smaller profits by lowering costs and expanding production, have turned instead to investments in conglomerate mergers. The Justice Department and the FTC have been reluctant to fight these. (The FTC's recent decision against Proctor & Gamble's acquisition of Chlorox is the one exception and may indicate a new policy.) If Senate Antitrust decides on legislation to break up the conglomerates, it will be attacking a major barrier to full employment of machines and manpower.

Economist Asks For New Antitrust Law To Break Up Giant Conglomerates

"A firm possesses conglomerate power when its operations are so widely diversified that its survival no longer depends on success in any given product market. Its absolute size, its sheer bigness, is so impressive that it can discipline or destroy its more specialized competitors. It occupies a position much like the millionaire poker player who, in a game of unlimited stakes, can easily bankrupt his less opulent opponents.

"General Dynamics, for example, turns out a diversified product line ranging from Atlas missiles to sand and gravel. Martin-Marietta produces aero-space equipment, cement and concrete, printing inks, dyestuffs, adhesives and resins, and household cleaning products. Textron, perhaps the greatest conglomerate in U.S. industry, is an amalgam of 27 separate divisions and 113 separate plants—making such widely dissimilar products as helicopters, chicken feed, mailboxes, paints and optical machinery.

"Since the conglomerate firm is composed of functionally unrelated enterprises, it loses the advantages of specialization and economies of scale. It cannot claim to be society's benefactor through greater efficiency.

"Since conglomerate bigness is relatively new in American manufacturing, neither economic theory nor public policy has yet devised effective means of coping with it. Certainly, it is doubtful whether the Sherman and Clayton Acts are adequate to the task. Nevertheless, we do have a precedent of a specialized antitrust law—the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935—which addressed itself to the phenomenon of conglomerate bigness in a single industry. Section 11, the heart of the statute, required holding companies to divest themselves of widely scattered utility properties which had no operating relationship with respect to each other.

I suggest that this Committee explore the feasibility of adapting the Public Utility Holding Company Act provisions to conglomerate bigness in manufacturing.

—Dr. Walter Adams, Prof. of Econ., Mich State U., before the Sen. Antitrust Subcom., Sept. 10 (abr.).

How "Cultural Exchange" Became A Propaganda Operation At Home As Well As Abroad

USIA Secretly Subsidizes Books and Writers to Spread Its "Line"

In 1948 Congress passed a U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act. It authorized the Secretary of State to provide for the exchange of books, periodicals "and other educational materials" with foreign countries and for the dissemination abroad of "information about the United States." In 1953 these powers were transferred to the newly created U.S. Information Agency. It now appears, from testimony taken in executive sessions (see box below) by the House Appropriations Committee, that this authorization has been stretched by the USIA secretly to subsidize the writing and publication of books at home as well as abroad.

Comic Strips, Too

Mr. Lipscomb (R. Cal): I was interested in an article that appeared in the Washington Star Sunday magazine of Jan. 12, 1964, which refers to a 'Comic Strip Mill' and states that 'USIA [US Information Agency] artists in Washington turn out material for thousands of publications abroad.' . . . It says, 'Five seemingly innocent comic strips are slipped into some 5,000 publications around the world every week. Although their readers and sometimes even their editors don't know it, the comic strips carry a hidden message; they are American propaganda.'

—House Appropriations Committee, March 3

Buying Stature to Get Credibility

Thanks to Glenard P. Lipscomb (R. Cal.), a member of the Appropriations Committee, more information has been elicited about this "book development program." Lipscomb questioned USIA's authority to engage in such activities, and has released the Comptroller General's reply. This letter discloses that the book contracts with USIA "provide publication shall be without attribution to the Agency [USIA] and that there shall be no publicity of the Government's connection with the book." The names of books thus bought were censored out of the committee hearing record at the USIA's request. One of them, as the reader will see below, was described by Reed Harris, the USIA official in charge as covering "the whole Communist strategy of deception." Mr. Harris seemed unaware that he was describing our own government's strategy of deception. The USIA does not employ writers on its staff but seeks out "commercial writers who have stature in the literary world" because this "results in greater credibility." Despite this prized stature, "we control the *thing*," [our italics] Mr. Harris explained, "from the very idea down to the final edited manuscript."

The Comptroller General's letter upholding this stretches the law and misses the point. Congressman Lipscomb has promised to sponsor legislation either to stop the practice or require that books subsidized by the USIA be so labelled. Otherwise the reader has no way of distinguishing between objective scholarship and paid propagation of the government's line. Milton described a book as "the life-blood of a master spirit." Nowadays it may also be a custom-made masterpiece, cut to the government's cloth.

The Testimony Which Disclosed Our Own Government's Strategy of Deception

Mr. (John) ROONEY (D. N.Y.): At page 18-7 entitled "Book Development" you would seek an increase from $90,000 in the current year to $195,000 in the coming year. What is the alleged necessity for that?

Mr. (Reed) HARRIS (Information Center Service, USIA): That is the program under which we can have books written to our own specifications, books that would not otherwise be put out, especially those books that have strong anti-Communist content and follow other themes that are particularly useful for our purposes. Under the book development program, we control the thing from the very idea down to the final edited manuscript.

Mr. ROONEY: What are the details?

Mr. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, we would be able to go into the titles if we might be allowed to do it off the record because our interests in certain of these books should not become a matter of general public information.

* * *

Mr. ROONEY: Tell us about this book.

Mr. HARRIS: This book, sir, covers the whole Communist strategy of deception.

Mr. ROONEY: How many books have been written on this subject?

Mr. HARRIS: I could not tell you all of them but this is a very down-to-earth book and is the kind of thing that warns people —

Mr. ROONEY: There is nothing new about this subject is there? I can remember reading about it over 30 years ago. What did it cost?

Mr. HARRIS: In this case, it cost $14,952.

* * *

Mr. ROONEY: How many writers do you have in the USIA?

Mr. Louis FANGET (Chief, Publications Division): We do not employ any writers, sir, on the staff. We try to reach outside commercial writers who have stature in the literary world, we try to get them to do books. This results in greater credibility, sir.

* * *

Mr. (Glenard) LIPSCOMB (R. Cal.): How many books do you have of the nature of * which were financed by USIA but are now being put out by American publishers for sale in the United States?

Mr. FANGET: Sir, it is our intent to have all the books published by the American publisher for sale commercially not only in the United States but we hope overseas so that the book has the credibility we want it to have.

Mr. LIPSCOMB: I am having a hard time understanding why USIA must finance a book and then have it go on the market for sale. If a publisher thinks a book is good —

Mr. FANGET: The kinds of books we support are those that would not be published ordinarily.

Mr. LIPSCOMB: Why not?

Mr. FANGET: Because they would be difficult to sell. An American publisher would not ordinarily publish an anti-Communist book because they do not sell commercially. And even those published commercially sometimes have some Federal support behind them. An American publisher will only publish those books on which he believes he can make a profit. These books habitually do not make a profit. For example,*—. If we had not invested money in it, it would not have come to light. It is considered by authorities to be one of the best books on the expose of the Communist system.

—Before the House Appropriations Comm., March 5 (abr.)

***Indicates book title was censored.**

The Price Party and Nation Pay for the United Front Against Goldwater

Liberal Democrats Help Johnson Try to Bury the Baker Case

In the Senate last week the liberal Democrats declined the chance to set up a genuine Bobby Baker investigation. The voting was so close on almost every question that the change of a few liberal votes would have been decisive. A change of four would have sent the re-opened inquiry to the new Select Committee on Ethics rather than back to Rules, where it got nowhere the first time round. Another four liberal votes would have permitted the minority members in Rules to call witnesses whom the majority refused to call. Six liberal votes would have given the investigating committee explicit authority to examine all government building contracts, not just the one for the District of Columbia Stadium.

Only Douglas Refused to Compromise

Senator Douglas was the only liberal to vote consistently for these proposals and others like them. Clark, the proponent of Senate reform, took a live pair against almost every one. Morse, McGovern and Neuberger voted with the party leadership all the way. Gruening and Nelson scattered their votes both for and against. Church, McCarthy and Proxmire played the game of voting for an amendment only to switch their votes at the last moment if it seemed the amendment might pass.

Under other circumstances a vote for a tough Baker investigation would have been a vote to expose the Senate Establishment and its tie-in with Big Business. Unfortunately a thorough investigation would lead straight into the White House. The leader of the Establishment is now the white hope of American liberalism against Goldwater. This illustrates what Dean Sayre of Washington Cathedral meant when in an unusually outspoken sermon Sept. 13 he deplored the character of the men between whom the American people must choose in November: "one a man of dangerous ignorance and devastating uncertainty, the other a man whose public house is splendid in its every appearance but whose private lack of ethic must inevitably introduce termites at the very foundation."

The Rules Committee is almost certain to stifle this new inquiry as it did the last. The key figure is Matthew McCloskey, contractor for the D.C. Stadium, who, according to Senator Williams (R. Del.), conspired with Bobby Baker to add 25,000 to the cost and divert this to the 1960 Democratic campaign fund. Sen. Jordan, Chairman of Rules, refused to promise that he would ask McCloskey to testify. His colloquy with Senator Williams is typical:

Sen. WILLIAMS: I should like to ask the Senator if in his next inquiry he intends to call Mr. McCloskey?

Sen. JORDAN: I shall answer the question this way: If the resolution is turned over to the Committee on Rules, we will do the investigating.

Sen. WILLIAMS: Will the Senator from North Carolina call Mr. McCloskey as a witness?

Sen. JORDAN: That will be for the Committee to decide.

Mr. WILLIAMS: Will the Senator tell us how he personally will stand?

Mr. JORDAN: If the Senator will wait until we have the opportunity to act, we will determine how to proceed.

The Democratic maneuver may not work. As Senator Scott (*R. Pa.*) said, "The danger in burying a live issue is that the ghost returns to haunt the happy morticians."

The FBI and the Baker Case

"The Senator from Montana [Mansfield] raised the question about whether the [Baker-McCloskey] question had been referred to the Department of Justice. At the time I made my speech last week it had not been. It has since been referred to the Department. The Department sent its representatives around to see me. This happened since the President authorized the FBI to go into the question. They did come around to my office, and I must say that I was much disappointed in that interview. They seemed to think that there were two questions of prime importance: First, "Where did you get the check and who gave it to you? Who is your informant?" Second, "When did you get the check?" Neither point is material so far as they are concerned. . . . They spent three-quarters of their time in my office trying to find out where I got the information."

—Sen. J. Williams (R. Del), in the Senate, Sept. 9

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Jurists Condemn Brazil Coup U.S. Backed, P. 3

"Violence in the Streets" But What of (Anti-Negro) Violence in the Rural South?

Republicans and Democrats outdo each other in condemning "violence in the streets," a euphemism for Negro crimes against whites in the North. Both are silent about violence in the South against Negroes and white civil rights workers. This is unmentioned in the campaign speeches, as it was in the platforms. Crimes against whites have been exaggerated; the crime rate in Goldwater's almost lily-white Phoenix turns out to be higher than in New York or Washington. Violence against Negroes is played down. The body of a Negro CORE worker was fished out of the Big Black River near Pickens, Miss., Sept. 9 without a ripple of indignation. Church burnings have become routine. When a Negro church was bombed and an Indian church burned down near Philadelphia, Miss., Sept. 19, the few newspapers which carried the item buried it in their back pages. Two days later, when bombs were thrown at a church in McComb, Miss., and into a house where two children miraculously escaped death, these did make headlines in the New York evening papers but only after angry Negroes drove police out of the neighborhood with bricks and bottles. Failure to punish Southern white bombers and killers is taken for granted. No one has yet been arrested for the murder of three civil rights workers last summer near Philadelphia, Miss. The Klansmen tried for shooting Lemuel Penn in Georgia have been acquitted. The murder of Medger Evers is still unpunished. Nobody has been arrested for cutting the heads off two young Negroes in Mississippi last spring and throwing their bodies in the Yazoo river. There are parts of the South in which shooting Negroes is known as "funning." It's time Johnson and Humphrey, Goldwater and Miller, were forced to say where they stand on this Southern form of amusement.

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Like A Bar-Room Brawl With The Lights Out

It is not surprising that Secretary McNamara abruptly shut off his press conference on the latest Tonkin Bay incident so he would not have to answer questions. The U.S. has never engaged in a more obscure bit of brinkmanship. The *Washington Post* (Sept. 20) in reporting the White House reactions said President Johnson "believes that history might have turned out differently if Kaiser Wilhelm and Chancellor Adolf Hitler had not made miscalculations about the U.S." The parallel is doubly unfortunate. Germany twice precipitated world wars by a "right is might" policy ours has begun to resemble. The Germans did indeed miscalculate U.S. reaction, but that miscalculation was a simple affair. Then Berlin did not know what Washington would do. Here we have a situation in which Washington itself does not know what it's doing. Neither Washington nor Moscow nor Peking nor Hanoi can calculate clearly because none of them seem sure of what happened. We say we shot at some blips on a radar screen; Peking and Hanoi say, in substance, that nothing at all happened; and Moscow says we sank three ships. Now Washington says it thinks maybe we did. This is beginning to resemble a bar-room brawl with the lights out.

Peking on That First Tonkin Bay Battle

"According to the 'chronology', at 7:40 p.m. local time, U.S. warships encountered these 'surface vessels' and at 9:52 an 'engagement' took place. Fierce fighting continued for more than three hours and lasted till 1:30 on August 5. The whole process lasted for nearly six hours. This was truly a sea battle of considerable scale. But anybody with a little knowledge of military science knows that torpedo boats have high speed and short range and are fit for short distance surprise attack and hit-and-run tactics. How could they be engaged in fierce fighting with powerful U.S. destroyers for three hours on high seas more than 60 nautical miles off the coast? Secondly, if these vessels were, as alleged by Johnson, 'hostile vessels of the Government of North Vietnam', which made 'deliberate, wilful and systematic attack on U.S. vessels', why didn't they start the attack immediately after spotting the U.S. vessels, instead of paralleling the tracks of U.S. vessels, until 9:52, that is, more than two hours after U.S. vessels spotted them, got everything ready, and even had time to call in an escort of aircraft?"

—Peking Review, *Aug. 14. We are indebted for this quotation to (of all places) the Goldwaterite* National Review *(Sept. 22) whose editor, Buckley, advocates negotiating with China to end the Viet war.*

There's Many A Blip . . .

Last time our Navy at least claimed to have heard and seen gun flashes. This time the whole encounter took place on the radar screens. We don't seem to know what the hostile blips were, or what happened to them. According to Mr. Johnson's press conference of Sept. 21, when the early reports came in some persons had urged rapid retaliation again, as after the alleged attack on August 5, which Peking and Hanoi also say never happened. Fortunately Mr. Johnson said he preferred to wait until daylight when the situation could be better understood and evaluated. One more swift reprisal raid like the last one, and it would have been hard to tell from the blips on the political radar screen whether that was Johnson or Goldwater shooting from the hip again. McNamara may have fled that press conference because answers, or unwillingness to answer, certain questions might have been embarrassing. He might also have fled lest the press discover that he, too, didn't know the answers. It's not news that the American people long ago lost touch with what is really happening in Vietnam. It's painful to discover that their leaders aren't sure either.

In the last Tonkin Bay incidents the alibi was that while the CIA knew, it failed to let the Navy know, that attacks

(Continued on Page Two)

(Continued on Page Four)

were being made on the North Vietnamese coast while our destroyers cruised nearby. After that incident, it was announced that our patrols were being removed from the Bay of Tonkin but that we reserved the right to resume them later. Now again the AP from Washington (*Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 22) carries the news, "The two-destroyer patrol involved in last Friday's shooting incident has been withdrawn from the Gulf of Tonkin, informed sources said tonight. The patrol was finished on schedule, they said, and it is indefinite when another will go into the gulf. . . ." Was this the first patrol since the August 5 affair?* Were any covert operations scheduled at the same time by the South Vietnamese, using the naval vessels we have given them? How does North Vietnamese radar distinguish U.S. naval vessels when under U.S. command from the same vessels when under South Vietnamese control? Do U.S. patrols engage in reconnaissance which pinpoints radar and coastal defense installations along the North Vietnamese coast and is this information then turned over to the South Vietnamese to help them in raiding activities? If Russian or Chinese destroyers prowled the Florida coast while ships they supplied Castro engaged in coastal raids, what would we do? Send hampers of Florida grapefruit to their skippers?

What the Desperadoes Want

We may have double electronic locks on our nuclear weapons but we seem to have less and less control over our own and our puppet forces in Vietnam though these could spark off a wider war. The situation in South Vietnam is falling apart so quickly that one suspects it is too fast for the Vietcong as well as ourselves. Divisional capitals are left unguarded—and yet are not taken over—as commanding generals move their troops on Saigon to see if they can emerge as the new "strong men" or at least get themselves another star on their shoulder straps as consolation prizes. The indifference of the populace in Saigon was the most striking feature of the abortive coup. The country is sick of war and sick of us, especially of our habit of napalming and machine-gunning whole villages to get at a few suspected guerrillas. Behind the Catholic-Buddhist feud is a division between Catholic extremists anxious to carry on the war at any cost and Buddhists who want restoration of civilian government and a cease-fire. The most dangerous element in the situation are those military men who see a widening of the war as the only way to prevent a negotiated peace. One of these is the young Air Force Commander and playboy, Nguyen Cao Ky, to whom Khanh owes his survival. In an interview with *Le Monde* (Sept. 17) Ky advocated extension of the war to the North and when asked whether the Americans would permit this declared angrily, "M. I can order and carry out these operations at any time," and cut off the interview. This is the new power behind the collapsing throne in Saigon.

Congress And The Court

"The Constitution says, 'The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.' . . . But these constitutional provisions no more authorize Congress to prevent the judicial power of the United States from enforcing the right to equal protection of the laws than the same provisions authorize Congress to prevent the judicial power from enforcing the right to freedom of speech, or trial by jury, or any other constitutional right. Congress cannot nullify constitutional rights by the simple device of forbidding U.S. courts to decide cases in which these rights are involved."

—Henry W. Edgerton, retired judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, in a letter to the Washington Post *Sept. 16, on the reapportionment controversy in Congress.*

Our puppets have a way of making us dance to their strings. It would be well to be on guard against provocations or phony news stories designed to provoke or excuse what these light-headed desperadoes want. In this category is the story from Saigon in the *New York Times* (Sept. 22) as we go to press quoting "reliable military sources" as saying that South Vietnamese forces had inflicted heavy casualties on two companies of North Vietnamese who had crossed over the demilitarized zone that separates the two parts of Vietnam. The AP (*Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 22) treated this more circumspectly as a "possibility" that U.S. authorities were investigating. Why should North Vietnam risk an invasion and a U.S. attack when the collapse of the South Vietnamese government and a negotiated peace may be in sight?

*** "Navy chiefs," said the Washington Wire of the Wall Street Journal Sept. 4, "plan to send another sea patrol into the Gulf of Tonkin soon. It will resemble the force that encountered North Vietnamese attacks in early August. Officers talk of the plan as just another reconnaissance mission. But it could test Red belligerency afresh." Was this advance leak part of a war of nerves?**

Why Morse Opposes Javits or Any Other "Compromise" Court Resolution

"I shall vote for no proposal that in any way casts disrespect upon the Federal court system. The back-seat driving that the Javits substitute represents is always an unsound disruption of our constitutional system, no matter how innocuously it may be framed. The courts will ignore it but the public will not. For those who want to stir up resistance to court decisions and resentment against the courts in general, any critical advisory opinion from the Congress is a victory.

"For at least 10 years, 'court-busting' bills have been on this calendar in every session. We have had bills to overturn the Nelson decision on State subversive laws; bills to overturn the passport decisions; bills to overturn the protection of persons charged as security risks; bills to overturn the Mallory rule. If we who fought those measures had started dickering with their advocates to find something we could all agree on, most of them would have been adopted in one form or another.

"It was not Earl Warren who laid down the theorem that the Supreme Court is the final arbiter of the Constitution; it was a great Virginian, John Marshall. If the American people are adamant in their opposition to the Court rulings on reapportionment a constitutional amendment can always undo what the Supreme Court has already done. It is those who know that once popular representation is a fact the people will welcome it, who are trying to suspend the administration of justice."

—Morse in the Senate Sept. 15 (abridged).

Commission's Report Says Military Feared Congress Would Approve Goulart's Reforms

World Jurists Condemn Brazil's Military For U.S. Supported Coup

When the conservative International Commission of Jurists condemns Castro or criticizes the Soviet bloc, it makes headlines in the U.S. press. But its recent criticism of the military coup in Brazil the U.S. supported was almost entirely blacked out of the U.S. press. We cabled the Commission in Geneva for a copy and here present the heart of that report from its September bulletin:

President Goulart was effectively overthrown by April 2, 1964, in a military coup which was fortunately bloodless. The accusations made against him by the military leaders of the coup were of trying to introduce a dictatorship of the extreme Left, of violating the Constitution, and of increasing his personal power at the expense of that of Congress. . . .

It is difficult to find any justification for the overthrow of President Goulart by the military without waiting for Congress to express its views on his proposals. . . . Whether or not President Goulart was a good or bad executive, Left-wing or Right-wing, efficient or inefficient, he was the constitutional President of Brazil and constitutional methods existed to restrain him from accomplishing any of the three things of which he was specifically accused by the military. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from the fact that the military did not wait for Congress to pronounce upon President Goulart's proposals is that they feared that Congress might accept them. Any pretext of acting in the higher interests of the Constitution or to protect the Constitution against the activities of President Goulart is self-evidently hollow. . . .

The Real Reason for the Coup

President Goulart's programme was to "transform an archaic society into a modern society authentically free and democratic." A small agrarian reform had been effected by a decree of March, 1964. In order to proceed to a more sweeping reform President Goulart had asked Congress in his annual report of March 15, 1964, to approve amendments to the Constitution. . . . The reform already effected by decree concerned 3% of the land surface and covered non-cultivated land less than ten kilometers on either side of part of the federal communications system. Such land had been the object of fearful speculation. More fundamentally, the project of agrarian reform aimed to abolish the abuses of latifundia. . . . In Brazil 62% of cultivable land belongs to 3% of the population; 0.5% is divided up into 400,000 parcels of less than 5 hectares; there are 9 million landless peasants of whom 4 million are not paid wages in money.

How LBJ Welcomed The Coup

"The American people have watched with anxiety the political and economic difficulties through which your great nation has been passing. . . . The relations of friendship and cooperation between our two governments and peoples are . . . a precious asset in the interests of peace and prosperity and liberty in this hemisphere and in the whole world. I look forward to the continued strengthening of those relations and to our intensified cooperation in the interests of economic progress and social justice for all. . . ."

—*Johnson's message welcoming Goulart's overthrow, Apr. 2.*

As political reforms, President Goulart wished to give the right to vote to illiterates and to those on military service, and asked for universal suffrage. He also proposed that his programme of reform should be submitted to a popular referendum in which all Brazilian citizens aged 18 and over would be entitled to vote. . . . These reforms, unless there be some hidden sinister significance, are entirely in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. . . . Moreover, the late President Kennedy expressed his approval of this social programme as entirely in conformity with the spirit of the Alliance for Progress. It would seem more than a little incongruous to label as Communist a programme which met with the approval of President Kennedy, or which in principle is self-evidently necessary for the proper advancement of human dignity in a country where the disparity between rich and poor is still of frightening proportions.

Something of the measure of the respect for fundamental rights which is held by the new military regime in Brazil can be gauged from its actions since assuming power. The land reform [decree] was abrogated. Approximately forty members of Parliament have been divested of their seats, censorship of the press has been established, approximately 8,000 persons have been arrested, and all likely opponents of standing at the forthcoming presidential election have been deprived of their civil rights.

How Brazil's New Military Chiefs Faked Evidence of a Communist Plot

"Five months after the 'glorious Christian revolution,' both ordinary and military prisons are overcrowded with political prisoners, numbering now several thousands and including a number of MPs, a few deposed State governors and mayors, priests, university teachers, and so on. The net for this frantic witchhunt has been cast far and wide to gather in every man and woman even remotely suspect of progressive or Left-wing opinions. In some places, like the State of Minas Gerais, this went to the extent of pouncing rather on the progressives or reformist Catholic groups, while leaving the few Communists at liberty. . . .

"Immediately after the military coup, peasants (including many women) were rounded up in hundreds by army and police units and thrown into local jails and beaten up. Many of the leaders were killed or emasculated by gangs of thugs organized by the landowners, who were known to have been buying and storing arms for some time. It is true that the regime has not dared so far to break up the "Labour Courts" legally set up in country towns to deal with peasants' complaints, but the judges have been subject to much pressure and at least one of them was arrested.

"In order to give some semblance of truth to the hackneyed and already discredited story of a 'Communist plot', the military chiefs have organized a number of 'exhibitions of subversive material' which they claim to have seized from Left-wing organizations (the press cliche 'copious subversive material was seized' is always good for raising a laugh nowadays). One of these ludicrous affairs was found to consist mostly of books (Djilas's The New Class, textbooks on economic development, etc.), but pride of place was given to an Egyptian flag!" . . .

—*The Tribune (London), Sept. 11.*

Cozy Relations Between Doctors and Insurance Companies Drive Up Cost of Health Care

As An Alternative To Medicare Why Not Regulate Private Health Plans?

For almost a third of a century an alliance of doctors, hospital trustees and health insurance companies has blocked passage of a federal health insurance program. F.D.R. endorsed compulsory national health insurance for every American when he first sent the Social Security Bill to Congress in 1935. President Truman throughout his administration fought for a comprehensive medicare program that included doctor, dental and laboratory insurance as well as hospital care. Today, as we go to press, Congress is still debating the whittled down remains of this plan—a program of hospital and nursing home care for those 65 and over—and it seems almost certain that even this will be defeated.

Why Doctors Oppose Medicare

The opponents of medicare have more at stake than their Puritan ethics and capitalistic ideology. Private health insurange for them has been a lucrative venture. In 1959, for example, it supplied one in eight general practitioners and one in four specialists with 50% or more of their average earnings. Some hospitals, especially in industrial areas, derive as much as 70% of their income from Blue Cross alone. If this income were solely the result of an "arm's length" relationship between the vendors of medical care and the insurance carriers, one might expect it to continue under any form of insurance, public or private. Unfortunately, their relationship at best has been one of reciprocal backscratching.

In the case of Blue Cross and Blue Shield, doctors and hospitals enjoy direct control through the boards of directors of the local plans. According to Herman and Anne Somers in their classic (and conservative) study, *Doctors, Patients and Health Insurance,* they outnumber representatives of the general public on these boards by a 2-to-1 margin. In the case of commercial companies their influence is more subtle but just as powerful. The doctor, as the Somerses explain, is the commercial carrier's umbilical cord. His good will can bring subscribers and his assistance, as in promptly discharging patients from hospitals, can reduce benefit payments.

One consequence of this is that insurance plans are more often tailored to the interests of the vendors than the consumers of medical care. Most plans encourage hospitalization and surgery even when these may not be medically necessary. Others like Major Medical tempt doctors and hospitals to charge higher prices than they would ordinarily charge the uninsured. As a result medical prices have been spiraling upward about three times as fast as the general price index. The insurance carriers have been either unwilling or unable to regulate this price spiral. When several Blue Cross groups attempted to do so in the late 1950's, they received a sharp warning from the president of the American Hospital Association against any tendency to act as "defender of [their] subscribers against the hospital rather than as an agency for the prepayment of hospital care as it is determined to be by the hospitals and doctors." The carriers have turned instead to higher premiums, restricted enrollment and inadequate benefits.

In the absence of a federal health insurance program, federal regulation of private insurance plans is necessary. It would tend to counteract the influence of doctors and hospitals and strengthen the hand of those in the insurance companies who desire to control medical costs rather than raise premiums. Health has become too big a business to remain both unnationalized and unregulated.

New Atomic Pact Becomes Official

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has unanimously endorsed the new atomic information agreement with NATO and its member nations. The old dissenters like Sen. Anderson and Representatives Holifield and Price may consider the battle against nuclear dissemination already lost. Senator Aiken told us of his personal misgivings but he too chose to remain silent in the committee's report. The agreement becomes official on September 24 in the absence of a veto from both houses of Congress. The five congressmen who submitted resolutions of protest in July have decided not to carry the fight further. They say they will conserve their limited resources for an effort to defeat an MLF agreement in late winter. We hope they show greater determination then than they have now.

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The Terror in McComb, P. 4

Where the FBI and the Secret Service Were Culpable in Kennedy's Assassination

"There was insufficient liaison . . . between the Secret Service and other Federal agencies. . . . Although the FBI . . . had secured considerable information about Lee Harvey Oswald, it had no official responsibility, under the Secret Service criteria existing at the time of the President's trip to Dallas, to refer to the Secret Service the information it had. The Commission concluded, however, that the FBI took an unduly restrictive view of its role. . . .

"At the time of the trip to Dallas, the Secret Service as a matter of practice did not investigate, or cause to be checked, any building along the motorcade route. . . .

"On Nov. 4 [FBI man] Hosty telephoned the Texas School Book Depository and learned that Oswald was working there. . . . Agents of the FBI in Dallas did not consider Oswald's presence in the Texas School Book Depository Building overlooking the motorcade route as a source of danger to the President and did not inform the Secret Service. . . ." —*The Warren Report (at pps. 24, 438 and 443).*

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The Left and the Warren Commission Report

All my adult life as a newspaperman I have been fighting, in defense of the Left and of a sane politics, against conspiracy theories of history, character assassination, guilt by association and demonology. Now I see elements of the Left using these same tactics in the controversy over the Kennedy assassination and the Warren Commission Report. I believe the Commission has done a first-rate job, on a level that does our country proud and is worthy of so tragic an event. I regard the case against Lee Harvey Oswald as the lone killer of the President as conclusive. By the nature of the case, absolute certainty will never be attained, and those still convinced of Oswald's innocence have a right to pursue the search for evidence which might exculpate him. But I want to suggest that this search be carried on in a sober manner and with full awareness of what is involved.

They Finally Listed Rightists

"When the special file [in the Protective Research Section of the Secret Service] was reviewed on Nov. 8 [for the President's trip], it contained the names of no persons from the entire Dallas-Ft. Worth area, notwithstanding the fact that Ambassador Stevenson had been abused by pickets in Dallas less than a month before . . . (pps. 432-3).

"Since the assassination, both the Secret Service and the FBI have recognized that the PRS files can no longer be limited largely to persons communicating actual threats to the President. On Dec. 25, 1963, the FBI circulated additional instructions to all its agents, specifying criteria for information to be furnished the Secret Service. . . . The new instructions require FBI agents to report immediately information concerning:

" 'Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists (a) possessing emotional instability or irrational behavior, (b) who have made threats of bodily harm against officials . . . (c) who express or have expressed strong or violent anti-US sentiments and who have been involved in bombing. . . .' " (p. 461).

—The Warren Commission Report.

Slander, Not Controversy

It is one thing to analyze discrepancies. It is quite another to write and speak in just that hysterical and defamatory way from which the Left has suffered in the last quarter century or more of political controversy. I want to start with my dear and revered friend, Bertrand Russell. He owes it to all of us who have looked to him as a world spokesman of the peace movement, as a great philosopher and humanitarian, to speak more responsibly on this subject. It was not responsible, on the basis of a transatlantic phone call from Mark Lane, to attack the report as "a sorrily incompetent document" which "covers its authors in shame" without having first read it. This is on a par, in its febrile prejudgment, with Lord Russell's earlier statement comparing Lane's defense of Oswald with Zola's defense of Dreyfus, and declaring, "There has never been a more subversive, conspiratorial, unpatriotic or endangering course for the security of the United States and the world than the attempt by the U.S. Government to hide the murderers of its recent President." This assumes instead of proving. It is slander, not controversy.

Statements of this kind imply not just one but three conspiracies. One was a conspiracy to kill the President. The second was a conspiracy to kill Oswald lest he talk. The third is a conspiracy by the Warren Commission to hush up the facts. These are monstrous charges, and cannot honorably be made on the basis of surmise. Russell's American advisers have fed him not evidence but misstatement and poppycock. The Warren Commission was chosen to provide a bipartisan body which would command the widest public respect. Russell calls it "utterly unrepresentative of the American people." This is nonsense. The two Democrats chosen from either House of Congress, Senator Russell of Georgia and Congressman Boggs of Louisiana, are highly respected even by those who disagree with them. Lord Russell dismisses them as men "whose racist views have brought shame on the United States." What do their typical Southern prejudices have to do with their probity? Russell dismisses the two Republicans as "Senator Cooper of Kentucky and Congressman Gerald L. Ford of Michigan, the latter of whom is a leader of his local Goldwater movement and an associate of the FBI." Ford is chairman of the House Republican Conference. He is supporting his party's ticket in this elec-

(Continued on Page Two)

(Continued from Page One)

tion but far from being "a leader of his local Goldwater movement" he nominated Romney for President at the Republican convention in the hope of stopping Goldwater. He denies any association with the FBI and there is no evidence of any such link. John Sherman Cooper in the Senate in 1954, when every Democratic liberal Senator except Kefauver lost his nerve, made the one uncompromisingly principled speech against the Anti-Communist Act passed in that year. There never was a more dangerous year in which to stand up against hysteria. I knew John J. McCloy during the war as a public servant of unusual competence. I have criticized Allen W. Dulles constantly over the years. But I would not impute to him or any other member of the Commission conduct so evil as to conspire with the secret services to protect the killers of a President. This is also to assume that Chief Justice Warren, whom the right hates for his decisions protecting Negroes and radicals, would be a party to a conspiracy to protect a cabal of rightist assassins.

This Is Demonology

This is what I call demonology, and this is what has so often been used against the Left. Demonology is the notion that because a man disagrees with you politically, he must be impervious to honor, duty, patriotism, and mercy—in short a demon, i.e. all of one piece, black evil, and not a human being, i.e. full of contradictions. Demonology also implies that such a person is fair game for any libel or slander, since ipso facto beyond the pale of decency. This is the standard applied by the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Eastland Committee and McCarthy before them to Left-wingers. It is no less evil when applied to the right. Here is a sample from Joachim Joesten's book, "Oswald: Assassin or Fall-Guy". To provide a motive for the conspiracy he alleges, Joesten writes,

> **"Cuba sticks in the craw of the CIA. The fiasco of the Bay of Pigs cost Allen Dulles his job. Moreover, once Kennedy began a policy of easing the Cold War, some of the CIA, like much of the Pentagon, would be dismantled and the agency brought under presidential control. I am sure there are men in the CIA, just as there are General Walkers in the army, who simply couldn't accept this situation and who thought of Kennedy as a traitor. And traitors are executed."**

The Metal Files That Never Were

"Oswald's apartment, too, was filled with fascinating things. Besides the batches of leaflets with the legend 'Hands Off Cuba' and bearing the unauthorized imprint of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, police found seven metal file boxes filled with names of Castro sympathizers. How did he manage, in so short a time, to compile so extensive a list?"

—Oswald and the FBI (The Nation, Jan. 27).

"Commission finding—**The Dallas police inventories of Oswald's property taken from his room at 1026 North Beckley avenue do not include any file boxes. A number of small file boxes listed in the inventory as having been taken from the Paine residence in Irving contained letters, pictures, books and literature, most of which belonged to Ruth Paine, not to Oswald. No lists of names of Castro sympathizers were found among these effects."**

—The Warren Commission Report, p. 666.

This is libellous in the extreme. It implies that Allen Dulles would be a party to killing Kennedy and hushing up the truth because he lost his job after the Bay of Pigs. Such charges, as sloppy as they are wild, are dishonorable and dissolve the fabric of society. They seek to destroy a man's reputation on the basis of evil surmise and guilt by association. People on the Left ought to recall the all too recent past before allowing themselves to be drawn into folly by such tactics.

The Joesten book is rubbish, and Carl Marzani—whom I defended against loose charges in the worst days of the witch hunt—ought to have had more sense of public responsibility than to publish it. Thomas G. Buchanan, another victim of witch hunt days, has gone in for similar rubbish in his book, "Who Killed Kennedy?" You couldn't convict a chicken thief on the flimsy slap-together of surmise, half-fact and whole untruth in either book. Here again elementary fairness is involved. The Joesten book implies that the rightist Texas oil millionaire H. L. Hunt was involved in the plot to kill Kennedy. Buchanan names an oilman he calls Mr. X. This imputes murder to a man whose views we dislike, and does so without evidence of any kind. Buchanan writes as if he were penning a whodunit. "I believe the murder of the

The Kind of False Rumors That Might Have Provoked Armed Action Against Cuba

"Literally dozens of allegations of a conspiratorial contact between Oswald and agents of the Cuban government have been investigated by the Commission. . . . 'D', a young Latin American secret agent approached the U.S. authorities in Mexico shortly after the assassination and declared that he saw Lee Harvey Oswald receiving $6500 to kill the President . . . 'D' and his allegations were immediately subjected to intensive investigation. His former employment as an agent for a Latin American country was confirmed, although his superiors had no knowledge of his presence in Mexico or the assignment described by 'D'. Four days after 'D' first appeared the U.S. Government was informed by the Mexican authorities that 'D' had admitted in writing that his whole narrative about Oswald was false. . . .

"The investigation of the Commission has thus produced no evidence that Oswald's trip to Mexico was in any way connected with the assassination of President Kennedy, nor has it uncovered evidence that the Cuban government had any involvement in the assassination. To the contrary, the Commission has been advised by the CIA and FBI that secret and reliable sources corroborate the statements of Senora Duran [a Mexican national employed in the visa section of the Cuban consulate in Mexico City] in all material respects and that the Cuban government had no relationship with Lee Harvey Oswald other than that described by Senora Duran. . . .

"Speculation—**On Nov. 27, 1963, in a speech at the University of Havana, Fidel Castro, under the influence of liquor, said 'The first time that Oswald was in Cuba. . . .' Castro therefore had knowledge that Oswald had made surreptitious visits to Cuba.**

"Commission finding—**Castro's speeches are monitored directly by the U.S. Information Agency as he delivers them. A tape of this speech reveals that it did not contain the alleged slip of the tongue. Castro did refer to Oswald's visit to the 'Cuban Embassy' in Mexico. . . .**

—The Warren Report, at pps. 307-9 and 659.

President," says Buchanan, "was provoked, primarily, by fear of the domestic and international consequences of the Moscow Pact: The danger of disarmament which would disrupt the industries on which the plotters depended and of an international *detente* which would, in their view, have threatened the eventual nationalization of their oil investments overseas." And the whole commission, from Chief Justice Warren down, and its whole staff, and the vast network of the police, the FBI, the CIA and the Secret Service all conspired to keep this secret? Not one man felt impelled by conscience to break out and tell the truth? People who believe such things belong in the booby-hatch.

Gen. Walker Also Cries Whitewash

If the FBI and the CIA were so powerful, why didn't they take advantage of the murder by a supposed Communist and Castroite to set off a wave of anti-Red hysteria, to poison our relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union? Why did they clear the Communists at home and abroad of complicity? Why did they disprove the wild stories about Oswald's links with Castro? The box at the bottom of page two gives a sample of the wild whoppers an unscrupulous secret service could have set loose. If they had so much power in the Warren Commission why didn't they hush up its damning criticism of the FBI and the Secret Service (see box on page one)? If Oswald was innocent, why did they have to kill him to shut him up? If he was killed as part of a conspiracy, why was he killed in full view of the TV cameras when he might have been bumped off in a fake ambush while being moved at night to another prison? This is an insane morass of paranoid conjecture, and those who remain in it even after the Warren report are either unscrupulous or sick. Look at the ultimate lunacy: General Walker, who regarded Kennedy as a tool of the Communists, is sure he was killed by the Reds. He attacks the Warren report as a whitewash. "There's bound to have been a plot," Gen. Walker says. On the other hand Leftists who lean to the Chinese viewpoint and regarded Kennedy in his lifetime as a warmonger and tool of the right, are now sure he must have been killed by a rightist conspiracy. How wacky can you get?

A Whopper of Neo-Nazi Origin

"The Enquirer story goes on to say that the Dallas police suspected Oswald and Ruby of being involved in an attack on General Walker, and was going to arrest the two when the FBI intervened and asked the police not to do so for 'reasons of state.' The police agreed only upon receipt of an official communication from the FBI. While the National Enquirer is not the most reliable newspaper in the world, the story bears inner marks of authenticity because the recipient of that FBI letter was, of course, Chief of Police Curry, who leaked it to reporter Henshaw."

—Joachim Joesten: Oswald: Assassin or Fall Guy? (Marzani & Munsell) 1964. Page 124.

"Commission finding—This allegation appeared in the November 29 issue of (actually printed on Nov. 25 or 26) of a German weekly newspaper, Deutsche National Zeitung and Soldaten Zeitung published in Munich [Germany's leading neo-Nazi organ—IFS]. The allegation later appeared in the National Enquirer of May 17, 1964. The Commission has been reliably informed that the statement was fabricated by an editor of the newspaper. No evidence in support of this statement has ever been advanced or uncovered. In their investigation of the attack on General Walker, the Dallas police uncovered no suspects and planned no arrests. The FBI had no knowledge that Oswald was responsible for the attack until Marina Oswald revealed the information on Dec. 3, 1963."

—The Warren Commission Report, Appendix XII: Speculations and Rumors, p. 662.

How The Warren Commission Decided Oswald Was Neither A Soviet Nor U.S. Agent

"If the Soviet agents had communicated with Oswald while he was in the Marine Corps, one of the least probable instructions they would have given him would have been to defect. If Oswald had remained a Marine radar specialist, he might at some point have reached a position of value as a secret agent. However, his defection and the disloyal statements he made publicly in connection with it eliminated the possibility that he would ever gain access to confidential information or programs of the U.S. The very fact that he defected, therefore, is itself persuasive evidence that he was not recruited as an agent prior to his defection. (p. 257). . . . Moreover persuasive evidence that Oswald's conduct was not carefully coached by Soviet agents is provided by some of his actions at the Embassy. The single statement which probably caused Oswald the most future trouble was his declaration that he had already volunteered to a Soviet official that he would, if asked, tell the Soviet Government all that he knew about his job in radar as a Marine. Certainly a statement of this type would prejudice any possibility of his being an effective pro-Communist agent. (p. 265). . . .

"Speculation—Oswald was an informant of either the FBI or the CIA. He was recruited by an agency of the U.S. Government and sent to Russia in 1959.

"Commission's finding—Mrs. Marguerite Oswald frequently expressed the opinion that her son was such an agent, but she stated before the Commission, 'I cannot prove Lee is an agent.' The directors of the CIA and of the FBI testified before the Commission that Oswald was never employed by either agency or used by either agency in any capacity. Investigation by the Commission has revealed no evidence that Oswald was ever employed by either the FBI or the CIA in any capacity.

"Speculation—Oswald told Pauline Bates, a public stenographer in Fort Worth, Tex., in June 1962 that he had become a 'secret agent' of the U.S. Government and that he was soon going back to Russia 'for Washington.'

"Commission finding—Miss Bates denied a newspaper story reporting that Oswald had told her that he was working for the U.S. Dept. of State. She stated that she had assumed incorrectly that he was working with the Dept. of State when he told her that the State Dept. had told him in 1959 that he would be on his own while in the Soviet Union.

"Speculation—The FBI tried to recruit Oswald. An FBI agent's name, telephone number and automobile license number were found among Oswald's papers.

"Commission's findings—FBI officials have testified that they had never tried to recruit Oswald to act on behalf of the FBI in any capacity. The Commission's investigation corroborates this testimony. An FBI agent, James P. Hosty, Jr., had given his name and telephone number to Mrs. Ruth Paine so that she could call and give him Oswald's address in Dallas when she learned it. Mrs. Paine and Marina Oswald have stated that Mrs. Paine gave Oswald a slip of paper with the agent's name and telephone number on it. Marina Oswald had taken down the license number of Hosty's car and given it to her husband." (p. 660).

A State Policeman Threatened a Bombing Victim With More Dynamite

What Five Negroes From McComb Told Washington About the Terror There

The White House requested an FBI investigation of Negro violence in nine northern cities. It has asked for no similar report on anti-Negro violence in the Deep South. If it had, the report might resemble a letter to Asst. Attorney General Burke Marshall from Jessie Harris, Project Director in McComb, Miss. It tells of relative quiet in McComb until mid-August. Then 12 of the 16 FBI agents there began to leave. Then, also, public attention turned away from the Mississippi Summer Project. Local COFO workers planned their first voter registration drive for Aug. 18. The terror began on Aug. 15. Twenty city, county and state police raided COFO Freedom Houses and searched the files. On Aug. 23, they began to raid Negro establishments patronized by COFO workers. The proprietors were arrested. Three COFO workers were beaten in daylight in downtown McComb. Bombings began on Aug. 29. There were 6 within 72 hours in early September. The latest ones have been accompanied by mass arrests of Negroes under a criminal syndicalism law passed early this summer. It carries a maximum penalty of 10 years in jail, and a $1,000 fine.

What the FBI Said

We had a chance last week to talk with five Negroes from McComb. Three were women whose homes had been bombed because they gave help to COFO. Mrs. Quin's home was destroyed September 20. Neighbors were reluctant to keep her two injured children while she was away in Washington. "People are so scared their eyes turn a different color," she explained. The women came at SNCC's expense to tell their story directly to the Justice Department. They could trust no local authority. The police arrested Mrs. Dillon's husband the day their house was bombed in late August. He is still in jail. A state highway patrolman waved sticks of dynamite at her and said she would be killed if she didn't stay away from COFO. The FBI agent who questioned her about the bombing asked her to take a lie detector test to prove she hadn't done it as a publicity stunt. "The FBI were sympathetic at the beginning of the summer," said Mrs. Quin, "but now they tell us they can only comply with local laws." When the women saw the President, they asked him to open an FBI office in the Negro part of town. Now the FBI stay at an inn in the white section and Negroes are afraid to go there.

Before they left for home, Mrs. Quin's 19 year-old daughter called to say it was too dangerous for them to return. McComb Police Chief George Guy reportedly told her that if they came back, "they must pack their rags and get out or be blown out." The women left anyway. "We got to go," said Mrs. Brant, "It's our home."

Must We Have Three More Martyrs?

"The situation which is developing in Pike County resembles that which developed throughout Mississippi immediately before the Summer Project, culminating in the murders of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia. . . . A newspaperman with reliable contacts in the white community has reported that there is a definite plan to "get" three of the COFO workers: Dennis Sweeney, Jesse Harris, and Mendy Samstein. The McComb police have just put on the force a local Negro bootlegger known to have served time at the state penitentiary, to have shot two persons, and to have seriously beaten at least three others. . . . At present there are only 4 FBI agents in McComb, a decrease from the peak of 16 reached during the summer. Unless responsible forces are brought to bear in McComb, what happened in Neshoba County will happen here."

—Letter from Jesse Harris, McComb Project Director, to Burke Marshall, head of Civil Rights at Justice Dept.

The other two Negroes from McComb were Mr. and Mrs. Ardis Garner. They won't be going back. Mr. Garner knows too much. He joined the McComb police force when he heard they wanted Negroes. He resigned after being asked to spy on COFO workers. (Another Negro on the force is considered so dangerous by the Negro community that 150 have signed a petition to have him removed. **See box.**) The Garners' house was bombed minutes after they left McComb. They fled on a bus in the middle of the night and left their belongings. (They will try to settle in San Francisco.) Garner told the Justice Dept. that McComb needs federal marshals to stand guard while Negroes try to sleep. Now, he said, they're "workin' all day and watchin' all night."

Negroes have not been the only ones to suffer. Friendly whites have been intimidated too, and there are several northern students who plan to stay through winter. All would gain if, as Rep. Ryan (D. N.Y.) suggested, the Justice Dept. convened a grand jury to investigate collusion between local police and white terrorists. McComb must learn quickly that it is still being watched. There is a rumor that it has already selected its three young victims.

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NEWSPAPER

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LBJ and The Oil-Gas Lobby, P. 3

Why Was This Revealing Article on Vietnam Never Published in English?

Our attention has been called to an article in the French magazine Réalités last May which has not been published in its English language edition, though of great interest to Americans. The article "Vietnam—A New Korea" was written by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, who now edits a NATO publication, Atlantic Community. This article makes some interesting revelations (1) that Brigadier Gen. Edward A. Lansdale, ret., who helped Magsaysay defeat the Huks in the Philippines, favors a joint declaration by the U.S. and South Vietnam calling for an anti-Communist revolution in North Vietnam (2) that as Diem's military adviser from 1954 to 1956 Lansdale had already organized commando raids on the North, (3) that 3,000 Vietnamese, many natives of the North, had been trained in Special Forces for further action of this kind (4) that after some tentative attempts at "counter belligerency" the Kennedy Administration, over the objections of Assistant Secretary of State W. W. Rostow, called off the operations as "too difficult and too dangerous" but that (5) a number of American military chiefs still favor them. Mowrer also says he was informed that in September, 1963, Kennedy ordered Averell Harriman to draw up a plan of neutralization for South Vietnam by stages, beginning with the elimination of Diem. In our issue of August 24 we called attention to an article in Le Monde (Aug. 7) which said U.S. training of commando units against the North began in 1957, three years before the rebellion broke out. Mowrer dates them even earlier.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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When That Chinese A-Bomb Does Go Off

Secretary Rusk made a generous contribution to the 15th anniversary of the Chinese Communist regime. His prediction that the explosion of China's first nuclear device was imminent gave Peking a birthday boost almost as resounding as would have been the nuclear blast itself. The failure of Peking to reciprocate by setting off a bomb must seem poor sportsmanship to our intelligence services. They have been consistently optimistic about China's nuclear potentialities. The Rand Corporation's leading necromancer on the subject, Alice Langley Hsieh, predicted in her "Communist China's Strategy in the Nuclear Age" (1962) that China might be expected to detonate its first atom bomb in 1962-63. Our propaganda agencies have been telling us for years (1) that China was on the verge of collapse and (2) that it was also on the verge of becoming a nuclear power. The loyal American could only conclude that Mao had hit upon some do-it-yourself shortcut, like that which turned out the home-made product known in our prohibition era as bathtub gin.

Another Way to Widen The War

". . . it is difficult to understand why some prominent officials, a few weeks before a national election should be talking so openly about expanding the war, and not only advocating but almost lobbying for such a course of action. It is even possible now to hear officials of this government talking casually about how easy it would be to 'provoke an incident' in the Gulf of Tonkin that would justify an attack on North Vietnam. . . . There is, of course, always a lot of casual talk here while major policies are in dispute, but this is an odd time and an odd way to proceed on anything so important as risking a war with China."

—James Reston, New York Times, October 2.

"Taipeh, Formosa (Associated Press)—Nationalist guerrilla raids on the China mainland will be stepped up, the Mainland Recovery Planning Board announced Sunday after a two-day meeting. Vice President Chen Cheng, the board's chairman, said measures also will be taken to incite anti-Communist revolts."

—Boston Herald, Sept. 28.

Ten Years Is No Eternity

The tone of the Rusk statement was splendid in its omnicompetence. "The United States," it said, "has fully anticipated the possibility of Peiping's entry into the nuclear weapons field and has taken it into full account in determining our military posture and our own nuclear weapons program." The Manchu Court in Peking must have been as complacent about the first penetrations of the Outer Barbarians into their empire. The press was told reassuringly in backgrounder briefings that before China had a sizeable stock of bombs and the means of delivering them on distant targets, it would be at least five years and more likely ten! Ten years are a mere tick of the clock in the history of China and ten years are very little time in which to adjust American thinking to a world in which China will also be a nuclear power.

The gravest decisions are just around the corner. Will we give nuclear arms to Chiang Kai-shek to deter atomic attack from the mainland, and how will we make sure he doesn't use them to set off the war he has so long desired? Will we encourage Japan to give up its renunciation of war and manufacture atomic bombs of its own, or accept them from us? And how will we be sure that the pacific Japan of today does not respond to the possession of this new military muscle by reverting to the aggressive Japan of yesterday, thirsting to revenge itself upon us for Hiroshima? Indonesia has already received Badger planes from the Soviet Union which can carry nuclear bombs. Will we compete for Sukarno's favor by being the first to provide bombs for them? Will impoverished India be encouraged to divert more food from its hungry millions to embark on the production of nuclear arms? We are approaching one of the decisive choices of human history. Will we continue to confront the new China with

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hatred, and give new and more dangerous dimensions to the nuclear arms race? Or will we seek a Far Eastern settlement which would bring China back into the family of nations?

A Fresh Report from China

The average American has been led to believe that China's is a tottering regime which holds by terror alone 700 million hungry slaves. *Le Monde* (Sept. 18-Oct. 1) has just finished publishing a 12-part account by Robert Guillian of his first visit to China in seven years. Now, as in his past writings, Guillian has many misgivings about the regimentation and thought control in the new China. But he was impressed with the progress and self-confidence, particularly in mastering the tremendous difficulties created by the abrupt recall of Russian technicians and the ending of Soviet aid. A people which has been able to cope not only with the isolation forced on them by American power but with the body blow of the break with Moscow, is a people which feels it can overcome any obstacle. The bomb will be a symbol of their power to raise themselves by their bootstraps.

The delusions about China built up among the American people by 15 years of hateful propaganda are dangerous to our future and to world peace. McCarthyism was in large part the product of the China Lobby and a new rightist storm in our politics may some day be precipitated if leadership lacks the courage to provide saner and more humane views of China. A therapeutic and timely anthology of past misinformation has just been provided in Felix Greene's new book, "A Curtain of Ignorance" (see boxes on this page). Its most important chapter traces the way in which Chinese views have been distorted to make it appear that they would welcome nuclear war. Greene traces this back to a *New York Times* dispatch (June 16, 1958) which reported, "without mentioning names or places, Marshal Tito said the Chinese liked to boast that their population of 600,000,000 was a guarantee of victory in war. According to President Tito, Peiping calculated that 'if 300,000,000 were killed there would still remain 300,000,000 Chinese!' ". This was amplified and embroidered to the point where five years later a newspaper commentator was reporting that "Mao is said to have remarked in Moscow" that even if a third world war came and half the people of the world were killed, half of those who survived would be Chinese and they would rule the world. Scholarship has kept pace with journalism. One scholar cited by Greene quoted from Mao's writing to prove moral indifference to war but omitted a key sentence. In it Mao called war "this monster of mutual slaughter" and predicted its final elimination "through the progress of human society, and in no distant future." That is quite an omission. Not one American in a million knows that Mao expressed such a hope.

Clouded Crystal Ball Dept.

"What is happening in China is that the Soviet Union is detaching the northern provinces of China from China and is attaching them to the Soviet Union."

—Secretary of State Dean Acheson to the National Press Club, Jan. 12, 1950.

"We can tell our friends in China that the U.S. will not acquiesce in the degradation which is being forced upon them. We do not recognize the authorities in Peiping for what they pretend to be. The Peiping regime may be a colonial Russian government—a Slavonic Manchukuo on a larger scale. It is not the government of China. . . . It is not Chinese."

—Dean Rusk, then Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, May 18, 1951.

"[Walter S.] Robertson [Ass't Secy of State for Far Eastern Affairs 1953-59] had made no secret of his conviction that Mao Tse-tung was a passing phenomenon and Chiang Kai-shek remained China's 'real' symbol. Indeed in 1957 the affable Assistant Secretary assured me at a Washington party: 'Mao has no more real influence than the first taxi driver who goes by outside'."

—Felix Greene in his new book, "A Curtain of Ignorance" (Doubleday: $5.50) from which these quotations are taken. We recommend the book as a corrective to the poisonous nonsense on China in our press.

It's A Wonder There Are Any Chinese Left At All

1950: "Famine this year will be catastrophic" — New York Times editorial, March 26.

1951: "Food riots are reported among peasants"—U.S. News & World Report, March 16.

1952: "Shanghai is a city of hungry millions"—United Press from Formosa, June 23.

1953: "There is no hiding the fact that multiplied millions of Chinese are starving"—New York Times editorial, June 24.

1954: "Red China's leaders are already trying to prepare against the pressures of starvation"—Same, May 10.

1955: "Signs of a spring famine in Communist China are filtering from the mainland"—Ted Sculz in the New York Times from Hongkong, April 24.

1956: "Red China Beset by Spring Famine"—New York Times headline, March 27.

1957: "The threat of famine stalks millions of Chinese again this spring"—AP from Hongkong, May 13.

1958: "Peasants are deserting the collective farms. Cities are packed with hungry, jobless millions"—U.S. News & World Report, April 4.

1959: "Famished Red China slaves Steal Pigs' Slops"—headline, N.Y. World Telegram, Hongkong cable, June 25.

1960: "The hunger that stalks mainland China for the third straight year"—Time, Aug. 22.

1961: This was the banner year Joseph Alsop informed his readers (May 12) that the Chinese were reduced to dining on afterbirths and (Sept. 13) that the Communist government had put the population on a national diet averaging 600 calories a day, Felix Greene points out that the U.S. National Research Council says 709 calories a day is the absolute minimum to maintain a 2 to 6 months old 13-lb. baby!

1962: "The Chinese masses are now receiving a nationwide average of 1300 to 1600 calories a day . . . the figures raise the question whether Communist China is not caught in a remorselessly descending spiral from which a vast upheaval of some sort is the only likely escape."—Joseph Alsop, April 13.

1963: "March and April will be the months to watch. It is then that food stocks will be lowest. Unrest among Chinese peasants is expected. Revolts are likely"—U.S. News & World Report, Jan. 7.

—From Felix Greene's "A Curtain of Ignorance."

Will LBJ As President Reject the Oil-Gas Lobby He Served As Majority Leader?

Proxmire Warns of Another Assault on Federal Regulation of Natural Gas

The oil and gas lobby is preparing its third assault on federal regulation of natural gas producers. This will be a test of President Johnson. As Senate leader, he engineered the two previous de-regulation bills through Congress. Truman vetoed the first and Eisenhower reluctantly vetoed the second when former Sen. Case disclosed a $2,500 offer for his vote. "Unfortunately," said Sen. Proxmire in a Senate speech (Sept. 25) that warned of the coming assault, "there is some doubt that similar bills would be vetoed at this time." A veto would be in striking contrast to the Democratic Platform which boasts that the spiral of natural gas prices in the 50's "has been halted by vigorous regulatory action" and "the Nation's 36 million consumers have benefited from rate reductions and refunds."

The Producers and the Pipe-Lines

FPC Chairman Swidler recently explained the need for federal regulation of gas producers. In a speech before the Independent Natural Gas Association, he spoke of "the dominating bargaining position of a handful of producers who control our major gas reserves." Although there are over 6,000 producers who sell interstate, the 23 largest accounted for 60% of total (interstate) pipeline purchases in 1962. These giant companies are also the nation's major oil companies. They are under no compulsion to sell natural gas because they have little funded debt and a very profitable oil business to sustain them. The pipeline companies, on the other hand, are under considerable compulsion to buy. They have large funded debts and billions of dollars invested in fixed facilities, which become wasting assets if gas is not kept flowing. Furthermore, the pipelines are tied to relatively limited producing areas and cannot move to other sources of supply. "Under these circumstances," said Swidler, "if producers were freed from regulation they could sit on their reserves until in desperation the pipelines met their terms."

What LBJ Said in 1956

"If the Senate sits supinely by and lets the Supreme Court write the laws of the nation, I warn Senators that if the Supreme Court can do it with respect to gas, it can do it also with respect to other commodities. If the Senate by inaction or by defeating the pending [Harris-Fulbright] bill, lets the Supreme Court say to the Texas farmer or to the Louisiana farmer or to the Texas Oil Co. or the Louisiana Oil Co., 'This is going to be the heyday of the price-fixers' and that the control contingent has come back to the Capital of the Nation, I warn every Senator that what applies to gas may apply to oil—they come out of the same hole, and that what applies to oil can apply to coal. If it can apply to coal, it can apply to butter and to autos and to everything that is produced. If we wish to follow our free enterprise system, we can say, 'We the Senate can entrust to reasonable men the duty of setting reasonable prices'."

—LBJ, in the Senate, Jan. 18, 1956.

The renewed attack on producer regulation comes when the FPC is about to abandon the idea of holding separate rate cases for each of the many thousands of gas producers. Instead it will fix a single price for an entire geographic area. Four area cases now underway will dispose of the rates for 75% of the gas flowing in interstate commerce. One danger with area rates is that they may bring windfall profits to the large companies whose costs tend to be below average while depriving the small high-cost firms of a fair return. As an alternative, the Supreme Court has suggested that the Commission regulate only the large producers.

If either system is adopted, it will provide the first effective regulation of producers since passage of the Natural Gas Act in 1938. Until 1954 the Commission interpreted the Act to apply only to pipeline companies. In that year the Supreme Court reversed an FPC ruling and held that producer prices must also be regulated. (*Phillips Petroleum Co.* v. *Wisconsin,* 342 U.S. 672.) The Eisenhower-appointed Commission recommended legislative relief from the Court's decision in annual reports from 1955 through 1960.

The Kennedy Commissioners may never get a chance to complete their work. There are already two vacancies on the five-man Commission. When he fills these, Johnson will have put his stamp on the majority. As Vice President, he influenced the choice of Commissioner Lawrence O'Connor, probably the only Texas oil executive to sit on the FPC.

How Public Utilities Conceal Aid To The Radical Right As Charity

"The nation's electric light and power industry is noted for its generous philanthropy. Not so well known, however, is the fact that many IOU's* give financial and leadership support to a host of reactionary, rightwing propaganda groups. I have just made a far-from-complete survey of this situation, which disclosed more than 200 instances of private power contributions to such groups.

"The great majority [of contributions]—84%—are for less than $500 each. Small donations are more easily concealed from regulatory agencies. Although FPC regulations require all IOU's to file an annual report of contributions and other expenditures, the Commission has not required itemization of donations under $1,000, and in many cases companies have been allowed to file reports in which nothing is itemized. The Commission originally proposed requiring that all donations in excess of $100 be itemized. The IOU's, however, objected and, as a result, the Commission backed off.

"In 1962, the private power industry's unitemized lump-sum (donations) totaled more than $15 million. Detroit Edison—the grand champion—reported $815,006 in unidentified lump-sum expenditures last year. I was able to obtain breakdowns of such expenditures from only 57 of the Nation's 220 private power companies. This is where I found most of the recent rightwing contributions—concealed in lump-sum expenditures labeled 'charitable contributions' and 'miscellaneous expenses.' The vast majority of (this) is included in the companies' operating expenses, so that the consumers—the public—wind up footing the bill.

"I think the American people have a right to know when their local power company supports group which for three decades have plastered the labels of 'socialism' and 'communism' on every legislative effort to ease pain and suffering, hunger and want, injustice and inhumanity."

—Sen. Metcalf (D. Mont.), in Cong. Rec., Sept. 25 (abr.).

* Investor Owned Utilities.

Footnote on Medicare's Defeat: U.S. Spending Relatively Less on Welfare Than in 1936

The Arms and Oil Lobbies Won Victories in The Rush to Adjourn Congress

The Civil Rights Act and the Equal Employment Opportunities Act—historic as is the achievement they represent—are only part of the story of the 88th Congress. A Senate speech by Clark (*D. Pa.*) in the closing hours helped to place these more spectacular accomplishments in perspective. "In terms of investment in our nation's wealth—roads, urban renewal, resource development, education and welfare," said Clark, "the United States stands at the bottom among the industrialized countries of the West." He pointed out that in the early 1960's we actually spent less annually (relative to GNP) on our domestic welfare than we did in 1936. This makes more damning Congress' failure to pass medicare and the Appalachian Development Program. The one compensation is that liberals will now have a chance to re-work these proposals, which are themselves so inadequate.

Private Sales of Arms

In the rush of adjournment, some unfortunate changes in major legislation went unnoticed. The arms and oil lobbies got the foreign aid conference committee to strike two salutary amendments. One, by Sen. Ellender, would have forbidden a new government program underwriting private sales of military equipment to foreign governments. The Defense Department justifies the guarantees as a way to cut down on public grants of military aid. To us they seem a way of increasing military aid behind the public's back. The other amendment, by Sen. Proxmire, would have put an end to a $35 million a year handout from AID to seven major international oil companies. The agency has been purchasing $100 million of oil annually at prices somewhere between 20% and 40% higher than the world market. The amendment required competitive bidding on all future purchases. Another indication of the power of oil may be seen in the restoration of aid to Indonesia. "The reason for the continuation," explained Sen. Morse, "is the investments of American oil companies there. We are constantly lulled with the theory that we have to preempt all the oil fields in the world to keep them from falling into Communist hands," he continued. "What we are really trying to do is extend our control over as much of the supply as possible in order to maintain an artificially high price for oil on the world market."

Unnoticed Contradiction

Rep. Jack WESTLAND (R. Wash.): I should like to talk about this matter of control of nuclear weapons. In reading many newspaper articles, you would think that the matter of giving any control or more say to NATO had never been discussed, that the President was always going to have the final, ultimate say on whether or not nuclear weapons were ever going to be used. If this is the case, then why has this administration so persistently urged this multilateral force, which would consist of members of NATO countries, Germans, Italians, Greeks, and Turks, all in the same ship with nuclear weapons, with Polaris weapons? Why would they persist in having this sort of NATO force if it is not to give NATO allies more control?

Rep. Craig HOSMER (R. Cal.): A great schizophrenia exists here between the MLF approach pursued by the administration on the international front and the zealous harboring of nuclear control which it pursues on the campaign trail.

—In the House, Sept. 22 (abr.).

The Supplemental Appropriation Bill also contained disappointments. The House Appropriations Committee removed from it $1.9 million for a Public Health Service research and education campaign on the hazards of cigarette smoking. The Senate Committee might have restored the funds, but Health, Education and Welfare never filed the necessary petition. This is typical of the Department's timidity with big business, whether drugs or tobacco. It illustrates why the regulation of cigarette labeling should go to the Federal Trade Commission and not to HEW, as some tobacco-state Congressmen have been suggesting. Also missing from the Appropriation bill were funds for a $50 million rehabilitation loan program authorized in the Housing Act. The low-interest loans were to provide owners of deteriorating homes and businesses with an alternative to relocation, which often creates more slums. Apparently the real estate interests thought that rehabilitated dwellings would mar the beauty of their high-rise luxury apartments.

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Supreme Court to Pass On Our Iron Curtain Around Cuba, P. 2

No. 1 Liberal Campaign in the Next Congress: Clark's Bill for Economic Planning, See Page 3

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Why I Would Not Vote for Bobby Kennedy

The New York Senatorial race has been a dull show because there is little difference between Keating and Kennedy. A decade ago both belonged to the fervently witch-hunting sector of the political spectrum. With the change in atmosphere, both have moved toward the moderate center in domestic affairs. In foreign policy, they are about equally belligerent, notably on Cuba, where Keating was stirring up a missile crisis before there was evidence that the missiles had arrived. Both are for civil rights but both reacted the same way at the point where Negro aspiration clashed with white backlash, i.e. on the school busing issue. There they both begged the question by saying they were against *long-distance* busing, something the New York City Board of Education had not proposed.

The Best Argument for Keating

From the standpoint of justice for the Negro, Keating offers one advantage over Kennedy. Keating is one of those Republicans, like the liberal Lindsay, who gave the Negro leverage to obtain a stronger Civil Rights Act than the Kennedys desired or thought it politic to ask. The Kennedy Administration originally wanted no new civil rights legislation at all. When a House Judiciary subcommittee drafted a strong measure, the Attorney General tried to water it down. He did not want stronger powers to enforce 14th Amendment rights and he was at best lukewarm about a Fair Employment Practices Commission. Liberal Republicans made it possible to win from the House and put through the Senate a strong Civil Rights Act this year. It was this which led Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP to come out for Keating in the *Afro-American* (Sept. 8). Though he praised Kennedy's record, too, Mitchell said Keating was "one of the men who must help to save the Republican Party from becoming a haven for advocates of white supremacy and racial discord."

The best argument for Kennedy is one that is put forward quietly in Washington, quietly that is in the hope that it won't be overheard by Lyndon Johnson. It is that Kennedy in the Senate would provide an alternative center of power and opposition when an expected landslide gives LBJ a mandate so sweeping there will be little check on his power. But there are any number of Democratic Senators whose liberalism has been demonstrated over the years, and who will naturally move into opposition on many issues. Any one of them would be a more dependable focus of opposition than Bobby Kennedy. A vote for Kennedy is not just a vote for a U.S. Senator. He acts as if the country owes him the White House. Two years ago his authorized biography (by Thompson and Myers) already urged the country after 1968 "to forget their fears of dynasty and stake their hopes on Robert Francis Kennedy."

The U.S. and the Cairo Parley

The Cairo conference of the non-aligned nations has been played in the U.S. press as a defeat for Communist China. It is true that the "peaceful co-existence" group won out over those who followed the Peking line. But look more closely at the two main recommendations affecting the U.S. One called for peaceful coexistence between the U.S. and Cuba. The other called for the resumption of the Geneva Conference to end the Vietnamese war by negotiation. The U.S. is opposed to both. Cuba has been asking for months to negotiate differences with the U.S.; it is we who have been rejecting them. China, for all its fierce rhetoric, has been supporting Ho Chi-minh of North Vietnam and Sihanouk of Cambodia in asking for peace talks in Vietnam. It is we who say no.

The AP (Baltimore Sun, Oct. 12) said the conference had rejected "Peking's violent approach to international life." Insofar as Cuba and Vietnam is concerned, this is also ours. The conference, in asking us to lift our economic blockade of Cuba, declared that "foreign pressure and intervention to impose changes in the political, economic and social system," of another country are contrary to "the principles of international law and peaceful coexistence." This is embodied in both the UN and in the OAS Charters; we have subscribed to both but conform to neither in our relations with Cuba, which we hope to treat as we did Guatemala. The "revolutionary" powers do not say they are against peaceful co-existence. They say the U.S. will not permit it. Cuba is their best argument, and if we persist it is we who will bring the defeat of the moderates.

As Attorney General, Bobby Kennedy gathered an able team around him and set a standard in refreshing contrast to the low cast of characters which had run the place since Francis Biddle's day. Except for Wm. Rogers, who made an honorable record in Ike's final years, there had never been a more depressing succession of Attorneys General; the worst was Keating's campaign manager, Herbert Brownell, who abused the office shamefully in his "twenty years of treason" campaign against the Democrats. But in anti-trust, Kennedy's record was not as good as that made under Eisenhower. Where FDR and Truman made monopoly a major concern, both Kennedys were anxious to prove themselves not hostile to big business. Bobby emphasized action against price-fixing —the easiest and politically safest aspect of anti-trust.

Kennedy's record is most disturbing on civil liberties. In one of his speeches (Nov. 12, 1962) on a favorite subject, counter-guerrilla operations, the Attorney General told a story of a brave young American prisoner of war in Korea who was asked by his Chinese captors what he thought of Gen. Marshall and insisted on terming him a great man

(Continued on Page Four)

The GOP's Involvement in the Billie Sol Estes Case—Freedom in Danger in Poland

Supreme Court Agrees to Hear Test of U.S. Iron Curtain Around Cuba

Last June the Supreme Court ruled in the Aptheker case (*378 U.S. 500*) that an individual's freedom to travel could not be restricted because of his political beliefs or associations. The ruling, however, fell short of guaranteeing absolutely the freedom to travel. It left open the question of whether the government may prohibit travel to specific geographic areas. The Court last week agreed to hear a case (*Zemel v the Secretary of State*) in which this is the central issue. Louis Zemel applied twice in 1962 for a passport for travel to Cuba and each time was refused. A three-judge U.S. District Court split 2 to 1 against his plea for validation. Circuit Judge Smith declared in his dissent that "the present statutes [the Passport Act of 1926 and section 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act] do not authorize area restrictions on travel and that the Executive cannot restrict the right to travel without specific statutory authority." The Supreme Court might go further, as it has been asked to do and declare area restrictions on the right to travel a violation of the Firts Amendment.

The GOP and The Estes Case

The Republicans can no longer claim a monopoly on virtue in this election. The House Government Operations report on Billie Sol Estes reveals that there were no less than four abortive investigations of Estes under the Eisenhower Administrations. One in 1953 showed that grain storage facilities which Estes built with government loans were being used to house Mexican workers (*braceros*) and were structurally incapable of holding grain. Another in 1958 found that Estes by fraudulent claims was planting about ten times more cotton than he was entitled to plant under the cotton allotment program. Most suspicious is the fact that James McConnell, an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture from 1955 to '56, served as a consultant to Secretary Benson on grain storage matters at the same time he was a director of Commercial Solvents Corporation (from 1957 to 1959). Commercial Solvents had a direct interest in Estes' grain storage contracts with the government because he had assigned his revenues from the contracts to the company.

Protest Few Heard on MLF

"The indications are that we are rushing headlong into a new military arrangement of doubtful strategic value and with severe political drawbacks. Originally we were told that MLF would be a genuine NATO operation which would strengthen that key alliance. But now it appears that virtually every NATO country—with the sole exception of West Germany—wants none of it. Yet nevertheless some zealots in the State Department keep pushing ahead toward a treaty which almost no one in the Congress or the country knows anything about, and which will make it even harder for our negotiators in Geneva to get the Soviet Union to agree to an all-important pact prohibiting the dissemination of nuclear weapons to nations that do not now have them.

"If we are to believe the newspaper reports, this new German-American joint nuclear venture may be accomplished fact by the time Congress comes back in January. It seems to me that the State Department owes it to the Congress and the American people to slow this thing down and let us see what it is we are getting into. The MLF idea has been kicking around for years. Surely a proposal of such great military and political importance can wait a few more months until the Congress can take a good, hard look at it."

—*Sen. Clark* **(D., Pa.)**, *press release, Oct. 7.*

Freedom in Poland

Everyone who has been to Poland (as I have) and has been impressed with its intellectual freedom will deplore the arrest of writer, Melchior Wankowic, two days after he participated in a meeting between Polish authors and the Polish government. Last March Wankowic was one of 34 Polish writers who signed a manifesto charging censorship. This leaked abroad. The very fact that such a protest—impossible in any other Soviet state including Yugoslavia—could have occurred reflected credit on Poland. Yet he now faces three years in jail under a law making it a crime to "harm the interests of the State" or "lower the prestige" of the State's authorities. Such laws would at once be attacked as barbarous in the "bourgeois West." In 1919 Lenin boasted that freedom of the press had ceased "to be a hypocrisy, because the printing presses and the paper are taken away from the bourgeoisie." They have since been taken away, too, from the best minds of the proletariat and the intelligentsia. Marx and Engels never dreamed that socialism would bring censorship, and Poland since Golmulka has been the bright spot in a slow dawn of freedom within the Soviet zone. We hope the Wankowic prosecution will be abandoned.

OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. I. F. Stone, editor.

Little Noticed Measure May Provide Focal Point for Liberal Push in Next Congress

Clark Submits Economic Planning Bill for Full Employment

Since the debate over the Employment Act of 1946, few men in Congress have seriously tackled the problem of full employment. On one of the last days of the 88th Congress (Oct. 1), Sen. Clark (*D., Pa.*) introduced legislation that promises to do so. It is the culmination of several months of hearings in his Labor Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower. We criticized that committee's initial report because it failed to speak out boldly for economic planning. The Clark bill makes no such evasion. Where President Johnson has offered a grab-bag approach to poverty, the Clark bill provides for a coordinated, frontal assault. Senators Morse and Nelson have already joined Clark as co-sponsors, and in the not unlikely event of a Democratic landslide in November, the bill should become the center for a left opposition to the Administration.

Where Europe Is Ahead of Us

"Employment policy has not meant the same thing in Western Europe and the United States in recent years. The employment goal has been set high in Europe and the success in achieving the goal has been impressive. Unemployment in the United States has not been below 5 percent since 1957. Contrast this with [the fact] that not a single [major] European country had an unemployment rate as high as 4 percent in 1961 or 1962. Only Italy has experienced unemployment in excess of 4 percent since 1955. In the last half-dozen years or so, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom have regularly been operating at unemployment rates well below 3 percent and usually below 2 percent."

—"Full Employment As A Policy Goal," by Prof. R. A. Gordon, economist at U. of Calif., Berkeley (abr.).

Where They Left Off in 1945

It attempts what Senator Murray's Full Employment Bill of 1945 failed to achieve. That bill was emasculated by a series of legislative compromises. "Full" was taken from its title and "federal responsibility for full employment" was taken from the body. Most important, the planning mechanism, a National Employment and Production Budget, was eliminated. In its place was substituted the innocuous annual Economic Report of the President. Today we are burdened with those compromises. We face not only the problem of converting an arms race economy to a peace economy but of doing it with millions already unemployed or underemployed. The retreats which defeated the aims of the Murray Bill must be erased.

The heart of the Clark bill is the requirement that the President submit to Congress at the beginning of each year a National Production and Employment Budget and a Full Employment Federal Budget. The first would identify the gap between where the economy is and where it must be in order to achieve full employment. The second would require short and long-range proposals needed to close that gap. Together they would establish federal responsibility for full employment and would permit no obfuscation of the amount of effort needed to achieve it. Any deviation from that goal in favor of price stability or balance of payments' equilibrium would have to be justified in the Budget. Congress would be required to debate the Budget as a whole and by doing so would become an institution for determining economic policy rather than a meeting place for petty accountants. Not least important, the bill would define full employment as a level of unemployment no greater than 3% after 1968 and no greater than 4% until then. This would reverse the current practice of adjusting the definition to the state of the economy.

Federal planning and an expansion of the public sector of our economy are long overdue. Even enlightened businessmen are beginning to doubt that private capital can cure our economic ills (*see box below*). Clark told the Senate that planning has virtually eliminated the business cycle in Europe and reduced unemployment in many countries to less than 2% (*see box above*). Here it is put officially at 5½% but the Clark committee report estimated it to be as high as 9% when one includes the underemployed and those who stopped looking for work. This is a travesty and in large part it is the result of our military expenditures. "Throughout the Cold War," said Clark, "we have been deceived into believing that because the Federal Budget has been large, it has been pumping life into our economy."

Clark Quotes A Banker's Speech on the Need for Lower Rates of Profit

"What seems to be happening is that in an evolutionary way scientific processes, not just automation, are bringing the American economy to a point where smaller amounts of capital are producing larger outputs of consumables. In order that a relatively free market economy may adjust to this structural change, consumption expenditures as compared with saving must grow proportionally larger. In the absence of a steady stream of exciting new products, there is little chance of this just happening when needed. For a time, perhaps, the excessiveness of saving is disguised, as funds chase each other in the stock market and find outlet overseas. But if consumer spending stay at the same percentage of income, saving remains redundant and business activity is sluggish. . . .

"Unfortunately, it is particularly difficult for businessmen to see this problem in true perspective. First, they can scarcely admit to themselves the need for ever-larger Government spending and conversely smaller inputs of capital. Instead, they ask for larger profits, greater permissible allowances for depreciation reserves. . . .

"Formerly, high profits were needed to lure cash from current consumption into necessary investment in productive facilities. Now more current consumption is in order. Formerly, high profits seemed only just compensation for the tremendous risks undertaken. . . . Now depressions are 'against the law' and even recessions do not always check yearly advances in GNP. . . . Formerly, corporations did not generate as much of their investment funds internally. They had to show good profits to get needed money for expansion. Now huge depreciation allowances permit corporations to generate their own funds. It is clear to sophisticated businessmen that profits up to former standards are inappropriate at this time. . . ."

—John R. Bunting, vice president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, "What's Ahead for Business?", in Atlantic Monthly for June, 1964 and Cong Rec., Oct. 1.

Bobby Kennedy's Biggest Blindspot Is Civil Liberties

(*Continued from Page One*)

though each time he was knocked down for saying so. Bobby did not add, of course, that while this POW was being beaten, he went to work for McCarthy though McCarthy had just trampled Marshall on the Senate floor, calling him an officer whose decisions invariably served "the world policy of the Kremlin." Kennedy did not quit McCarthy until he picked Bobby's rival Roy Cohn, as general counsel. As recently as four years ago, in his book, *The Enemy Within,* Bobby's only criticism of McCarthy was that he didn't do enough research and relied too much on Cohn and Schine! As chief counsel of the McClellan rackets committee, though Bobby helped clean a lot of hoodlums and corrupt dictators out of the labor movement, he acted much as had McCarthy, equating invocation of the Fifth amendment with confession of guilt and treating a Congressional investigation as a pillory in which people he disliked could be held up to public scorn.

A Lost Opportunity

Bobby would like this record to be forgotten, but as Attorney General he lost his chance to dispel the misgiving it arouses. The prosecutions of Roy Cohn and Hoffa were carried out in the spirit of personal vendettas. His sweeping anti-crime legislation evoked opposition from the American Civil Liberties Union. He supported a House Un-American Activities Committee bill which would have authorized hearings without confrontation or cross-examination in the industrial security program. He supported the bill to overturn that part of the 1956 Supreme Court decision in the *Yates* case which narrowly interpreted the word "organize" in the Smith Act. The most conspicuous evidence of how little he had learned since the McCarthy days was his sponsorship of wire-tap legislation. The *New Republic* (Sept. 19) in endorsing Kennedy for Senator said he had had a change of heart and that his new bill would forbid the FBI to tap wires without court order and allow the Attorney General on his own to authorize wiretapping "only when the national security is patently involved." The editors had better look again. The FBI could be authorized by the Attorney General to tap wires without court order in a wide variety of so-called national security cases, including suspicion of "seditious conspiracy" and subversive activities. The McCarthy period and the FBI's record shows how loosely these categories can be interpreted and how easily they can be abused. Bobby quoted Jefferson's "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man" as the frontispiece to *The Enemy Within.* The record hardly indicates irresistible Jeffersonian impulses.

Equally grave are the fears Bobby stirs in the field of foreign policy. Anti-guerrilla activity has been one of his enthusiasms and he was among the planners of the Vietnamese adventure, now so dangerously near collapse into a wider war. He is reputed to have opposed more extreme measures in the Cuban missile crisis but there is no evidence that he would favor a more thoughtful and humane policy toward Cuba or Communist China. To start him on the road to the Presidency without knowing where he stands on these possibly life and death matters is a gamble I would not take.

Improving the Kennedy "Image"

An example of "improving one's image" turns up in Robert F. Kennedy's newly published book, "The Pursuit of Justice." He relates that in 1938 his father was appointed Ambassador to England "and there we saw the approaching war. . . . We went to Germany. The sight then of Nazism and storm troopers will never allow any of us to forget the price of dissolution and tyranny. Our eldest brother, Joe, was in Spain during part of the Civil War. . . ." The impression is of a family stirred by the dangers of Fascism. With all due respect to the memory of a man who died as a flier in World War II, Joe, Jr., did not visit Spain until three months after Franco won* a victory to which his father contributed. Hugh Thomas in his recent history of the Spanish Civil War recalls that an angry cable of protest from Ambassador Kennedy was instrumental in persuading FDR not to lift the Spanish arms embargo after Secretary Hull had agreed with Senator Nye to recommend it. Thus ended the last hope of saving the Spanish Republic. As late as the spring of 1941 the elder Kennedy was for appeasement, warning that, "We cannot divert the tides of mighty revolution now sweeping Asia and Europe." Bobby was 12 in 1938 and cannot be blamed for what happened then. It is the distortion of the record which is objectionable.

**** Vivian Cadden's summary in Redbook last February of the privately published Kennedy family memoir, "Joe As We Knew Him."***

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Bobby, The Vietnamese War and Joe McCarthy, P. 2

Just Another Item on The Moral Issue in This Presidential Campaign

"In the meantime it was learned that Mr. Goldwater felt a light-hearted tolerance about a political embarrassment of his own. This was the charge that John Grenier, executive director of the Republican National Committee, had paid $1,000 to a Democratic Party employee to steal confidential messages and information.

"The source said that Mr. Goldwater said that, frankly, he thought the culprit was the one who would take the money, that it was not a case of Mr. Grenier's being guilty but the other fellow.

"Mr. Goldwater, who picked Mr. Grenier for the No. 2 post at the national committee, has not spoken with him about the bribe charge, the source said. The source said that Mr. Goldwater would not have paid such a bribe himself—because he thought it would have been possible to get the wanted intelligence on the Democratic Party for nothing."

—*New York Times, (Late City ed.) p. 22, Oct. 16.*

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In Which We Nominate Nikita for the Nobel Peace Prize

Before Khrushchev passes from the stage, he more than any man on earth deserves the Nobel peace prize. It should not be forgotten that in the world's first nuclear confrontation, it was Nikita Sergeyevitch Khrushchev who did what so very few leaders have been willing to do in comparable situations, and that is to risk his power by climbing down for the sake of peace. The other day Robert F. Kennedy told a gathering of nuns that his brother decided against a direct air strike on Cuba's missile bases because this might have cost 25,000 lives; this was put forward as an example of humanity. But the escalation President Kennedy invited in insisting on the Russian backdown and withdrawal, risked easily 25,000,000 lives. If Khrushchev had not given in, if the mushroom clouds had begun to rise around our planet, would the survivors have thought Kennedy justified in destroying so many human lives rather than negotiating peacefully? Or even accepting on this side of the world the kind of bristling nuclear bases with which we had surrounded Russia on the other? To accept the Russian missiles in Cuba might have cost Kennedy his political future. To have accepted the U.S. ultimatum might have cost Khrushchev his. It was Khrushchev who paid the price for peace.

The Clue to K's Removal

On the other hand, the Cuban missile affair demonstrated that streak of impulsiveness which may hold the clue to Khrushchev's removal. Those missiles, an all too easy target in the event of war, would not have made a decisive difference in the horrible arithmetic of Soviet-American deterrence. It was not worth the cost in undermining relations between Moscow and Washington; it was rash and ill-considered, as light-headed in its way as Khrushchev's sudden call for *troika* leadership of the United Nations. In this perspective, it is easy to see that younger men, though devoted to the same general principles, might easily decide that Khrushchev's leadership had become a menace and a liability. But before he goes, one ought also to remember his other historic contributions, especially the 20th Congress "secret speech" forever destroying the mythology of Stalinism, and his signature of the limited nuclear test ban on American terms. It was this which cleared the skies of fallout, at the price of accepting U.S. superiority and U.S. continuation of underground testing. We—let us speak honestly—gave nothing. On the contrary Khrushchev's fall may be linked to our continued "tough" policy: 36 *announced* underground tests since the treaty was signed, the campaign for an MLF force with a German finger on the nuclear trigger, and our new moves to expel Russia from the UN unless it pays up assessments which the French, too, oppose as contrary to the UN charter. These are hardly contributions to peace nor advertisements for Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful co-existence."

SANE Words on That Chinese Bomb

"Keeping a doctrinaire and nuclear-armed country in a state of semi-isolation endangers world security. We urge immediate efforts by the U.S., Great Britain, the USSR and the 105 other signers of the nuclear test ban treaty to bring China and France to accept its provisions, and to extend the treaty to underground tests as well. In addition the U.S. should press for China's inclusion in disarmament negotiations. China would begin to take part in the world community. China and the U.S., now limited to occasional contacts through their ambassadors in Warsaw, would have an additional channel of communication. Additional steps by the U.S. which in time would encourage moderation by the Chinese leaders: 1. Negotiate the exchange of journalists. 2. Exchange of scientists and scholars between China and the U.S. 3. Removal of restrictions on trade in non-strategic goods. 4. Offer of surplus food for sale in case of agricultural shortages in China. 5. Encouragement to non-governmental organizations to sponsor informal meetings with their Chinese counterparts."

—Dr. Benj. Spock, co-chairman of SANE, Oct. 16 (abr.)

One hopes for the sake of the Soviet peoples and world stability that the new leadership will move toward a more civilized and constitutional method for change. They got rid of Khrushchev, as he got rid of Malenkov and later of the "anti-party" group, in palace intrigue fashion. Neither the people nor even the party are told the real issues; the other side is never allowed to explain its case; in the placid streets the people go about their business, politically inert, as if theirs

(Continued on Page Four)

Kennedy Interview on Meet the Press Shows Need to Challenge Him on Foreign Policy

Bobby Cites Vietnamese War As No. 1 Benefit of Federal Spending

We were struck by a recurrent phrase which cropped up in Robert F. Kennedy's appearance last Sunday on *Meet the Press.* At one point in explaining his qualifications for the Senatorship, Mr. Kennedy said he had been involved in matters which "intimately affect the State of New York, whether it be *the question of survival* [our italics] or whether it be domestic matters." At another point, when asked about his ultimate objective, he said "I think first and most important is the question of survival."

Survival, Not Peace?

The phrasing is curious. He did not say the question of peace but of survival. A related glimpse into his thinking was provided when he was asked about his loss of temper with a young man heckling him about Federal spending. "I explained," Mr. Kennedy said, "the great things that were being done by the Federal government and by others for him. There were people who were fighting in Vietnam, there were people who were fighting, standing on the wall of Berlin, there were those who had been ready to invade Cuba. . . ."

Mr. Kennedy put the Vietnamese war, the Berlin wall and the readiness to invade Cuba first on his list of the benefits that young man derived from Federal spending. This was the answer of a man taken up with war, hot and cold. I would guess that when Mr. Kennedy talks about the "question of survival" he means finding a way to win that war, and that he thinks of it as an unlimited struggle, in which one is prepared, as in the missile crisis, to stake everything on the outcome.

In trying to establish his experience in foreign policy, Mr. Kennedy did not mention any of the peaceful accomplishments of his brother's administration, such as the test ban. He cited his service as chairman of a "Committee on Guerrilla Warfare." This was a new disclosure, but no one asked him how he thought we were doing against guerrilla warfare in Vietnam. It is a pity there is no pro-peace candidate in the field to press him on this and on that "question of survival." Of all the blank spaces in the inane New York campaign, this one is the most disturbing.

Bobby Disapproved of McCarthy?

Mr. [Edwin] Newman (NBC News): In short you disapproved of Senator McCarthy's conduct, did you?

Mr. Robert F. Kennedy: Yes, in the operation of the committee. ***—On Meet the Press, Oct. 18.***

"Robert Kennedy remembers that when he met Joe McCarthy for the first time at the University [of Virginia], 'I liked him almost immediately.' The feeling was mutual and it was one that did not change. . . ."

—Robert F. Kennedy: The Brother Within, a biography by Thompson and Myers, published in 1962, boosting Bobby for President in 1968.

". . . not only was Bobby a legal counsel to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's committee, but he would have remained quite happily on the subcommittee if he had not run afoul of another young-man-on-the-make, Roy Cohn. As it is, Joe McCarthy was a close personal friend and his loyalty to Joe's memory continues.

"Lately, Bobby has spent a good deal of time promoting the movie of The Enemy Within. He decided he wanted Paul Newman to play the part of himself as counsel to the McClellan committee. Newman declined. Bobby asked to meet him face to face. . . . The conversation was amiable until Bobby asked Newman what he was doing next. Newman said that he hoped to narrate a documentary about the late Senator McCarthy.

"Bobby snapped: 'You shouldn't allow your name to be associated with that.' Newman said: Why not? . . . Besides he [Newman] didn't like McCarthy. . . . Bobby exploded: Newman wasn't qualified to judge. He knew nothing about McCarthy. Newman said that he had followed McCarthy's career at the time; he had also read Richard Rovere's book on the subject. 'Well, Rovere didn't know anything about it either,' said Bobby."

—Gore Vidal in Esquire, March 1963.

What Kennedy Has Discreetly Forgotten About His Work on the McCarthy Committee

Mr. Newman: Mr. Kennedy, you were at one time connected with a Senate committee when Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin was on it, chairman of it, and that conceivably will cost you some votes in November. What precisely was your connection with that committee and how did it come about?

Mr. Kennedy: . . . I worked for Mr. [Francis] Flanagan [the ex-FBI man then general counsel to the McCarthy committee]. I was not involved in any of the so-called Communist investigations during that period of time. I was involved in matters such as the fact that the government purchased some palm oil and put it in tanks. . . . Momentous matters such as that.

—On Meet the Press, Oct. 18.

". . . as Robert Kennedy recalls, McCarthy during December 1952 and January 1953, painted an impressive picture of the future he had in mind for the committee. . . . 'I felt the investigation of communism was an important domestic issue,' he (Kennedy) says. . . . His biggest job in that period was an investigation of East-West trade, that produced some startling results, including angry denunciations of young Kennedy by the British. . . . Investigator Kennedy said . . . that in the first three months of 1953, while the Korean war was still flaming, 'an absolute minimum of' 162 Western vessels, 100 of which were British, did business with Red China. Then he added the real shocker: Two ships owned by the British firm of Wheelock-Marden had transported Chinese Communist troops. . . . McCarthy said: 'It seems unbelievable, unheard of . . . that a nation would have ships owned by its nationals transporting the troops to kill its own soldiers."

—Robert F. Kennedy, by Thompson and Myers (1962).

These charges by Kennedy turned out to be a typical McCarthyite mish-mash. There were two ships involved. One was the Perico, owned by Wallem & Co. of Hong Kong. "The company said" (Facts on File, 178N, 1953) "the Perico's captain took 462 unarmed, allegedly sick Reds and about 12 armed guards from Kwangchowan to Canton June 22, 1951, because he was warned that 'somebody would be shot' if he refused. The other ship was the Miramar, owned by Wheelock-Marden under Panamanian registry. It came under Chinese Communist control in August 1951 and was used to transport troops to Shanghai in June 1952. The British Ambassador in Washington warned against using "such isolated and doubtful cases to cast aspersions" on British loyalty in the Korean war.

Goldwater's Finance Chairman Comes From One of The Nation's Largest Arms Contractors

Billionaire Families of DuPont and Mellon Are Quietly Backing Barry

American business has not deserted the Republican Party's leading exponent of free enterprise so completely as is generally assumed. Billionaire families like the Du Ponts and the Mellons, for example, are conspicuously absent from the ranks of Johnson supporters. Although they aren't publicly endorsing Goldwater either, they have been helping him quietly. Lamont DuPont Copeland, president of E. I. DuPont deNemours, and Pierre DuPont, its vice-president, were co-hosts at a Goldwater luncheon for businessmen this fall. The Mellons have been more subtle. They have been contributing to Goldwater through closely held corporations like Gulf Oil and Consolidated Coal. Gulf has given a fortune to right wing organizations which in turn support Goldwater (see box at right). It has also urged its employees to make campaign contributions. (*N. Y. Times,* Sept. 12). Consolidated Coal's vice-chairman, R. Livingston Ireland, appeared in the "Businessmen for Goldwater" ad in the *Wall Street Journal* (Oct. 1). So did Bennett Chapple Jr., a vice-president of U.S. Steel, also a Mellon-dominated enterprise. Another Mellon ploy is to offer support through the Scaife side of the family. (R. K. Mellon's daughter Sarah married a Scaife.) *Human Events* reported last fall that Raymond Scaife, R. K.'s nephew, was lining up behind Goldwater.

Big Business and the Radical Right

"A total of 113 industrial, mercantile, and banking firms, and twenty-five electric and gas companies have been identified as having contributed in the last few years to organizations of the American Right Wing. . . . Broadly speaking, oil, steel, and heavy machinery producers, and manufacturers of motors and motor controls, tend to predominate. . . . So do chemical and textile companies. The names of electric, gas, and power companies in various sections of the country appear as contributors with noticeable frequency.

"Harding College and the National Education Program located on its campus have received corporate contributions that total hundreds of thousands of dollars over the years. The Republic and United States Steel corporations, as well as Gulf and Humble Oil companies were among the major corporate contributors." —*Forster and Epstein,* Danger on the Right

The Weapons Makers and the Utilities

The weapons merchants and the electric utilities have also been careful not to endorse Goldwater publicly. (With one or two exceptions they have not endorsed Johnson either.) This is understandable since one depends on government contracts and the other on government regulation. But Ralph Cordiner, recently retired chairman of General Electric, is chief fund-raiser for Goldwater. GE gets most of the subcontracts for electrical work on armaments and makes more profit from armament than any other U.S. firm (over $100 million annually). Another major Goldwater supporter with ties into the Pentagon and big business is the American Security Council (see box below). The clearest public expression of electric utility support for Goldwater has come from a trade journal, *Electrical World.* It commented shortly after the Republican convention (Aug. 10) that "present restraints on the investor-owned electric utility industry would be relaxed in the wake of November Republican victory." Besides their contributions to right-wing groups, which have been voluminous, the utilities are supporting Goldwater quietly by means of retainer fees. These are paid to a large number of lawyers, advertising agencies and engineering firms with the understanding that a substantial portion of the fee must go to a designated candidate or political organization. The utilities then write off the fees as operating expense.

Also backing Goldwater are several insurance companies who don't like social security and don't want medicare. The Hazard (Kentucky) Coal Operators Assn., is pro-Goldwater; both oppose the Appalachian Development Program. But the big monopolies support him for a larger reason. A good Goldwater showing in November would shift the whole spectrum of American politics further to the right and away from any tendency toward "socialist" planning. This is also why corporations supply a large part of the $25 million which is poured annually into crackpot groups on the far right. These zanies now appear weekly on over 7000 separate radio and TV programs.

"Businessmen For Goldwater" Draws Support From Industrial Witch-Hunters

McCarthyism may be out of fashion for the moment in government, but it is very much alive in industry. It flourishes there in the American Security Council, a rapidly growing tax-exempt corporation which operates a loyalty-security blacklist for employers. Its files, according to a Group Research special report, now contain the names of over 1,000,000 "subversives," and its annual operating budget is around a quarter of a million dollars. It was founded in 1955 by an ex-FBI agent and now has several more on its staff. Also on the staff is Karl Baarslag, a research director for McCarthy's Government Operations Committee and later a consultant for HUAC. Its field director is Cleon Skousen, who as Chief of Police in Salt Lake City was even too much for Mayor J. Bracken Lee, himself an ardent right-winger. In 1960 Lee fired Skousen as "an incipient Hitler."

Some of the most prominent members of "Businessmen for Goldwater" are also active in the Security Council. One Goldwater vice-chairman, Patrick Frawley (Chairman of Schick Safety Razor) is a major fund-raiser for the Council. Another Goldwater vice-chairman, Bennet Archambault (chairman of Stewart-Warner) is on the Council's Senior Advisory Board. Other Goldwater businessmen on the Advisory Board are Robert Gavin (President of Motorola), General R. E. Wood (Director of Sears Roebuck), Wayne Johnston (President of Illinois Central Railroad), and F. K. Weyerhauser, (Chairman of Weyerhauser Co.).

Even without a like-minded spirit in the White House, the Security Council enjoys considerable influence. Representatives from U.S. Steel and General Electric are its vice-presidents. Many retired military officers are on its staff. When Secretary McNamara in 1962 appointed a citizens advisory committee to look into Senator Fulbright's complaint about military sponsorship of seminars on communism, one of the appointments was Frank Barnett, although he was himself a member of the Security Council and had been singled out by Fulbright as an organizer of the seminars!

The U.S. Still Does Not See the No. 1 Item on the Planetary Agenda

(Continued from Page One)

but to do and die. "The worst thing," Togliatti wrote in his testament only a few weeks before, "is first to give an impression that everything is always fine and then suddenly to be forced to talk about difficult situations and to explain them." Moscow lacks a mechanism for legitimacy; the murky and incestuous smoke-filled rooms of the Central Committee are a poor substitute. The Czars at least had primogeniture as a guide to the succession. Now there is only covert whispering in the corridors. Equally bad is the habit of building up the leader as a hero one day and a monster or fool the next; this must develop a quiet contempt for the party leadership among the thoughtful in the Soviet Union. The mechanical feat of catapulting some more tonnage into space is no recompense for this barbarously bureaucratic conduct, which is then labelled—as it was by Brezhnev in his welcoming speech to the astronauts last Monday—as "socialist democracy"! A hundred years after the abolition of serfdom, the Russian people still are given no say in the decisions of government.

What We Do Abroad Shapes Our Society at Home

All this should not blind us complacently to the epochal changes taking place. Russian predominance in space and the explosion of the first Chinese nuclear bomb punctuate the end of an epoch. The American Century is drawing to a close; it lasted barely two decades. We must adjust for a time, not far distant, in which two other great Powers match us in brute power and soon after that in affluence. We can adjust wisely, setting an example in civilization or foolishly, and perhaps stumble into disaster. Even if major war is avoided, how we act abroad will shape the character of our society at home. The heritage of order and liberty we enjoy can easily be destroyed if we react by building more missiles. The problems of the near future are twofold. One is the delicate "three body problem" which physicists and astronomers have never solved: how to estimate the mutual adjustment between two great powers is difficult enough; among three, it is almost insoluble. The other is rapidly to bring China into the family of nations before the nuclear *djinn* is wholly out of control and every sizeable nation has the power of precipitating holocaust.

In the face of such momentous problems, the President's recent speeches on foreign policy are feeble and inadequate. Nothing better demonstrates the slow drift of our politics from reality than the general agreement, shared even by Miller with Humphrey, that we ought to invite China to sign the nuclear test ban—but without granting recognition! When we see how the whole world is shaken by a bomb in China, a succession in Moscow, or the possibility of an irresponsible like Goldwater entering the White House, we see how obsolete are the divisions among nations. All mankind has an urgent interest, and should have some voice, in these no longer distant decisions. The No. 1 item on the planetary agenda is now some federal form of world government or ultimately world catastrophe.

How The Vietnamese Feel About Our War

"It was the first light of gray dawn as our armored cavalry swung off the highway and into the flooded paddies. This was a police action. A manhunt. The villages of Phu Le and Tung Cai, secure behind the water that cut them off from Dong Ha and Quang Tri, were to be searched for draft dodgers and deserters. Able-bodied males between 21 and 25, who could not explain their status, would be hauled in for questioning.

"Recently, in this sector, 400 draft notices were mailed out. Seven less-than-able bodied young men, confident they'd be rejected, reported. South of here, in the Delta, whole communities turned on the military when it tried to round up draft dodgers. They surrounded planes and prevented their taking off. At one village they started a riot during which many draft dodgers escaped. Phu Le's draft dodgers had had ample warning. Only five bewildered youths were collared. Under guard they stared straight ahead. The parents of one showed up. The mother was outraged. Later there were tears and entreaties. The boy cried, too. He didn't want to be a soldier."

—Jim Lucas from Vietnam, Wash. Daily News, Oct. 15.

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That Judge Cox in Miss. Was Bobby's First Appointment, P. 4

And Now—The Last Straw?—We Learn That Saigon Refuses to Bomb Hospitals

"Saigon, South Vietnam, Oct. 22 (Reuters)—Communist guerrilla forces in South Vietnam have developed an efficient and well-equipped medical service to care for their rising battle casualties, according to a new intelligence estimate. Evidence shows that the Vietcong are well supplied with modern drugs, including anti-biotics, and their facilities include large base hospitals and medical training centers.

"Government forces say they know the exact sites of several of the hospitals. Some U.S. officials are mystified at Saigon's apparent reluctance to take military action to put these hospitals out of operation. They say this would provide a major psychological setback to Communist troops risking danger in combat.

"Much of the drugs and other supplies the Communists use is of Western manufacture, some of it imported into South Vietnam under U.S. aid programs."

—New York Times (early edition) Oct. 25.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XII, NO. 37 NOVEMBER 2, 1964 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Whom The Gods Would Destroy, They First Render Smug

Secretary McNamara's press conference Oct. 22 on the Chinese bomb was a mixture of insight and smugness. On the one hand he recognized that "nuclear spread" is one of "the greatest dangers facing the world today." It was so, he said, because "nuclear technology is advancing so rapidly that the cost of building a minimum nuclear capability, whether measured in terms of capital expenditure, human skills or the time required to achieve that capability, is decreasing dramatically." These sobering words deserve the closest attention. On the other hand, he exhibited a dangerous complacency about the Chinese bomb. He said we had enough nuclear capacity to survive a surprise attack and still "assure the simultaneous destruction" of Russia and China. He added that he saw no reason to revise our strategic plans "because the Communist Chinese cannot for many years obtain the capability to inflict nuclear damage on this country or on our allies."

China's Neighbors Already In Danger

Such talk creates a false sense of security and is an obstacle to the fresh rethinking of our China policy which the bomb makes urgent. It may indeed take a decade before China has the capability to inflict damage directly upon the United States. But it is not at all certain that she cannot even now make a nuclear attack on American allies around her borders. "Poor as is China's bombing fleet by Western standards," the respected military commentator Mark Watson wrote in the *Baltimore Sun* (Oct. 17), "it is adequate for a fairly long haul, and nobody can be more fully aware of that than the nearby nations of Asia."

When Barry Told The Truth About Himself

"Mr. Goldwater is a Presidential candidate by inadvertence. Until a late date he spoke of himself and thought of himself as an improbable Republican selection, and he gave reasons. As recently as January of this year he said in Phoenix, 'I've never done anything to get the nomination and yet all of a sudden everyone wants to thrust it on me and, doggone it, I'm not even sure that I've got the brains to be President of the United States.' It was an engaging self-evaluation, and unlike many things Mr. Goldwater says off the top of the head it had the ring of verity."

—The Sun (Baltimore) endorsing LBJ Oct. 25.

Secretary McNamara said the Chinese bomb was "a crude device" too heavy to be delivered by available Chinese aircraft. Dr. Ralph Lapp, the nuclear physicist who worked on our A-bomb during the war, told UPI that our first bomb was also crude and heavy and delivered over Hiroshima by another "crude device," the now obsolete B-29. Dr. Lapp told us that Secretary McNamara's estimate that the Chinese bomb weighed 9,000 pounds was surmise. "We have no way of knowing," Dr. Lapp said. The U.S. was surprised to find from examination of the radioactive debris that the Chinese bomb was set off by a trigger more sophisticated than we expected and that it was made not of plutonium, like the first Russian, British and French bombs, but from enriched uranium, U-235. This requires greater industrial proficiency than we thought the Chinese had. Dr. Lapp said it was nonsense for the President to say that it was a national tragedy for China to have gone the enriched uranium route because of its heavier cost. The possession of facilities for making enriched uranium of its own will provide enriched material for its reactor complex, and a greater total output of power as well as bomb-stuff. Similar surprises are possible in terms of the bomb's weight and China's delivery capacity. But that is not the real point. The point is that fear of a Chinese bomb will make India and Japan think the time has come for them to make A-bombs, too.

The President has offered a pledge of protection to any nation threatened by nuclear attack from China. The Pentagon has let it be known that we placed a squadron of 15 B-52 heavy jet nuclear bombers on Guam last spring, only 1,000 miles from Communist China, the first time that the long-range B-52s have been stationed overseas. But these moves will not solve the problem, which is political not military. If China had been recognized ten years ago, if it had been admitted to the United Nations, if it had been included in the nuclear test ban negotiations, it might have felt secure

(Continued on Page Two)

Only An Agreement With Peking Could Stop Nuclear Spread in Asia

(Continued from Page One)

enough not to embark on this vast nuclear enterprise. China's A-bomb is its answer to American hostility. If this hostility continues, if China is still excluded from the councils of mankind, if we keep it in outlawry, it may in ten years time have not only atomic but thermonuclear bombs and the means to deliver them. India and Japan, looking forward to that possible time, will ask themselves as does Western Europe today: Can we count on America coming to our defense if that means a suicidal exchange which could cripple the United States? Will the Americans risk Detroit or New York to save Tokyo or Bombay? Would we not be safer with weapons, air-fleets and missiles of our own? Thus the instability of the Far East, which our policies have perpetuated, leads straight to a nuclear diffusion which is dangerous to ourselves and the world. This is what our leaders should be telling us.

What If Moscow Sets Up A Pacific MLF?

The emergence of the Chinese as a nuclear nation has already changed all the earlier equations of power politics. McNamara's self-assurance is based on the conviction that China will remain isolated. But what if the Russians were to make their peace with Peking and counter the creation of an MLF in Western Europe with an MLF of their own in the Far East? An MLF of 25 Polaris armed surface ships will not change the atomic stalemate between Russia and America. But a joint Russo-Chinese fleet of ships or planes, armed with nuclear weapons, would change the strategic situation in the Pacific overnight. It would provide a nuclear umbrella under which China could wage non-nuclear war on the ground in Southeast Asia, or even attempt a non-nuclear attack on Formosa. Or what if the Russians, angered by the sight of nuclear weapons within reach of their enemies, the Germans, were to give Peking supersonic planes or missiles, and aid in speeding up its achievement of thermonuclear weapons? Dr. Lapp estimates that with Russian aid China could have the H-bomb in two years. If China were suddenly given even a limited city-killing capacity to retaliate for any nuclear attack from America, we would face the same stalemate in the Far East as in Europe. We would be unable to threaten the nuclear escalation of the Vietnamese war without putting our own cities in danger. We would have to use ground troops at a disadvantage of distance and numbers. A prolonged Asian war, diverting American power to the Pacific, would weaken Western Europe and Western Germany vis a vis the Soviet Union. The Russians might feel about a war between China and the U.S. as some Americans felt before Pearl Harbor about the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union—a chance to let two rivals bleed themselves to death.

It is foolish that the State Department dismisses all this as light-headedly as does the Pentagon. It is tragic that only one American of any prominence, Alfred M. Landon, the GOP candidiate for President in 1936, should have spoken out for consideration of Peking's Oct. 16 proposal for a nuclear summit conference. Mr. Landon thought this proposal should be treated "with cordiality and caution rather than with coldness and negativity." Only one paper in the East, the *Baltimore Sun* Oct. 22 even mentioned the speech. It went almost unnoticed until Secretary General U Thant at a press conference later that day welcomed Mr. Landon's idea of a "dialogue" among the 5 nuclear powers. Unless we act quickly, the Chinese bomb will set off a chain reaction in India and Japan whose consequences we will live to regret.

That's All We Need Now— A Chiang Kai-shek A-Bomb

"Last week's convulsive events left a deeper mark on Americans than it did on two neighbors next door to Red China and the Soviet Union. Both Formosa and Poland took the nearby shocks calmly, their Ambassadors said last night.

"Ambassador Tsiang reported his people were 'more prepared' for the Communist China A-bomb than the Western World and had been told through its papers to expect it.

"Furthermore, he said, nuclear research on Formosa continues at full speed and has a reassuring effect on the people."

—Society Page Column, "Diplomatically Speaking" in the Washington Star, Oct. 21.

The Speech in Which Pres. Johnson Offered Hope of Restrained Policy in the Far East

"Some of our people—Mr. Nixon, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Scranton and Mr. Goldwater—have all, at some time or another, suggested the possible wisdom of going north in Vietnam. Well, now, before you start attacking someone and you launch a big offensive, you better give some consideration to how you are going to protect what you have. And when a Brigadier General can walk down the street of Saigon as they did the other day, and take over the police station, the radio station, and the government without firing a shot, I don't know how much offensive we are prepared to launch. As far as I am concerned, I want to be very cautious and careful, and use it only as a last resort, when I start dropping bombs that are likely to involve American boys in war in Asia with 700 million Chinese. . . .

"When we retaliated in the Tonkin Gulf, we dropped bombs where they had their PT boats housed, and we dropped them within 35 miles of the Chinese border. I don't know what you would think if they started dropping them 35 miles from your border, but I think that is something you have to take into consideration. So we are not going north and we are not going south. . . . We think that losing 190 lives in the period that we have been out there is bad, but it is not like 190,000 that we might lose the first month if we escalated that war. . . .

"The second illusion I want to talk to you about is the illusion that the U.S. can demand resolution of all the world's problems and mash a button and get the job done. . . . I do not think that our future is going to be a simple one. . . . I expect victory. We are going to have victory. But it is not going to be a swift victory. It is not going to be the victory of arms, and it is not going to be the victory of the grave. . . .As the threat of war fades, that victory, I want to warn you, is going to take great strength and going to take patience. It will take men willing to deal with the real events of a real world and not trapped by the dangerous illusions of fantasy."

—LBJ at Manchester, New Hampshire, Sept. 28. Verbatim White House text as delivered.

D. C. Sanitation Department Cleaning Out Leftists As Well As Trash

A New Police State Practice Comes to Light in Washington

A little known police state practice has recently come to light here and may be the subject of congressional investigation in January. It's a trash cover. Like wiretapping, electronic eavesdropping, and mail covers, it is used by government officials to pry into the private lives and political activities of citizens. In this case the government's agent is the local garbageman. On orders from above he puts the trash of designated individuals into special bundles which are then turned over for inspection.

A Lawyer's Waste-Basket

The trash cover first came to public attention when the wife of a prominent Washington lawyer reported to the National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union that her trash was receiving special treatment. Local press stories treated the complaint as an isolated incident, but the NCACLU told us they have received two more complaints, one from a local Black Muslim leader. A letter which we were permitted to see tells an even more disturbing story. The author, who must remain unidentified, has close connections with the D.C. Sanitation Dept. He wrote, "The practice is very widespread in all sections of the city. It is estimated that every truck has at least one 'special' a week and some have one or more a day." This, he noted, was considerably less than during the McCarthy period. "One oldtimer says that during the period right after the Korean war, and during it, the practice was so prevalent in Georgetown that it seemed like every time a truck went to the incinerator, it had 2 or 3 specials. Since a truck makes an average of 7 loads [a day], and there are maybe 7 trucks coming into the Georgetown incinerator, that is an impressive estimate."

Just who is ordering the trash cover and why remains unclear. In a phone conversation with the above source it was suggested that the D.C. police may have requested some in order to track down narcotics and numbers rings. Others appear more directly related to political activity and may be the work of the FBI or perhaps of a D.C. "Red Squad." The letter just quoted says "foreigners are the most frequent targets" in one area. The lawyer whose wife first complained of a trash cover has represented Communists and has been active in civil liberties work.

Unfortunately, the NCACLU has dropped the case and considers it closed. It says it has been assured by an independent source that the practice has been discontinued. Maybe so, but no city or federal official has said so on the record. The cover could be continued again at any time and may be going on now in other cities. For this reason we were pleased to learn that Congressman Gallagher (D. N.J.) may conduct an investigation when Congress convenes. He was recently appointed chairman of a new special subcommittee of House Government Operations Committee. Its task is to look into the investigating practices of federal agencies, including the FBI. Gallagher has already written D.C. Commissioner Duke to find out "what federal agency requested that garbage be segregated."

Trash covers are dirty business in more than one sense. They seem to be a relatively recent refinement in snooping. We can find no mention of them in *Corpus Juris Secundum* or Wigmore's *On Evidence,* but they bring to mind counsel's noble plea in that English court case in 1765 which inspired the drafters of our Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable searches and seizures (*Entick v. Carrington,* 19 *Howell's State Trials* 1029). "What?" asked counsel, "has a secretary of state a right to see all a man's private letters of correspondence, family concerns, trade and business? This would be monstrous indeed; if it were lawful, no man could endure to live in this country."

Historian Makes Startling Disclosure

Founding Fathers Never Cleared!

To the Editor:

It was startling to read in your Oct. 16 editorial on the Jenkins case the dogmatic assertion that "every Government official should have a security check."

Studies by the Fund for the Republic and the Cornell Civil Liberties project provide persuasive arguments that, over the years, the program of security checks and clearances has done more harm than good to the public service. In any event, it is relevant to recall that there was no security check on the men who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and no security check on the men who drafted the Constitution of the United States and that we somehow managed from 1789 to 1947 without a program of security checks.

Have standards of public service really been so much higher since 1947 than they were in the preceding 160 years? Henry Steel Commager

—Letters to the Editor, New York Times Oct. 25.

The FBI's Latest Report Offers Its Usual Comfort to Southern Racists

The FBI's 1964 annual report (released Oct. 19) devotes one chapter to the domestic communist menace but only one-third of a page to civil rights. The agency's anti-communist activity is entitled "Protecting Democracy". Civil rights is buried in a section on "Combating Crime." There we are told that all civil rights cases receive "impartial treatment." Southern sheriffs may see a fraternal wink in that phrase. The report makes no mention of white terrorist organizations and indicates no FBI effort to infiltrate these as it does the Communist and liberal organizations. There is no reference to the bombings that have destroyed dozens of Negro churches and homes nor any indication of FBI activity under the federal anti-bombing law.

The sins of commission are even more damning. The Southern racist is comforted. He is told that Communists worked unremittingly to increase their influence in the racial struggle" and "waged a constant effort to exploit civil rights." Is this not the South's own propaganda? The report feeds the delusions of the radical right. It says the Party "stepped up its activity on all domestic fronts," was encouraged by the signing of the test-ban, and is aided by talk of withdrawal from Vietnam. The picture of a mailed fist stamped CPUSA and surrounded by tags marked "peace", "women", "youth", "civil rights and liberties" is used to illustrate communist front activities. If President Johnson desires to end racism and bring a new sobriety to foreign affairs, he might begin with the FBI which still equates co-existence with subversion.

Eastland Praised Bobby's Nomination as Attorney General

That Judge Cox, Eastland's College Chum, Was Kennedy's First Appointment

It is a pity the Keating-Kennedy campaign was so flaccid. The clash between Federal Judge W. Harold Cox of Mississippi and the Department of Justice was a chance for Keating to hit hard at Kennedy's civil rights record. More important he could have put the spotlight on the way the Kennedy Administration named so many racists to the Federal bench in the South. Cox was the first Kennedy appointment, one of six racists named to the District Courts and two racists to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the deep South.

Ike Named The Liberals

The Fifth Circuit is one of the most liberal in the country because it is largely filled with Eisenhower appointees. As a Republican he could ignore the wishes of Democratic Southern Senators. So can a Democratic President if he chooses. FDR turned down a Bilbo nominee in the 40's. The wave of terror in the South against Negroes and civil rights workers is encouraged by the presence of racist judges on the bench. Judicial candidates are investigated thoroughly, but no one seems to investigate their attitude toward Negroes.

Cox told a *New York Times* reporter (March 8), "I'm not interested in whether the registrar is going to give a registration test to a bunch of niggers on a voter drive." The clash between him and the Justice Department arises from a two-year campaign on his part to use the perjury laws against Negro civil rights leaders, seizing on immaterial discrepancies in voter registration testimony. Such prosecutions would add another element of terror against Negro voting.

The need for impartial judges has been vividly demonstrated in recent days. Convicted bombers go free while civil rights leaders are subjected to wholesale arrests. The current issue of *Ramparts,* a new militantly progressive Catholic monthly published in Menlo Park, Cal., carries an "eye-witness" story by Louis E. Lomax on how Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman were murdered in Mississippi. Part of the terrible story is how the martyred three were shadowed by the police in their fatal trip to Neshoba County. The police broadcast every move over a short wave band used by the KKK.

Bobby's Reluctance on Civil Rights

"In January of 1963, the Mississippi Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights suddenly woke up to the sobering fact that, as far as Negroes' rights were concerned, Washington had been dragging its feet for generations . . . the Committee stated that wide-spread police brutality was the most urgent civil rights problem in the state. When confronted with unmistakable evidence of both official and unofficial violence, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy consistently maintained that the Justice Department did not have power to do any more in Mississippi than it was doing—which was very little. . . . On June 24, 1964, Robert Kennedy told an outraged NAACP delegation that the situation in Mississippi was 'a local matter for law enforcement' and that the Federal authority in that state was 'very limited.' He was immediately contradicted by 29 of the country's foremost law professors."

--Wm. M. Kunstler in Ramparts Magazine.

This has a direct bearing on a suit brought by Wm. M. Kunstler on behalf of COFO under an 1866 statute long neglected by the Justice Department (see box this page) for an injunction barring state, county and local officials, the Klan and other racist organizations from violence against rights workers. That suit has to be argued before this same Judge Cox!

Judge Cox, the first Kennedy appointment ("I'm very proud of the judges that have been appointed," Bobby told the *New York Times* April 27) was Senator Eastland's close friend and college chum. At the hearing on Kennedy's appointment as Attorney General, Keating tried unsuccessfully to get a commitment from him for stronger civil rights legislation. Eastland and the other three Southerners on the committee passed Kennedy without a question. Eastland moved the nomination in the Senate calling him "qualified in every respect." Kennedy's authorized biographers in *The Brother Within* explain that this is because most Southern Senators are "realistic and philosophical individuals."

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What the German Generals Dream About The Next War, P. 3

The Worse The War in Vietnam The Finer The Double-Talk in Washington

"The Administration took the Bienhoa attack as an occasion to issue new warnings to North Vietnam and Communist China. It cautioned them against believing that after the election the U.S. would alter its Asian policies and move toward disengagement from the Vietnam war. Officials also insisted that while the new episode was important because of the losses suffered, it should not be taken as proof that the overall situation in Vietnam was deteriorating. In fact, high officials were adamant in maintaining that the Administration was greatly encouraged by the formation of a civilian government in Saigon last week and that it hoped that the stabilization of the political situation would be reflected in better conduct of the war effort." —*From Washington in the New York Times Nov. 2.*

"One year after the overthrow of the Diem regime, the war with the Communist guerrillas has reached a stage more desperate for South Vietnam than ever. The deterioration is both military and political, and it has touched all aspects of the life of a weary people."

—*From Saigon, same page, same paper, same day.*

"Officials indicated that as few as nine guerrillas, using captured American ammunition, had been able to damage in varying degrees jet aircraft with a replacement cost of $25 million."

—*From the wrecked air base, same paper, same day.*

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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An Election to Make Us Proud of Our Country

The election returns make me proud of my country. The United States voted overwhelmingly for racial justice, for patience in foreign policy and for continuation of the welfare state. The landslide for Johnson was a landslide for a sane nuclear policy. The white backlash against the Negro proved to be a myth. In the East at least there were Polish and Italian neighborhoods which turned in bigger majorities for Johnson than they had for Kennedy; except in the South, racism fared far more poorly here than it did in the recent British elections. Coming on the heels of the strongest Civil Rights bill in our history, and in the wake of a Negro upsurge which threatened white supremacy in the skilled trades and the lily-white housing areas of the North, the vote showed plainly that conscience was stronger than interest in the white majority. The American ideal of the equality of man demonstrated its power. If we look about the world objectively, recalling the bloody recent clashes between so-called colored races in places like Singapore, noting that tribalism and racism afflict the human race all around the globe, the election results in America should hearten good men everywhere, and give our Negro fellow Americans a healing moment of surprise and pleasure. The result was achieved without demeaning compromise; Johnson picked as running mate the Senator most clearly identified with justice for the Negro, and he himself did not pull his punches on the racial issue even in his native South. On no issue was there a clearer verdict in this election, and we are grateful to Lyndon Johnson for it.

An Unremarked Bit of Progress

A remarkable incident occurred—and went unremarked—in the closing days of the campaign. We refer to the President's warning to the steel companies not to raise prices, and Goldwater's failure to make an issue of this. Here were two candidates who have tried to outdo each other in devotion to free enterprise. Here we had the President, without statutory authority, deliberately interfering in the free market because he thought a steel price rise would be unwarranted and unwise, unwarranted because steel profits rose about 25% in the first 9 months of this year, unwise because it might set off an inflationary spiral. Such tinkering with natural law should infuriate every faithful follower of Adam Smith or Milton Freedman. The stock market dropped sharply Oct. 28 when the White House warning appeared on the ticker. This seemed to prove everything Goldwater had been saying about the Democrats. It was Presidential dictatorship, an act of economic planning, in short socialism, if not down right C-------m. But Goldwater was silent. Block of Inland Steel protested, "Prices should be determined by the free play of the market." Barry did not echo his cry. Neither did the other steel magnates. On the contrary they accepted the President's ukase (only in Russian, as you see, could one find the right word for it). There will be no general steel price increase. Creeping socialism has crept a long way when a country which talks as much about free enterprise as ours does, takes it for granted that the White House has a right to block a steel price rise, agrees that the rise would be bad for business and acquiesces in this unmistakable form of government economic planning. Obviously, without realizing it, we are face to face with a new consensus. "Free enterprise" seems to have lost the election.

A New Dawn in The South

In the South itself, which Goldwater had hoped to carry solidly, the old order has been shattered. The one party system has been broken, and though the Republicans tried to be more lily-white than the Democrats, their emergence in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina must bring both parties around to seeking the Negro's good graces for he will hold the balance of power. The unprecedented heavy turnout of Negro voters in every Southern State except Mississippi, where they were barred by a murderous terror and blatant trickery, is a foretaste of the future. The victory of the liberal Yarborough in Texas, the defeat of the rightist Republican, Bruce Alger in Dallas, the reelection of the cou-

(Continued on Page Four)

No Civilian Government, If Free, Will Continue An Unpopular War

The Next Big Surprise in Vietnam May Be A Call for Peace

We suggest that the peace movement call for a cease-fire in South Vietnam, and the holding of free elections by secret ballot under international non-aligned auspices. The daring attack on our biggest airfield just 12 miles outside Saigon indicates how little control we have managed to achieve over that unhappy country in three years of "advising" its military. Major Gen. Max S. Johnson, Ret., until recently head of the U.S. Army War College, just back from Saigon, writes in the Nov. 9 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* that our military there are now talking of "a 12 to 20-year war." We have no right to impose this on the Vietnamese against their will.

Very soon we shall have to decide whether to go on with the first steps toward civilian government taken in Saigon, or move back to a military dictatorship. Since every attempt at military dictatorship has failed, this time we will have to be the dictators. This means a large American expeditionary force to occupy and police the country. It is true that the new civilians talk of total war against Communism. But there are indications that all this is only for our benefit. Dennis Bloodworth reported to the *London Observer* (Nov. 1) from Saigon that the Americans face "a conspiracy of peace" which may soon pose "an even more acute problem" than the war against the Vietcong.

What The New Head of State Seeks

A free choice, if allowed, will lead to peace. Bloodworth cabled his paper that intimates of Phan Kac Suu, South Vietnam's new Head of State, "claim discreetly that behind this democratic demand for early elections to a new National Assembly lies one outstanding purpose: To arm the future Government with a popular mandate so it can negotiate peace with the Communists without its authority being challenged."

It is time to bring home to Americans the full cruelty of the war we have been supporting. "If I were a peasant," an American military adviser in Vietnam told the Associated Press in a dispatch we saw only in the *Baltimore Sun* Oct. 25, "I don't think I would be exactly overjoyed every time the usual government unit moves into my area on an operation. The regular soldiers have had no special indoctrination on the need to win friends and influence people. So they rob peasants blind, they force them into labor detachments, they burn down houses and raise hell generally—and act more like an invasion force than citizens of the same nation." These are the "liberators" on our payroll.

A former U.S. military adviser to Diem, from 1955 to 1960, Lieut. Gen. Samuel T. Williams, Ret., was interviewed in the Nov. 9 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* on why we're losing the war in Vietnam. It's not very impressive but the truth breaks through at two points. Gen. Williams recognizes that we may face a crisis when a civilian government asks us to get out so it can make peace. He also protests the indiscriminate bombing and napalming of villages "because every non-Communist in such a village is going to be a darned good Communist by the time you get through." This is one reason why the longer the war goes on, the stronger the guerrillas become.

"How can we explain to a mother when her child is burned by napalm?" Father Hoa asked in Manila recently (*N.Y. Times*, Sept. 1) when this famous anti-Communist Vietnamese priest was given the Magsaysay award. "And how can we expect a young man to fight for us when his aged father was killed by artillery fire? Indeed how can we claim to be with the people when we burn their homes simply because those houses happen to be in the Vietcong-controlled territory?" This is what lies on the conscience of America.

It Happened to the French, Too

"In addition to the environmental limitations, there was the enemy; an enemy who did not possess a single aircraft but who over the years had acquired a great deal of proficiency in anti-aircraft gunnery and in destroying parked aircraft and airbase installations in daring commando raids. The latter finally reached strategic importance during the battle of Dien Bien Phu, when a Viet Minh commando infiltrated the largest French airbase in North Viet-Nam, Cat-Bi, by crawling for more than a mile through the sewers.

"Cat-Bi, situated near the coastal city of Haiphong, was heavily fortified, surrounded by electrified barbed wire and mine-fields and watched even by infra-red devices, in addition to crack troops and watch dogs. By an incredible act of raw courage and stamina, the Viet-Minh raiders (who would have helplessly drowned in the sewers had there been even light rain that night) emerged directly in the aircraft parking area and attached explosive charges to eighteen of the transport planes virtually needed to supply the French garrison in a faraway fortress."

—Bernard B. Fall: Street Without Joy, *pps. 262-3, a new edition with much new material bringing up to date the story of the Indochinese wars (Stackpole: $7.95) especially recommended for its compilation in a new chapter of the falsely optimistic reports issued by U.S. authorities in 1963-4.*

All Deliberate Speed—Or How to Get Where You Don't Want to Go in 1,000 Years

Ten years after the Supreme Court's desegregation decision 98.8% of the South's Negro children are still in segregated schools. Even this figure is deceptively high. The statistical charts at the end of the Civil Rights Commission's 1964 report on education reveal that one state, Texas, accounts for more than half of the integrated enrollment. It has an estimated 18,000 Negro pupils in desegregated schools. By contrast, in Alabama there are 21 and in South Carolina there are only 9 Negroes going to school with whites. This is respectively .007% and .003% of the total pupils enrolled in desegregated schools. Mississippi had no school integration below the college level until this fall when a court order opened up three public school districts. In one of these districts, in Clarksdale, no Negro pupil tried to register at a white school.

In other Southern States desegregation is concentrated in a few school districts. Louisiana had 1,814 Negro pupils in desegregated schools, but these are located in only 3 out of 67 bi-racial school districts. In Georgia only 10 out of 181 bi-racial districts are desegregated; in Arkansas 21 out of 228; in Texas 289 out of 899; in North Carolina 61 out of 171; in Florida 21 out of 67; and Tennessee 58 out of 142.

At this rate—little more than one percent in a decade—it will take almost ten centuries to desegregate the South.

What Some German Generals Dream Is What the Rest of Europe Fears

The MLF As A Posthumous U.S. Device to Help Germany Win the Next War

In discussing the MLF with a colleague, I turned up a prize item for an anthology of nuclear horrors. He had been talking with German military men in Washington, who are strong, of course, for this idea of a 25-vessel fleet each armed with 8 Polaris missiles on whose triggers the Germans would have a finger. The German fear is that in the event of a Soviet clash with Germany, the U.S. would not risk its own destruction by a nuclear exchange with Russia but would try to limit the war to Central Europe and conventional arms. I asked what difference the MLF would make, since the U.S. would still be able to veto its use.

The German military, he found, make a different calculation. They believe that a new war may begin with a suicidal nuclear exchange between U.S. and U.S.S.R. which would leave both in ruins. The Soviet armies, however, might still remain largely intact and would move westward, if for no other reason than to escape radioactivity and find food. With the U.S. out of the picture, the Germans could then take over and use the MLF to "interdict" and destroy these armies by nuclear bombardment, and emerge the victor from the Third World War! Obviously someone has been giving the German Generals Herman Kahn for Christmas.

Five Basic Counter-Arguments

I can think of better posthumous pleasures than the thought that we had arranged for Germany to dominate Europe once America had passed away. Unfortunately the Johnson Administration was committed to putting this monstrous device through Congress early next year in time to help Erhard win the next German election. The peace movement had better organize a counter-campaign quickly. An MLF treaty will have to be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. There is thus a fighting chance of stopping it. The main arguments against it are that (1) it is contradictory to McNamara's policy of recognizing nuclear overkill and shifting emphasis to conventional weapons (2) it cannot be reconciled with Johnson's policy of preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons, since many nations East and West fear MLF as a halfway house to a German nuclear deterrent, (3) it conflicts with the policy of seeking relaxation of tension, since putting a German finger on the nuclear trigger will be regarded by the Soviet countries as a hostile act (4) it will drive the Soviet bloc closer together helping to heal the rift between Moscow and Peking and (5) it will encourage those *revanchist* forces in Germany which look to a new showdown to regain their 1937 borders.

And on A-Arms For Germans?

"London, Oct. 30—The British Government has decided to ban arms sales to South Africa. . . . An arms embargo for South Africa has the support of the whole Labor Party, but it has been particularly dear to its Left-wingers. There are signs now that the way Prime Minister Harold Wilson intends to cope with the foreign policy demands of left-wing Socialists in his Cabinet is to satisfy them on highly emotional but secondary issues such as South Africa, Spain, and Portugal's African colonies. But where necessary, he apparently will overrule them on such major issues as those involving Anglo-American relations, Germany and East-West negotiations."

—Washington Post Foreign Service, Oct. 31.

The MLF is supposed to tighten NATO unity. It will do the opposite. Unanimous opposition to MLF was registered at the opening of Norway's Parliament Oct. 23. The U.S. sees MLF as a means of weakening the bonds between Germany and France, and binding Germany closer to the U.S. It is therefore not surprising that de Gaulle is threatening to leave NATO if the plan is approved. The threat of a German-American "multilateral force" is being used to bring other reluctant NATO members into it. Here we are told the U.S. will always have a veto over its use, but the Germans have been encouraged by the State Department to believe that ultimately a system of weighted majority voting may be substituted. The Germans, as the largest European contributor, would have the biggest European vote under such an arrangement.

De Gaulle's threats and British Labor negotiations for a modified plan may delay, even possibly shelve, the plan, especially if enough popular opposition can be aroused. The Laborites campaigned against MLF but seem now to be proposing to accept a smaller MLF in a new joint NATO nuclear command to which they would contribute their own "independent" deterrent. The effect would be to water down German influence. This has already evoked a sour reaction from Bonn which wants to be No. 1 in the MLF.

Belgian Statesman, Back from Cuba, Pleads for A More Humane U.S. Policy

A plea for joint European action to bring about a "rethinking" of the U.S. attitude toward Cuba is made by M. Raymond Scheyven in a series of four articles in Le Monde Oct. 27-30. M. Scheyven, brother of the Belgian Ambassador to the U.S., represents Brussels in the Belgian Parliament. He is a Catholic, a leading member of the dominant Christian Social Party and a former Minister of Economic Affairs. This visit was part of a tour in which he had interviews with Belaunde Terry in Peru, Eduardo Frei in Chile, and Castello Branco in Brazil as well as a 10-hour talk with Castro. In Washington, on his way home, M. Scheyven spoke with Secretary Rusk and later in New York to U Thant at the UN.

M. Scheyven reports that, despite great difficulties imposed by the U.S. blockade, most of Cuba's people are better fed than before the Revolution. He says progress is being made in mechanization of the sugar industry. He found the atmosphere less restrictive than in other Soviet countries and he thinks that, given peace, Cuba would evolve rapidly toward greater freedom. "It is for this reason," he writes, "that I doubt the wisdom of the policy adopted by the State Department." He found Castro willing to renounce all Soviet military aid if the U.S. withdrew from Guantanamo and made peace with Cuba. The Belgian found Latin American leaders dubious of U.S. policy and anxious for reconciliation, notably the newly elected Christian Democratic President of Chile, Eduardo Frei. M. Scheyven suggests that a united European policy on Cuba could make the U.S. realize that "like the cordons sanitaires of yesterday, the blockade of today cannot overturn the Cuban regime—the quarantine makes Cuba's little people suffer rather than weakening the team in power."

People Ready to Translate Generalities About Peace Into Concrete Policy

(Continued from Page One)

rageously outspoken Weltner in Atlanta, were the gratifying highlights of the Southern returns. Those bloody streaks across the sky in Mississippi were the signs of a new dawn.

A Setback for Fascism

Had Goldwater been elected, the whole world would have felt a tremor of fear. In every country Fascist elements hoped for a Goldwater victory. Among the neo-Nazis in Germany, the Phalangists in Spain, the white supremacists in South Africa and Rhodesia and Angola, there was an instinctive feeling of fraternity for the man behind whom all the crypto-Fascist forces in our own country had rallied. His defeat is a setback to the paranoids everywhere. It is also a defeat for the military. His cave-man oversimplifications, his get-tough stance, reflected the dominant stereotypes of the military bureaucracy which has grown so strong on the cold war, but has failed to carry the country with it. The candidate of the know-nothings, of the Birchites, and of the ignorant rich failed to carry a single State outside the South except his native Arizona. In every class, in every region, and among every ethnic group outside the South, the verdict was against him. The suburban vote was particularly significant, for it showed that among the better educated, though the more prosperous, there was a sober readiness to accept welfare state, justice for the Negro and a crusade against poverty. How much has changed since the days when the well-to-do saw only a threat of Communism in the New Deal! The press, which was overwhelmingly against FDR a generation ago, was now overwhelmingly against Goldwater. This was a victory for the educated, and above all for the education which the New Deal gave this country. It is a pity Eleanor Roosevelt did not live to see these returns.

A New Maturity in The Country

Johnson won his victory despite the dirty campaign waged against him. Dirty campaigns are hardly new in our history. What was new was the sign of a new maturity and of a higher level of good taste in the electorate. The cheap and vulgar Miller antagonized the country; the reaction to the Jenkins affair showed that it had grown up. The McCarthy-style Red menace books with which the Goldwaterites flooded the country seemed to have an impact only on a minority already nutty. Something has been learned from the witch hunt years. Perhaps the most heartening aspect of the whole election was the fact that it so obviously turned on fear of what a man like Goldwater might do if his hands were on the nuclear trigger. However poorly informed on other matters, the electorate showed that it had instinctively and universally seized on the new facts of life in the nuclear age. The country realizes that we live on the brink of world catastrophe, and that the new weapons call for a new sobriety. We believe that the reaction of the country to the nuclear issue, which seems to have outweighed even racism in parts of the South, is the most hopeful development. The American people showed itself more intelligent than its political leaders have given it credit for. We believe that the country would be prepared to follow Johnson if he were now to translate his campaign generalities about peace and restraint into concrete peace policy on Vietnam, Cuba and China. The people have shown their confidence in Johnson. We look to him to show his confidence in the people.

Democracy Marches On (and Out) in Brazil

"Lincoln Gordon, U. S. Ambassador to Brazil, was quoted in Washington as saying that earlier fears in the U.S. that Brazil's military-backed government was anti-democratic had practically disappeared."

—Baltimore Sun from Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 22.

"A new period of tension between Brazilian politicians and military authorities appeared imminent to observers here today. . . . A number of State Governors—including Mauro Borges of Boias, accused of harboring Communists in his Administration—were under renewed military pressure. There were rumors that some military extremists would like to close Congress altogether and impose a military dictatorship. Mouro Andrade (President of the Senate) warned that 'not even President Castello Branco is immune from being the next victim.' He added, 'A regime is no longer democratic when a Lieut. Col. judges the President of the Congress; a Major, a scientist of world reputation; and a Lieutenant, a university professor."

—Washington Post from Rio, Oct. 27.

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How NBC's Gen. Sarnoff Went to Bat for the Cigarette-Makers, Pps. 2-3

The Author of "The Quiet American" on Our Not-So-Quiet Use of Torture in Vietnam

"In the past few weeks photographs have appeared in the British press showing the tortures inflicted on Viet Cong prisoners by the Vietnam army. In the long frustrating war in Indochina there has, of course, always been torture—torture by Viet Minh, torture by Vietnamese, torture by the French—but at least in the old days of the long, long war hypocrisy paid a tribute to virtue by hushing up the torture inflicted by its own soldiers and condemning the torture inflicted by the other side. The strange new feature about the photographs of torture now appearing is that they have been taken with the approval of the torturers and published over captions that contain no hint of condemnation. They might have come out of a book on insect life. 'The white ant takes certain measures against the red ant after a successful foray.' But these, after all, are not ants but men. The long slow slide into barbarism of the Western world seems to have quickened. For these photographs are of torturers belonging to an army which could not exist without American aid and counsel. Does this mean that the American authorities sanction torture as a means of interrogation?"

—Graham Greene in the London Daily Telegraph Nov. 6.

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The MLF—One Sure Way to Heal the Sino-Soviet Rift

An important passage in the French Prime Minister's warning against the MLF was not reported in the U.S. press. M. Pompidou (*Le Monde,* Nov. 7) told the French Parliamentary correspondents that the American plan for 20 Polaris-armed ships with a German finger on their triggers would be "destructive for Europe and provocative for certain other countries." He declared that "if we take part in a permanent confrontation between the two blocs" there will be "no durable equilibrium" in Europe. M. Pompidou concluded that "the two blocs ought to be less rigid and they ought even in some degree to interpenetrate each other [s'interpénétrer] in order to facilitate the peaceful co-existence for which everyone wishes at the present time." In other words the French Prime Minister sees the MLF as a device which will harden the division of Europe and stifle hopes for a continued detente between East and West.

How Germany's Army Officers Think

Americans will begin to see the full implications of the MLF if they compare this French view with the views which Prof. Amitai Etzioni of Columbia found among officers of the West German Staff College in Hamburg when he spoke there a few days before M. Pompidou's address. Prof. Etzioni told M. S. Handler in an interview in the *New York Times* (Nov. 8) that a third of them, the most senior group, saw the MLF as a means of "political blackmail" to compel the Russians to permit reunification on West German terms while another third thought it could be used to force the dismantling of the Berlin wall and guarantees for West Berlin. Thus for two-thirds the MLF was a means, by implied threat of nuclear war, to exact concessions from the Eastern bloc. The higher the rank of the officer, the Columbia professor said, the more ardent his support for the nuclear force. A third of the officers, presumably the younger men, thought that Germans cannot and should not be trusted with nuclear weapons. The reactions of these German officers show that M. Pompidou was not opposing MLF out of mere de Gaullist pique, as the State Department would like us to believe.

Kennedy was cool to MLF. Johnson is reported to be strongly for it. We find it hard to reconcile those reports with the interview which the President gave the German picture magazine, *Quick* (May 3) shortly after Erhard's visit to Washington. "When it comes to peace," Johnson told his German interviewer, "we will meet the Russians halfway and more than halfway if necessary. When Chancellor Erhard was here, I told him: 'Put yourself in the place of the Russians. Try to understand their feelings. They are worried about the Germans, and that is understandable. The Russians are afraid.' I begged Erhard to do everything he could to arrive at better relations with the Germans and dissipate their anxieties." The MLF will increase those fears.

The Grimmest Computation

"How many of the 5500 sailors, who would serve on the MLF rocket-ships, may survive the zero hour of an atomic war, has likewise already been estimated by the military planners in Washington: more than half. But no one has yet figured out how much chance the survivors of these modern Noah's Arks would have, ever to set foot again on unharmed and uncontaminated land."

—Conclusion of a critical article on the MLF in **Der Spiegel,** ***Germany's leading independent weekly, Nov. 4.***

All this casts its shadow over Asia as well as Europe. Washington is complacently sure that there will be no firm Sino-Soviet reconciliation. MLF could bring it about. It is China's strongest argument with the Soviet bloc. "Johnson seems to be very keen," said the Peking *Peoples Daily* Oct. 22, "about preventing nuclear proliferation. But as a matter of fact it is the U.S. itself, and not any other country which is engaged in spreading nuclear weapons. The Johnson Administration is pushing ahead with the so-called multilateral nuclear force plan for placing nuclear weapons in the hands of NATO countries, and in particular those of the West German revanchists." If there is anyone the Russians fear more than the Chinese, it is the Germans. This also goes for the Poles, the Czechs, the Hungarians, the Yugoslavs and the Rumanians. If we want to refreeze the Soviet bloc, and deep-freeze the hopes of peacefully reuniting Germany, if we want to increase the power of the intransigeant Chinese over the conciliatory Russians, MLF is the way to do it.

Tobacco Industry's Profits Still Rising 10 Months After Surgeon General's Report

NBC's General Sarnoff Goes to Bat for the Cigarette Makers . . .

The Surgeon General's report on smoking and disease has so far caused the tobacco industry remarkably little annoyance. Every cigarette company but one has now reported 1964 third-quarter profits slightly higher than last year's. Only R. J. Reynolds showed a decline in profits and this was blamed on the high cost of promoting a new brand (*Wall St. Journal,* Oct. 30)! The industry as a whole has registered a net decline in profits of only 0.1%.

The Dissenter Won

The crucial test between cigarette profits and health will come early next year when Congress debates federal regulation of cigarette advertising and labeling. The industry will be well-prepared. It has won a series of preliminary skirmishes that place it in a comfortable position. Its latest victory was won behind the closed doors of the President's Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke. The Commission was appointed last February "to map an attack for the Nation on these three great killers." It will issue its report in late December, just before Congress convenes. A source who attended its meetings told us the Commission was prepared to go beyond the Surgeon General's report in recommending "very vigorous" regulatory action against cigarette advertising. A strong statement had been drafted by Emerson Foote, a member of the Commission who recently resigned as chairman of the board of McCann-Erickson because the advertising firm would not drop its tobacco clients. Foote's proposed draft never came to a vote, however, because General David Sarnoff, chairman of the RCA communications empire, threatened to take the matter to the White House and said he would prevent the Commission from adopting a unanimous report. Tobacco company advertising averages around a quarter-billion dollars a year, half of it on TV. (When we told Sarnoff's Washington and New York offices we were going to publish this story, neither would comment.) Foote withdrew his statement even though Sarnoff was the only dissenter. This is a pity since the Commission's authoritative voice would have off-set tobacco's other recent victories.

4500 New Young Smokers A Day

Rep. Lionel VAN DERLEEN (D. Cal.): You would agree that any warning that was imposed upon (cigarette) advertising and especially broadcast advertising might achieve the proportions of a national joke.

Dr. SCOTT (President of the American Cancer Association): It does not necessarily have to become a joke or anything of the sort. We have to remember there are 4500 young people taking up cigarette smoking everyday. These are all new people. It has to be a continuing and repetitive process to be effective. Even the advertising people tell us that for their own product.

—Interstate Commerce Comm. Hearings on Tobacco, Jl. 2.

The first of these came when Rep. Oren Harris (*D., Ark.*), Chairman of the House Interstate Commerce Committee, challenged the right of the Federal Trade Commission to regulate cigarette advertising and labeling without specific authority from Congress. The Commission was in the midst of issuing a rule which requires all labels and advertisements to carry a warning to the effect that "cigarette smoking is dangerous to health and may cause death from cancer and other diseases." This rule is weaker than the Commission's original proposal but not so weak as the one Congress is likely to turn out. Tobacco-state congressmen chair one-fourth of the Senate committees including Finance, Banking and Currency, Armed Services, and Post Office and Civil Service. In the House, they chair 7 out of 21 committees, including the nearly omnipotent Rules Committee. This helps explain why Congress until late last session had never held hearings for any one of 30 bills on the cigarette danger. The one exception that proves the rule was Rep. John Blatnik's investigation in 1957 of false and misleading filter-tip advertising. Before his Government Operations subcommittee could finish its work, the subcommittee was dissolved.

The tobacco industry won a third victory at the Harris committee hearings this summer. These gave it a pseudo-scientific smokescreen, as the boxes on these pages indicate. Every scientific witness but one supported the tobacco companies and attacked the Surgeon General's report. Their statements looked so much alike they led one congressman to suspect a single author (*see box at bottom*). One witness admitted

How The Tobacco Companies Helped Prepare The Testimony of The Scientists

Rep. J. A. YOUNGER (R. Cal.): The format of your testimony and Dr. Garland's who is to come, appears to be exactly the same. Were these printed or mimeographed at the same place? What causes all of these to be exactly the same?

Dr. Henry RUSSEK (Consultant in Cardiovascular Disease, U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, Staten Is., New York): I submitted a statement quite similar to his with a few differences. I said, for example, the undersigned is so and so and I was told perhaps it would be better before a congressional committee to say rather than "the undersigned," "I am."

Rep. YOUNGER: You submitted them to whom?

Dr. RUSSEK: To an attorney for one of the tobacco companies. I showed him the statement that I would give.

Rep. YOUNGER: Are you employed in any way, shape or form by any tobacco company?

Dr. RUSSEK: In no manner whatever. This statement that I have given here I gave at the AMA meeting last week in San Francisco.

Rep. YOUNGER: All of these start out in exactly the same format. My experience with witnesses before the committee, I rarely find that. I was just wondering if there was any correlation between the format that we have and the position that all of you take in regard to smoking?

Dr. RUSSEK: No, it had nothing whatever to do with this?

Rep. YOUNGER: Who mimeographed yours?

Dr. RUSSEK: I imagine it was mimeographed by Mr. Hardy of one of the tobacco corporations.

Rep, YOUNGER: That is what I am trying to get at. Evidently they were all mimeographed by the same company. Dr. RUSSEK: I presume so.

—Interstate Commerce Comm. Hearings on Tobacco.

Congressional Hearings Stacked by Nicotine-Stained Scientists

. . . Reported Blocking Strong Stand by President's Commission on Cancer

he had consulted with an attorney for the tobacco companies before submitting his statement. Another admitted that he had gone over his testimony with a medical consultant for the American Tobacco Co. Several said the tobacco companies had done the printing of their statements. At least one witness admitted he had recently received a grant from the Council for Tobacco Research, a tobacco company affiliate. Dr. Wendell Scott, President of the American Cancer Society and the only non-tobacco-tainted expert to testify, said that to his knowledge none of these witnesses had ever published a paper or done any original research on smoking and health.

A Quarter-Million Deaths A Year

The testimony of these "experts" was as specious as their credentials. Their favorite ploy was to point out that the Surgeon General's report did not "prove" that smoking "caused" cancer because it was based only on statistical evidence. This is the same stale line that the industry has been using for 15 years. It was emphasized by the statistician in the group, Mr. Alan Donnahoe, who also happens to be vice-president of *The Richmond Times*. The Surgeon General's statistics show that ten times as many moderate smokers die of lung cancer than do non-smokers. Donnahoe calculated off-the-cuff that if these figures are adjusted for all possible error, they show only five times as many smokers dying of lung cancer. That seems pretty bad too. Actually, a scientist at the Public Health Service told us that the Surgeon General's report "leaned over backwards to underestimate" the health hazard, and that instead of 40,000 deaths it would not be too much to speak of 250,000 to 300,000 deaths annually.

One witness upon whom the committee lavished innumerable compliments was Bowman Gray, chairman of the board of R. J. Reynolds and spokesman at the hearings for all the tobacco companies. Gray revealed the industry's strategy when he said he favored a "congressional [regulatory] statute pre-empting the field" from the States because "this is the big year for state legislation" and "unless something such as this is done there will be a rash of [state] action." When asked how much advertising the industry would do if it had to use the FTC's health warning, Gray answered, "Doggone little." This was the best argument for regulation that we saw in the five-volume set of hearings.

These stack the public record against the consumer. They give the well-meaning but timid congressman an excuse not to offend the industry or the powers in Congress. Only some White House magic can defeat the industry now, but two of our Sorcerer's chief apprentices, Earle Clements and Abe Fortas, have the tobacco companies for clients.

How to Form An Opinion Without Even Trying

Mr. Paul ROGERS (D. Fla.): You feel there is really no basis in these studies at all to show this connection [between cancer and cigarette smoking]?

Dr. BURFORD (identified below): No, sir. I have to stick firmly with my somewhat dogmatic opinion. This opinion was not formed easily. I would remind the committee that this opinion was formed when I was working side by side with one of the really great surgeons of America, Evarts Graham.

* * * *

Rep. J. A. YOUNGER (R. Cal.): Dr. Scott, do you know Dr. Thomas H. Burford?

Dr. SCOTT (Pres., American Cancer Society): Yes. Dr. Burford is one of my close friends and associates. I work with him almost every day of the year.

Rep. YOUNGER: How do you account for his statement (above)?

Dr. SCOTT: He has felt this way from the very beginning. When Dr. Ernest Windaur first came to him to undertake the first studies, Dr. Burford did not feel there was any merit. Dr. Windaur went to Evarts Graham, the professor in charge of the department, and he said, "All right, we will go ahead with the studies (anyway)." This is Dr. Burford's personal opinion. It is not supported by a series of scientific studies and investigations.

—Hearings on Tobacco Regulation, Jl. 2.

How One Expert Witness Evaded The Facts About Lung Cancer

"I have found no really convincing evidence that the incidence of lung cancer is actually increasing although cigarette consumption has been rising for several decades. . . . Post mortem examinations today are carried out in a far more careful and meticulous fashion than they were two decades or even one decade ago resulting in more frequent discovery of lung cancer."

—Dr. Thomas Burford, Chief of Thoracic and Cardiovascular Surgery, Barnes and Allied Hospitals, St. Louis, before House Interstate Commerce Committee, June 29.

"In the United States, for example, only 371 deaths were attributed to lung cancer in 1914. This number rose to 2,357 in 1930; 7,121 in 1940; 18,313 in 1950, and 36,420 in 1960. . . . (1) The simple bulk of the increase makes improved diagnosis an inadequate explanation. (2) Improvements in diagnosis also occurred with respect to such other forms of cancer as stomach cancer. Yet no comparable rise in reported cancer rates generally or in cancer at other internal cites has occurred. . . . (3) There is the strange but unchallenged fact that lung cancer remains today a rare disease among men and women who do not smoke and who have never smoked. Improved diagnosis, to the extent that it has affected the statistics through the years, would have produced a rise among non-smokers."

—"The Consumers Union Report on Smoking and the Public Interest," (Consumers Union, 1963) pp. 16-20.

* * * *

"It seems to me that any unbiased examination of the world's scientific literature will conclude that there is as much or more reason to suspect air pollutants as there is to suspect cigarette smoking."

—Dr. Burford at tobacco hearings, June 29.

"[In] Iceland . . . lung cancer remained a rare disease and cigarette smoking a relatively unpopular habit as recently as 1940. Since then, cigarette smoking has become increasingly popular and lung cancer increasingly common. . . . The increase cannot be attributed to air pollution for at least since 1943 Reykjavik (where most of the deaths occurred) has had the purest air in Europe. A municipal heating system based on hot springs near the city has replaced both coal and oil for heating purposes."

—"Smoking and the Public Interest," p. 24.

CIA Director McCone Leaving? A Poor Way to Improve U.S. Standing in Brazil

Easy Way for Bobby Kennedy to Prove He Can Be Liberal and Magnanimous

Now that Bobby Kennedy has been elected, one way for him to refute his critics and demonstrate liberalism and magnanimity would be to join in a protest to ABC to reinstate Lisa Howard, whom it once billed as TV's No. 1 Newswoman but has dropped for helping to organize Democrats-for-Keating. Her TV interviews with Castro and Guevara were courageous forays for better understanding. . . . There was good news in Joe Alsop's resumed column Nov. 9 (we dislike his views but are glad to see he's well again) that CIA Director John A. McCone "may have to return to California, to keep an eye for a while on his large West Coast enterprises." McCone managed as AEC Chairman and CIA Director to keep these enterprises despite conflict-of-interest laws governing both posts. But the main objection to him is that he is a Republican of far right views, who would fit better into a Goldwater government. . . .

Civil Liberties Cases at The Court

The Supreme Court this week agreed to decide the constitutionality of a Landrum-Griffin Act provision which makes it a crime for a Communist to serve as an officer of a labor union. The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals set aside the conviction of Archie Brown, an officer in a San Francisco local of the ILWU, on the ground that Congress could not "impose personal criminal sanctions on . . . (the) basis of political affiliations." The Solicitor General has asked the Supreme Court to overturn this ruling. The Court also said the NAACP and the ACLU could file amicus curiae briefs in support of James Dombrowski, director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, indicted in Louisiana for subversive (i.e., civil rights) activities.

Ambassadorial Errand Boy?

It was poor public relations for U.S. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon to accompany John J. McCloy, acting as lawyer for the Hanna Mining Interests of Cleveland, on a visit to Brazil's new military dictator President Castelo Branco in Brasilia Nov. 6. The vice president of Hanna is George H. Humphrey, Ike's Secretary of the Treasury, and a leading Goldwater supporter, who has used influence of all kinds to obtain control of rich iron deposits in Brazil. The concessions granted him 5 years ago were later cancelled June 30, 1962, by a Nationalist Minister of Mines. The cancellation is on appeal to the Brazilian Supreme Court. "After presenting Mr. McCloy," the *New York Times* reported meaningfully, Nov. 7, "Ambassador Gordon paid President Branco a second visit outlining the U.S. financial and economic mission to Brazil." First the U.S. supports a military coup which purges some of Brazil's leading statesmen from public life and then it brings pressure for iron deposits that Brazilians from far right to far left prefer to keep under public control. This is hardly the way to lay the spectre of Yankee Imperialism. . . .

Remember the campaign for continued underground testing on the plea that it was required to perfect our means of detection? Since the nuclear test ban treaty went into effect, we have staged 38 tests. The official AEC run-down as of Nov. 9 shows 30 weapons tests, six Ploughshare (supposed civilian uses), one joint weapons test with the United Kingdom—and one Vela (test detection). Moscow is now asking a complete ban on all tests. How can the Russians convince the Chinese to stop testing when we go on doing so? . . . Are these tests really necessary or just provocative "needling" exercises? . . . An *Agence France Presse* dispatch from Bonn in *Le Monde* (Nov. 5) reports that the West Germany government is resuming talks for a trade agreement with Red China. These were postponed earlier this year on Washington's request until after the elections. . . . We welcome the news from Moscow (*New York Times,* Nov. 4) that the Leningrad poet Brodsky and Boris Pasternak's friend, Olga Ivinskaya, have been released from prison by the new regime as a conciliatory gesture to Russian intellectuals and world opinion. Brodsky was sentenced to five years in jail as a "social parasite" for his non-conformist verses and the Khrushchev regime took out on Ivinskaya its displeasure with the author of "Dr. Zhivago." This sensitivity to world opinion is a welcome change from the days of Stalinism.

IFS Is Being Operated on For Deafness Nov. 12 and Hopes to Put Out the Next Issue As Usual But Asks Reader Indulgence If He Has to Skip An Issue

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Democracy — The One "Option" We Shy Away From in Vietnam, P. 3

The General Who First Launched the Idea of MLF Now Predicts Its Rejection by NATO

"Los Angeles, Nov. 21 — Gen. Lauris Norstad, former commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, said yesterday the U.S. proposal for a multilateral nuclear force 'has succeeded in dividing rather than unifying the member nations of NATO.' Norstad told a news conference he doubts NATO nations will ever adopt the proposal. 'It doesn't appear that any agreement is imminent, and an impassioned speech at a conference table won't alter things,' he said. 'Gen. de Gaulle will not agree now, later or ever,' Norstad continued. 'The plan has not been accepted by Britain either, and Germany agreed only under pressure'." —*Associated Press in Washington Post, Nov. 22.*

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XII, NO. 40 NOVEMBER 30, 1964 101 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

J. Edgar Hoover's Novel View of Racism

J. Edgar Hoover turned up at Gwen Cafritz's party here in Washington the other evening and found, according to the *Washington Star's* society reporter (Nov. 21) that he couldn't get past the entrance "as he drew group after group of guests expressing admiration for his outspoken comments during an unusual three-hour press conference with women reporters earlier this week." The spontaneous ovation showed that beneath the cynical surface of Washington society there beats a warm heart, ready to welcome the dissenter even in this age of conformity. Mr. Hoover told the admirers thronging around him that he was surprised at the reaction from the country. He said he had received almost 400 telegrams, "all favorable except for two or three who were critical or hostile" and these he said "were probably from racist groups associated with Martin Luther King."

Not Even Bull Connor or Ross Barnett

We have often asked why Mr. Hoover did not speak out on the subject of racism. We are encouraged to see that he has at last broached the subject, though from a novel angle. We had never thought of Rev. King or the organizations associated with him as racist, though we suppose that in a sense they are. Mr. Hoover obviously considers as racist any organization which seeks to give the Negro equality with the white man, to set race against race by insisting that Southern registrars register Negro voters, too, and generally to stir up the Negro against white supremacy. This has, come to think of it, long been the South's point of view but no Southern spokesman has had the daring to express it in quite so original a way. It never occurred to Bull Connor to assert that he had set the dogs on those demonstrators in Birmingham to protect the city from racism. Nor has Ross Barnett thought of defending the burning of Negro churches in Mississippi as a means of safeguarding the State from racist agitation. To call Martin Luther King "the most notorious liar in the country" may have seemed a little extreme even to members of the White Citizens' Councils. But to come up with the idea that NAACP, CORE, SNCC and Southern Christian Leadership Conference can be termed "racist" organizations—that's close akin to genius.

This observation by Mr. Hoover shows the wisdom of his attitude toward press conferences. Though Mr. Hoover is constantly writing articles on various favorite menaces (usually red or pink) in the Sunday supplements, his usual practice on interviews is to answer prepared written questions submitted in advance. The lucky reporter gets the answers in written form and a handshake. In 40 years as head of the FBI, Mr. Hoover had never before held a general press conference, and even this first of its kind was restricted to women. According to *The Washington Post's* society reporter, Marie McNair (Nov. 21) Mr. Hoover explained this at the Cafritz party. "With men journalists," he told his admirers, "the questions are loaded and the reporters are trying to trip you up. However, there are exceptions to this, he declared, naming half a dozen newspapers throughout the country in which he has confidence." It is reassuring to learn that Mr. Hoover does not regard the entire American press with suspicion, and is prepared to grant clearance to six newspapers at least. It is easy to imagine what the run-of-the-mill subversive Washington correspondent (male) would have done at a press conference in which Mr. Hoover implied that Martin Luther King was a racist. Some slippery fellow might even have asked Mr. Hoover blandly whether he was perhaps thinking of arresting the Rev. King under the new Civil Rights Act.

Three Leading Papers on J. Edgar

"The extensiveness of his list of hates and the intemperance of many of his utterances speak poorly for the clarity of his judgment. . . . It would be wise to let the mandatory provisions of the Federal retirement law take effect on Mr. Hoover's 70th birthday."
—*New York Times, Nov. 20.*

"Mr. J. Edgar Hoover hasn't been in the habit of holding news conferences, and his performance Wednesday suggests it may have been just as well for his reputation. He managed . . . to state as fact that 'no one' dares to walk in New York's Central Park 'even in the daytime'—a purported fact which would no doubt surprise the thousands of New Yorkers who use the park daily. . . . For the holder of one of the most sensitive posts in the government, the FBI director showed a cavalier recklessness with fact and fancy."
—*New York Herald-Tribune, Nov. 20.*

"Unaccustomed as he is to public criticism, J. Edgar Hoover customarily responds to its occasional expression by impugning the integrity, virtue or patriotism of his critics. . . . This kind of talk, if it came from any other bureau chief in the Federal Government, would be generally recognized as insufferable effrontery on the part of a public servant."
—*Washington Post, Nov. 21.*

Our Liberal Democrats More Timorous About Public Control Than England's Tories

Britain Far to The Left of U.S. on The Crucial Question of Steel

Britain is on the verge of nationalizing its private steel monopoly for the second time in little more than a decade. We have not begun to regulate ours. In comparison with our retarded politics even the British Conservatives look like left-wing radicals. As long ago as 1951 they renounced the idea of a free market in steel. They established a regulatory commission, the Iron and Steel Board, with authority to set maximum prices and supervise major investments. That's a good bit further than many of our liberal Democrats would be prepared to go even now. The steel debate in the House of Commons November 9 showed that the Conservatives have moved still further left. The main question for many was no longer whether to nationalize steel but by how much.

The London *Economist* framed the question similarly last May when it came out with reservations for "[public] ownership or control of part of the industry." Even the steel industry is not pressing for a return to unregulated competition. Its Iron and Steel Federation wrote recently that "in such a key industry as steel, the public has a right to know whether the activities of the companies accord with the public interest, and to ensure that they do." Our steel companies won't even let Congress see their costs of production. When Kefauver's Antitrust Committee tried to subpoena the figures in 1962, the companies simply refused.

Barrier To Full Employment

The need for some form of government control over steel is as great here as in Britain. There the main economic problem is a trade gap; here it is an employment gap. Solutions to both are linked with the price of steel since it is our most important industrial material. The high price of steel since the war has contributed to reduced demand and increased unemployment throughout the economy. Prof. Otto Eckstein, now on the Council of Economic Advisers and no great economic radical, told the Kefauver committee in 1959 that at least 50% of the wholesale price inflation in the 1950's was due to the steel companies raising prices when they should have been lowering them. The committee calculated that a price raise in 1957 had added $540 million to the cost of steel products and this was just one of three price increases within a year. Although Congress has investigated steel prices in no less than seven out of the last fifteen years, so far no member has been bold enough to offer a legislative remedy.

Steel pricing is too important to be left to the vagaries of presidential politics. Kennedy blocked an across-the-board price rise in 1962 but then permitted piecemeal increases on the sly. The logical place to tackle this problem is within the context of Sen. Clark's Planning-For-Full-Employment Bill. The original Full Employment Bill of 1945, before it was emasculated, authorized the regulation of monopoly prices. Sen. Clark should go at least as far in his bill. It would be gentle treatment for his steel mogul constituents in Pennsylvania when compared with the position taken by Britain's Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in his book, "The Middle Way". "The Socialist remedy should be accepted," he wrote, "where the general welfare of the economy requires that certain basic industries and services need now to be conducted in the light of broader social considerations than the profit motive."

Germany's Foremost Physicist Against MLF

"The relationship of the MLF to Germany and the German question is a painful problem for international politics. The Federal Republic is the only European country that gives the impression of really wanting the MLF. To the foreign observer there must appear a good reason for this. . . . The MLF seems to be the only way for the Federal Republic to come close to control over nuclear weapons. At the same time the Federal Republic is the only country in Central Europe that publicly raises territorial claims. The Federal Republic gives assurances in full sincerity that it will seek to achieve those aims peacefully. It is not in our power to eliminate mistrust in our sincerity. In these circumstances, the entire world, including even the West, must react nervously to Germany's approaching the status of a thermonuclear power."

—C. F. von Weizsäcker, the Reich's leading nuclear physicist in Die Zeit (Hamburg) Nov. 20.

Erich Fromm Believes U.S. Drive for MLF Played Part in Khrushchev's Downfall

"Khrushchev's fall has been explained as a result of his permitting the rift with China to become unbridgeable. The fact, however, which is hardly mentioned in the press, is that Khrushchev's failure can be understood only if we consider his total political strategy and our part in contributing to his failure. His aim was accommodation with the United States, thus securing his Western flank while facing a hostile China. . . . Khrushchev was afraid of the spread of nuclear weapons, especially among his two most dangerous opponents—China and West Germany. There are good reasons to assume that his concept of an accommodation with the United States included the aim to prevent (perhaps through the UN) the Chinese and West Germans from obtaining nuclear weapons. . . .

"Khrushchev did his best to achieve this aim. He stopped technical aid for the Chinese nuclear development. He made the important concessions to the United States of dropping his plan for a peace treaty with East Germany and political neutralization of East Berlin. . . .

"But when we had gotten this concession we went ahead to threaten him in a more vital area: the multilateral force which is likely to give West Germany a de facto possession of nuclear weapons, a Germany which has not relinquished its claims to the pre-war boundaries in the east. Thus Khrushchev's policy has led to a situation where the Soviet Union is threatened on both flanks—a political failure which would remove any leading statesman from his position in any country. . . .

"If the United States goes on with its plans for the MLF, the new leaders will be forced to seek an accommodation with China, and to follow an aggressive policy, or they will be replaced by a still tougher group. The next months may offer an opportunity of avoiding this by not going ahead with the MLF. Khrushchev's fall should be a lesson showing where further 'victories' in the cold war will lead."

—Erich Fromm, author of "May Man Prevail", in a letter to the Wash. Post, Nov. 19.

Could We Find A More Honorable Way Out Than to Give The Vietnamese Free Choice?

Gen. Taylor and His Chief Aides Make Some Revealing Admissions in Saigon

On the eve of Gen. Maxwell Taylor's return from Saigon and possible new decisions on Vietnam, much can be learned from a close and careful reading of the interview *Life* published Nov. 27 with him and the other heads of U.S. mission in that country. A good place to begin is with an admission by Deputy Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson. "This country," he said, "has never had any experience at government. During the whole period of their colonial administration, no independent political activity was permitted. This was also true, from 1954 to 1963, during the Diem period." This admits that our domination like the French was undemocratic. The "freedom" we claimed to be protecting was cold war rhetoric, not the reality of self-government.

Where We Look Totalitarian

To the peasants, Barry Zorthian of USIA admitted, the totalitarian side seemed to be ours, not the Vietcong's. When he was asked about the motivation on the Vietcong side, Zorthian replied that "only a small portion" were "hard-core Communist", that "many went over to the other side because of the Diem government, because of their reaction to what they felt were totalitarian methods under the Diem government. They have not perhaps been persuaded sufficiently to come back as yet. . . ." Perhaps a real offer of freedom would persuade them to "come back."

In the urban areas, Zorthian went on, "the appeal of a democratic form of government is a very strong one" and "part of the political unrest" is due to the fact that for the first time "educated Vietnamese" have a chance to "express themselves politically." He did not add that from all account what they are trying to express is their dissatisfaction with a civilian government of dodoes hand-picked by the military and completely under their thumb. It is a fraud, which only sharpens desire for the real thing.

If the Communist hard core of the Vietcong is small, if the desire for free government is widespread, why don't we try giving South Vietnam the freedom for which we claim to be fighting? If the majority want self-government, isn't the satisfaction of that desire the one way to win the majority from hard-core Communist leadership and to establish a stable regime? These questions were not put by *Life*. But they are there, between the lines. This is the one "option" we do not discuss. The "options" we prefer to talk about are forms of widening the war.

When Gen. Taylor was asked about these military "options" he gave the answer of an honest and troubled man. "These possibilities do exist," he said, "but they have their pros and cons. *I would add again that military action outside the country, just as pure military action inside the country, will not win.* (Our italics). We must restore a viable society within these provinces of South Vietnam." The real "crunch" is that a viable society means a democratic society and a democratic society will vote for peace and possibly a coalition government of national reconciliation. This is why we fear a democratic solution, and talk of bombing Hanoi instead. But isn't it worth the risk? Why not demonstrate our sincerity about self-government, challenge the other side to internationally supervised elections, and allow the Vietnamese a free choice? Could we find a more honorable way out?

Bulletin Board

To Norman Thomas, **homage on his 80th birthday: The main-stream of American life would have been a lot more stagnant but for his influence. We hope he is with us for many more years to come, an inspiration by his sense of humor, his magnanimity and his never flagging concern for human suffering everywhere . . .** To readers: **Many thanks for the flood of cards and notes on our recent ear operation, which forced us unfortunately to skip an issue. . . .** To indignant Californians: **Our election editorial had to be written before returns from their state later showed the shameful victory of racism in their housing referendum.**

Screening Communist Mail Propaganda from Abroad Held Contrary to First Amendment

"The Postmaster General and the Customs Bureau maintain 11 screening posts in the U.S. for the interception of 'communist political propaganda.' . . . The addressee is mailed POD Form 2153-X identifying the mail and advising him that it will be destroyed unless he signifies a desire to receive it. . . . In the instant case plaintiff . . . refused to sign the card and instead filed this suit. Thereafter the General Counsel of the Post Office notified plaintiff that the filing of this suit constituted an expression of a desire to receive [all such] mail. . . . In short, contrary to plaintiff's wishes, his name was placed on a list of people desiring to receive 'communist political propaganda.'

"Initially, defendants argue that this suit has been rendered moot by the aforementioned action of the General Counsel. . . . This same defense was raised, successfully, in Lamont v. Postmaster General, 229 F. Supp. 913 (1964). **We cannot agree with that distinguished court. . . . To render this case moot . . . is to approve a device which would enable defendants to prevent any potential recipient of mail originating abroad from ever testing constitutionality. . . . Furthermore, we think contrary to the court in** Lamont **that plaintiff may also assert the rights of third parties. . . . Persons interested in receiving political matter from abroad may be deterred from bringing suit . . . lest this be construed as expression of a desire to receive 'communist political propaganda.' The social stigma and economic injury they may suffer is very real. We do not think a person should be made to suffer social disapprobation in order to assert his constitutional rights. . . .**

"Similar lists under earlier non-statutory screening programs were routinely turned over to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. . . . Assurances by defendant that these practices have been discontinued cannot be reasonably expected to mitigate a person's reluctance to have his name associated with 'communist political propaganda.' There are no similar assurances that this information will not be made available in the future in view of the lack of a statutory requirement that [this] information . . . remain confidential. . . .

"The purpose of the new legislation was primarily to control, restrict and prevent the delivery of matter found to be communist propaganda, an infringement upon the dissemination of ideas and therefore a clear and direct invasion of First Amendment territory. . . . We are compelled to declare the statute unconstitutional on its face."

—Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, Nov. 17.

Endless Debates on Liturgy But The Question of Nuclear Weapons Shelved in 48 Hours

The Ecumenical Council as the "20th Congress" of Roman Catholicism

The Ecumenical Council, which has just closed its third session in Rome, is in a sense the "20th Congress" of Roman Catholicism. Khrushchev, who opened the windows at the 20th Congress and let in a little fresh air on the stagnant atmosphere of Stalinism, resembled in some ways Pope John XXIII, who within three months of ascending the throne of St. Peter, decided to call the first Ecumenical Council since 1870, and bring the Church "up to date." Both were men of the people, almost peasant types, with a sense of humor and good sense often absent in their bureaucracies.

We deal here with two dogmatic world systems, which owe their ultimate origin to the Jewish passion for social justice (one in Jesus, the other in Marx). Both have congealed into vast power structures, claiming infallibility through revelation. Both have the intrinsic intolerance of systems claiming to possess the one and only truth. Both are having slowly to adjust to man's instinctive desire for intellectual freedom.

A Sharp Contrast With Its Predecessor

Compared to the last Council in 1870 and to Pius XI who presided over it, the new Council shows a fresh wind blowing through the ancient structure. Pius XI, in his reign of 32 years, set himself like a Canute against all the tides of modernity. The achievement of his Council was an exercise in anachronism, the promulgation of Papal Infallibility. The sharpest contrast is on religious liberty, which Pius XI attacked along with all other forms of liberalism in his notorious *Syllabus of Errors.* In this Council only a last-minute maneuver by the Roman Curia, abetted by Pope Paul, who is no liberal, blocked a majority declaration for religious liberty. That, and a new majority declaration clearing the Jews of guilt for the Crucifixion, seem certain of adoption at the next session. The latter will help shut off a poisonous source of anti-Semitism.

Compared with the needs of the modern world, the Church's progress is snail-paced. The progressives failed to get a new stand on birth control, and asked in vain for the Church to recognize the right of conscientious objection in wartime. Most disappointing was the debate on nuclear weapons, when Bishop Hannan of Washington pleaded against their condemnation, especially when "small" and "clean." An Oriental Patriarch, Maximos IV, in opposing use of the atom bomb, asked the Council to imitate St. Ambrose, who barred the Emperor Theodosius from his Cathedral for having ordered the massacre of an innocent population. The Council resisted such romantic pleas. *Le Monde's* correspondent noted (Nov. 12) that after debating minor liturgical questions endlessly the Council disposed in less than 48 hours "of this most agonizing question for the whole of mankind"—by postponing action. Those prelates of the Church who believe even these horrible weapons may be used in a "just war" are not however alone. Except for a handful of pure pacifists, this is a doctrine on which all mankind, from Rome to Peking, seems to be achieving a unique and miraculous near-unanimity.

Pius XII's Fear of Hitler

The latest volume of German Foreign Office documents simultaneously released by the State Department and the British Foreign Office covers the 6 months from Hitler's attack on Russia to the end of 1941. One document (No. 309) made headlines. In it the German Embassy in Rome reported, "In his heart, one is assured time and again, Pius XII stands on the side of the Axis powers." The news stories did not mention that the same report added, however, that the Pope was unwilling publicly to take a stand against Russia because he feared "that after the defeat of Bolshevism, the Catholic Church, and indeed all Christianity, would, so to speak, go from the frying pan into the fire." The Italian Ambassador in Document No. 330 said Pius XII complained that "Germany was the first in making every effort to get along with Bolshevism, not the Holy See," a reference to the Hitler-Stalin pact. "If I should talk of Bolshevism," the Pope asked him, "should I then say nothing about Nazism?" The Pope deplored "that parody of Our Father" in which German children were taught to "thank Hitler for their daily bread" and said he had been "told long ago" that if Hitler won, he would "do away with the Vatican, because there was no place for it in the new European order."

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Eyewitness in The Congo, P. 2

President Johnson Shows His Anger Over War-Mongering Press Speculation on Vietnam

"Q. Mr. President, is expansion of the Vietnam war into Laos or North Vietnam a live possibility at this point?

"A. I think Mr. [Malcolm] Kilduff [assistant White House press secretary] reviewed with you yesterday the feelings of this Administration [when he advised the press not to expect "any great horrendous decision"]. . . . When you crawl out on a limb, you always have to find another one to crawl back on. And I have just been sitting here in the serene atmosphere of the Pedernales for the last few days reading about the wars that you have involved us in, and the additional undertakings that I have made decisions on, or that General Taylor has recommended, or that Mr. McNamara plans, or that Secretary Rusk envisages. . . . Some people are speculating and taking positions that are somewhat premature. . . . In retrospect, as you look back over your writings . . . they're somewhat similar. . . . I don't know whether you have a blacksheet that you take out and every time we have a meeting on it [Vietnam], rewrite it. But at Honolulu we had these dire predictions. . . . I anticipate that there will be no dramatic announcement to come out of these meetings, except in the form of your speculations." ***—LBJ at his ranch Nov. 28.***

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LBJ's Historic Opportunity for Peace

The crises in foreign policy which confronted President Johnson on his return to Washington may be summed up in one question. Is our objective to build a more stable world, or to dominate the earth? Whether we look at Southeast Asia, or at the Congo, or at the conflict in NATO over MLF, or at the split threatening the UN, we see stresses developed by U.S. insistence on having its own way. If it were possible to impose a *Pax Americana* on the globe, Roman style, the salutary end might justify the painful means. But the number of our missiles is a delusive measure of our power. These give us the capacity to destroy the world, but not to make it obey us. The Vietcong peasant with his home-made shotgun, the Congolese rebel with his spear, de Gaulle with his nuclear slingshot, illustrate difficulties our superiority in firepower, though fantastic, cannot overcome. We cannot impose our will on Asia nor on Africa nor on a recovered Western Europe. "We made a mistake in going in there," Senator Russell said of Vietnam after a visit to the LBJ ranch Nov. 25, "but I can't figure out any way to get out without scaring the rest of the world." What will frighten the world more is if we persist in wasting our strength trying to solve complex problems by military means. Nothing would reassure it more than to see us use our resources to take the leadership in a struggle of a very different sort, for a safer world.

A Wilful Horse

This is the choice the President must make. "Never since 1945," the British Left Laborite Michael Foot wrote in the London *Tribune* (Nov. 27) on the eve of Prime Minister Wilson's visit to Washington, "has an American President occupied a better posture from which he can launch a real initiative for peace." His electoral victory gives Mr. Johnson in the next few months a power for peace he is unlikely ever to have again. But to use it he has to exercise leadership of an unmistakable kind. The military, diplomatic and intelligence bureaucracies of this country's government, like most of its press, are geared to permanent cold war and rendered insecure by any turn toward relaxation of tension. Only a strong President, freshly elected by an overwhelming majority, can take initiatives which go against the grain of this mammoth apparatus. Mr. Johnson complained at his ranch last weekend of the warmongering in the U.S. press about Vietnam. His complaint was justified. But as an experienced Washington hand he also must know that these were planted stories intended to deprive him of freedom to decide freshly just what he wants to do.

As Mr. Johnson approaches his hour of decision, he cannot do better than remember the humiliating disaster to which John F. Kennedy was led at the Bay of Pigs in the very first months of a new Administration. The outcome demonstrated that the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the CIA for all their resources were incapable soberly of assessing the situation in a little country as close to us as Cuba. The same apparatus is now urging expansion of the war in Southeast Asia and deeper involvement in the Congo, which may easily become a second Vietnam. That Rube Goldberg device, the MLF, is another product of the same bureaucratic labyrinth, as is our collision course at the UN on the question of peace-keeping costs. Mr.

(*Continued on Page Four*)

As Labor's Left Sees MLF

"I regard with gloom the prospect of the first international act of the Labour Government having to go off to Washington to sign on as 'Tail-End Charlies' in an American nuclear bomber with a German co-pilot. . . . The present situation does not call for any immediate measures to strengthen NATO but rather . . . of how to get on with disarmament. . . . The crisis [in NATO] is being brought about by the fact that the U.S. wishes to appease the West German desire for nuclear weapons. . . . We should take our stand on the UN Charter and not on the military alliances. . . . Unless and until Germany agrees to accept her frontiers . . . we should be totally opposed to any more armaments for Germany. . . . We should give notice that . . . in case they go on with policies we consider provocative such as the MLF, we will start pulling our troops back from NATO . . . and using the money for our economic and social program at home."

—Konni Zilliacus in the House of Commons, Nov. 23.

We Repeat:

It May Not Be Shakespeare But It Sure Went to Our Circulation Mgr's Heart

Mrs. N.H., Valley Stream, N.Y., sent in her Christmas subs with the following jingle:

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A French Correspondent, Just Back From The Congo, on The Savagery We Don't Hear About

Tshombe Would Fall Without White Mercenaries and U.S. Arms Aid

By Emile Lejeune*

When I returned to Paris, I saw in a large evening newspaper, spread across 8 columns, a horrible headline: "Stanleyville Hostages Wait to Be Eaten". I did not recall that one could push indecency so far, nor that one could exploit horror to such a point. What the hostages feared was not cannabalism. It was death, and that was enough. Everything in this story is hateful: from the very idea of hostages up to the assassination by his own troops of the revolutionary chief who tried to stop the massacre of the whites.

One will never be able to say enough about the hideous senselessness of these murders. But one could at least demand that emotion make no distinction between victims of different color and that indignation not be so cynically selective. For in the course of the last four months I have seen planes strafe and burn dozens of villages. I have seen tens of thousands of peasants exterminated in the bush by the army of M. Tschombé. Their corpses are still there; the stench hangs over the streets and the fields of a ruined country.

Double Standard

Who cares? Only when the troops of General Olenga, commander of the *Armée Populaire* (termed "a band of rebels"), threatened to execute white hostages did the civilized world, as it is termed, notice that a savage war was raging in the Congo, one that did not spare civilians. No voice is ever raised in the Western world in favor of the Africans. Those elements of the Congolese army which swept through the Albertville area like a flaming lance set fire to all the villages in the region of Fizzi and of Baraka. That was the mission assigned them. They grilled alive all the men and women they encountered. These were their orders. Only the children were spared. No government intervened. There is one law for the Whites and another for the Blacks.

For six months the Tschombé government has stayed in power thanks only to white support. Only mercenaries, come from Rhodesia and South Africa for the pleasure of "cracking Negro heads", have made it possible ~~to~~ stop and then to push back the revolutionary wave. Tschombe's military adviser is a Belgian, Colonel Van de Walle. The planes which supply the regular forces are American, piloted by Americans. The pursuit planes which machine-gun and bombard the *Soumialist* troops and the villages which have joined the rebellion are American and piloted by anti-Castro Cubans. Massacred by the American and Belgian military, the insurgents threatened to revenge themselves on American and Belgian civilians. That's abominable, but it is not astonishing.

Where would the Congo be today without foreign intervention? It would probably be in the hands of the rebels. No force seems able to stop them. The Katanga gendarmes? For several weeks after his accession to power, M. Tschombe thought that he could make them the spearhead of the Congolese army. He was wrong: the gendarmes began by demanding their back pay. Then they asked an advance. Finally, they refused to fight. At Bukavu their weapons served to intimidate the street-walkers when the girls demanded pay.

Why make your livelihood in the risks of combat if you can do better by pillaging and by selling arms to the rebels? That's how they see it in the Congolese army.

Unable to wage pitched battles with their rudimentary weapons (which very often were not firearms), the troops of Gaston Soumialot are learning today in blood and fire the hard lesson of the Algerian and Indochinese peasants: how to wage guerrilla war. Thanks to these methods, Pierre Mulele has been able to defy the legal authorities for a year. M. Tschombé can win military victories, Belgian parachutists can retake Stanleyville, but peace cannot be reestablished that way any more than in South Vietnam. Achieving power after the murder of Lumumba by the grace of the mining companies; victorious, thanks to white mercenaries and foreign armies; rejected by the Organization of African Unity and by the third world as a whole, M. Tschombe has no way of rallying the Congolese nation to his banner.

The One Safe Way Out

"If the U.S. and Belgium continue to back Tshombe militarily, they will find themselves opposed not only by the Congolese rebels but by most of Africa. . . . There is only one way in which the Belgians and the Americans can extricate themselves from the present situation in the Congo and damp down the dangerous anti-Western feelings which are inflaming Africa. They should publicly identify themselves with the Organization of African Unity's insistence on a cease-fire in the Congo to be followed by political reconciliation. . . . They should then seek agreement with the OAU to secure the quarantining of the Congo from all foreign military intervention through a new initiative at the UN. . . . If the West genuinely proposes to disengage itself from the Congo, the Russians will support an OAU-UN initiative. Their own interests are involved in securing Western and Chinese disengagement."

—Colin Legum in The (London) Observer, Nov. 29.

*** M. Lejeune, just back from the Congo, wrote this for the splendid first issue of Le Nouvel Observateur (Nov. 26) the new French liberal weekly (10 rue des Pyramides, Paris 1er) edited by Jean Daniel, formerly of L'Express.**

Two Senators Warned Last August Against U. S. Intervention in the Congo Rebellion

"Mr. President, yesterday's announcement that the U.S. is sending 4 Air Force transports and 106 American fighting men, including 40 paratroopers, to the Congo arouses my apprehension. . . . Is this but the first of a series of steps? . . . Will it be followed by others which gradually escalate our efforts, so that ultimately we shall be involved in another undeclared war, as in Vietnam?"

—Stennis (D. Miss.) in the Senate Aug. 14.

"The news of increased U.S. involvement in the Congolese revolution is disturbing. . . . Already it appears that three Americans have lost their lives in the tribal rebellion in Kivu province. Before long more American lives are likely to be lost if our unilateral participation continues to increase. . . . The jungle of emergent African politics is marked with pitfalls for the unwary outsider."

—Mansfield (D. Mont.) in the Senate Aug. 21.

Mississippi Negro Farmers Unrepresented on Loan and Crop Committees

Secretary of Agriculture Promises Action on Rural Discrimination

A Negro's life in the rural South can be utterly wretched when U.S. farm programs are run by and for whites only. And that is just how they are being run in Mississippi. To give Washington a worm's-eye view of the problem, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee recently brought nine Mississippi Negroes here. Their stories, which they told at a little noticed public hearing, were so painful that they inspired a meeting at the Department of Agriculture with all its top officials, including Secretary Freeman.

"The White Man Takes Your Land"

Charles Dixon, who farms 27 acres in Holmes county, told why until this year he had not applied to the Farmer's Home Administration for a loan to build a new home for his wife and ten children. They now live in a one room building with three beds, two for four children each and "two in bed with me and my wife." "I was afraid," Dixon explained. "I didn't apply because I thought I would lose my land too. . . . All they [the FHA] want you to do is miss one payment, and the white man takes your land." No regular member of the 82 FHA county committees is a Negro, even though Negroes constitute 62% of the farm population, and committee members are appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

There also are no Negroes on the all-important Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation (ASC) committees. They administer the crop allotment program; that is, they decide how much of his land a farmer may plant. The ASC county committees are elected. When asked why he didn't vote this year, Dixon said he never received a ballot. Just last week in Panaloa county, the ASC chairmen tried to intimidate ten Negroes who had been nominated for places on the county committee. Four of them withdrew their names, but the Agriculture Department had three of the names restored.

The cruelest discrimination takes place in the Surplus Food Program. The food is supposed to go to impoverished families. Sometimes county officials don't request the food from Washington because they know 90% of it will go to Negroes. Some food items that are requested have a way of being sidetracked into white retail establishments where they are sold to the public. At the SNCC meeting, Fannie Lou Hamer, who ran for Congress on the Freedom Democratic Party ticket, testified that she had never seen butter among the surplus food although it is supposed to be there. When a relative of hers went to the local grocery store, he came back bearing a crate in which butter had been packaged. It bore the label, "U.S. Surplus Food—Not For Sale."

Speaking of Savages

"At least 50 persons were partner to the conspiracy to murder Mr. Schwerner, it is believed here. As for motivation for murder, it is suggested by some that the Klan mob was worked up to an embittered conviction that the state was facing an invasion by Yankee beatniks, Jews and other 'scum' and decided to make Mr. Schwerner an example. . . . Even today there are Philadelphians who say they cannot comprehend 'all this fuss over two Jews and a nigger.'"

—*Homer Bigart in the New York Times, Nov. 29.*

Secretary Freeman is said to have been shocked by some of these revelations. He committed his Department to remedial action. He already has ordered an investigation of the surplus food program. In addition, he promised to appoint Negroes to the three-man FHA county committees and to the state ASC committees in Mississippi. Similar appointments in the past have been selected from the ranks of "Uncle Toms." This time they will be chosen from a list drawn up by COFO workers. Freeman also promised to establish an Ad Hoc Negro Advisory Board to report on the administration of all the Department's programs. Each county will have one Negro advisor. They will meet every month, expenses paid, with a Department consultant in each of Mississippi's six congressional districts. The consultants will in turn fly to Washington for monthly meetings with the Secretary. Freeman is moving just in time. The Civil Rights Commission is about to issue a report on discrimination in his Department's programs. The test of his commitment will come January 1, the date on which appointments to FHA and ASC committees must be made. If he doesn't follow through, it will be a blow to the war on poverty. Rural Mississippi counties are among the poorest in the country.

A Half Century Ago Hoover Regarded the Negro Rights Movement With Suspicion

In his outburst about Martin Luther King, J. Edgar Hoover was running true to form. For nearly a half century Hoover has regarded the movement for Negro equality with suspicion.* Forty-five years ago Hoover was made chief of a new division in the FBI to deal with sedition. Among its earliest reports were two which dealt with "agitation" among Negroes. "The reds have done a vast amount of evil damage," said a report sent to Congress late in 1919, "by carrying doctrines of race revolt" to Negroes. A collection of articles from the Negro press was captioned, "Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes as Reflected in Their Publications." One quotation said, "The colored people . . . must arouse themselves to the fullness of their powers and inherent rights." Apparently Hoover regarded this as subversive.

With World War II, the Negro became strong enough politically to demand Federal enforcement of his civil rights. Hoover opposed this. In a letter to the Attorney General in 1946, he argued that the FBI was "expending a considerable amount of manpower" investigating crimes in the South "in which there cannot conceivably be any violation of a Federal statute." He felt it was "a mistake for the Department to accept for investigation so many of these cases."

Hoover's animosity to the Negro was again visible in the first public speech he made since the protests stirred by the press conference in which he attacked the Rev. King. In his "Sword of Loyola" award speech in Chicago Nov. 24 he pledged that the FBI would remain "objective in its investigations" and spoke of pressure groups "which would crush the rights of others under heel in order to achieve their own ends" and accused them of "carping, lying and exaggerating." A few more speeches of this kind and somebody's liable to award Hoover an honorary nightshirt.

** See Max Lowenthal's "The FBI" (1950) and Fred J. Cook's "The FBI Nobody Knows" (1964). Recommended.*

Germany's Socialists Are The Only Ones In Europe to Approve the MLF

(Continued from Page One)

Johnson has mounted a wilful horse, which can carry him off to one bad spill after another, if he does not make it clear now, who is the master.

A Fresh Look Before A Fresh Plunge

The country needs and deserves a fresh look at a whole series of stale situations. The same military and political advisers who persuaded Mr. Johnson to call the inglorious Diem "the Churchill of Asia" on his visit to Vietnam in 1961 would drag him deeper into that morass. The demonologists who continue to see the colonial upsurge as a Communist plot would commit us further to military support of Tshombe in the Congo against the will of all Africa. Never was a more complex tangle reduced to a more simpleminded melodrama than to represent the intricate tribal rivalries and elitist aspirations in the Congo as a long-range seduction from Moscow and/or Peking. The question in the Congo is not the right to rescue citizens in trouble, but the wisdom of policies which got them into trouble. Beginning last spring we identified the U.S. with Tshombe by placing U.S. planes and military men, "counter-insurgency" experts and the CIA, at his disposal in the savage war of extermination (See P. 2) he has been waging against rebellious provinces, a war that has made Americans hated in the Congo.

Above all the President needs to free himself from the imprisoning web spun by his bureaucracies on the MLF. Its rejection by Belgium, the attack upon it by the new British Prime Minister in the Commons last Monday, the statement by Chairman Chet Holifield of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that he has "grave doubts" about the project should warn Mr. Johnson that it faces a growing storm at home and abroad. Kennedy was dubious of this contraption. If Mr. Johnson wants to know why it creates such disquiet in both Western and Eastern Europe, let him ask his aides for a full report on the party conference held last week by Germany's Social Democrats. Behind the podium was a huge map of Germany in its 1937 frontiers; to achieve them would require war or atomic blackmail against Poland and Russia. Equivocal support was given the hopes of the Sudeten Germans for a return to the Czechoslovakia they dismembered with Hitler in 1938. (Anatole Shub from Karlsruhe in the *Washington Post,* Nov. 27.) When Max Brauer, the venerable former Burgomaster of Hamburg, pleaded with the delegates that the MLF "ghost fleet" would violate the ancient customs of the sea by pretending to be merchantmen (*Die Welt,* Nov. 27), his protest drew little echo. The conference voted for MLF though its opponents pointed out that this would mean that they would be the only Socialists in Europe to approve the project (*London Times,* Nov. 27). The scene must recall in both Belgium and the East how the majority German Socialists rallied to the Kaiser in 1914. Under cover of a cry about strengthening NATO, we are strengthening a revanchist Germany. In doing so we are blighting the hope of progress toward an easing of the arms burden and the war fear. "A defense policy which does not contain within itself the seeds of further progress towards disarmament," Prime Minister Wilson told the Commons last Monday, "is one which in the present state of the world, we can no longer regard as appropriate." These are the warnings and the voices Mr. Johnson should heed before he finds himself and the country propelled into a sea of troubles.

What Vietnam's Civilians May Not Understand

"Whatever the outcome of South Vietnam's war for survival the U.S. Armed Forces will emerge from it vastly better prepared to cope with guerrilla-type wars —the most likely sort of conflict in the years ahead. . . . There are now about 20,000 U.S. military men advising and training South Vietnamese forces. . . . Thousands more are likely to get their turns before that war is finished. It all adds up to a body of experience that may pay important dividends in future operations elsewhere. . . . All of this 'on the job' training has had its price—U.S. casualties in a three-year campaign are creeping toward the 2,000-mark in dead, wounded and missing. But for the first time in American history this Country may, as a result, be ready for new conflicts and military challenge with the weapons of the future rather than with those of past wars. The men on the line in South Vietnam understand this, though the civilian population may not."

—*Vietnam: Laboratory for War, in* The National Guardsman, *December, 1964.*

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HUAC (30 Years Old) Gets Roses and A Brickbat, P. 3

The Truth About the Vietnamese War As Seen By Our Experts on China's Doorstep

"Hong Kong—Hope that an accommodation with Communist China might provide an alternative to either the present effort or a military escalation in South Vietnam is regarded as wildly optimistic by most China experts here. . . . Even if Peking chose to call off the war in Southeast Asia, it probably lacks influence in Hanoi and among the Vietcong. . . . Even with Chinese moral support and the limited supply of arms and men from North Vietnam, the struggle in the South has been and remains largely a native Communist rebellion. . . The analysts here believe that in the event a policy decision is taken to cautiously escalate the war . . . and even puts the U.S. in a strong enough position to negotiate for a settlement, the bargaining would have to be done primarily with Ho Chi Minh, not Mao Tse-tung. In fact, Ho with his inherent Vietnamese distrust and fear of the Chinese is probably the man we should be secretly feeling out now and perhaps already are."—*Richard Critchfield in the Washington Star, Dec. 3.*

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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If Only Neshoba County Were In The Congo

If the U.S. felt as deeply about racist murders in Mississippi as it does about racist murders in the Congo, there is much it could do as a government and as a people. It would be utopian to expect paratroopers to be dropped on Jackson to protect Negroes endangered by a State virtually in rebellion as we dropped paratroopers on Stanleyville. It may not be possible even to force an impartial trial of the men arrested for the murders of the three martyred civil rights workers, Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney, a crime unpunished for six months, though the circumstances have been an open secret in the community, where their killing was cold-bloodedly arranged. But the Federal government, the Congress and the better conscience of the country have immediate means to act against the system of white supremacy which these murders, like countless forgotten others in the years since Reconstruction, were meant to enforce by naked terror. This is what could be done:

The Crime of 1890

The right of Mississippi's five Congressmen to their seats could be denied when Congress convenes next month until it has passed on the suits filed here a few days ago to contest their election. These suits call sharply to public attention for the first time in this generation that the State of Mississippi has been violating the conditions under which it was readmitted to the Union in 1870. One of those conditions was that the "Constitution of Mississippi shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizen of the United States of the right to vote who are entitled to vote by the constitution herein recognized." The words are those of the 1870 statute readmitting Mississippi to the Union. The constitution "herein recognized" was that of 1869 which granted the vote to all male inhabitants 21 or over who had resided in Mississippi for six months and were not insane. Since 1890, when there were 70,000 more registered Negro voters than whites in Mississippi, the State has embarked on a series of discriminatory election law changes which have reduced the number of registered Negro voters from 189,884 in 1890 to 23,801 in 1961. There could not be a clearer case of electoral fraud and racial oppression.

In three of the five Congressional districts, the seats are contested by three candidates of the Mississippi Freedom Party, Fannie Lou Hamer, Victoria Gray and Annie Devine. They claim that the elections held by their party were the only ones which conform to the non-discriminatory standards established by Congress when Mississippi was readmitted to the Union. Four years ago, in the election contest of *Roush v. Chambers,* the House by resolution refused to allow Chambers to take the oath of office though certified by the Indiana Secretary of State. Both men were given pay as Congressmen, office space and the privileges of the floor until the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections had reported and the House acted, when the contestant Roush was awarded the seat. There could be no better rebuke to the racist atmosphere which condones the killings of the martyred three than the passage of a similar "in all fairness" resolution when Congress convenes giving these three brave Negro women the privilege of the floor until their challenges have been decided. The effect, the world over, would be electric as a symbol of America's determination to see racial justice done.

The liberal "Study Group" in the House, which hopes to see its number increase to 175 with the new session, should

(Continued On Page Four)

Detente Preferred to MLF

We hope that on the eve of the Johnson-Wilson talks the White House noted two developments imperfectly covered in the U. S. press. One is the rising opposition in Congress to MLF: the latest dissents were those of Sen. McGovern and Reps. Brademas and Reuss—these two on their return from Europe reported even the Germans privately lukewarm to MLF. The other was the action taken by the Western European Union, the "Parliament of NATO." Its resolution for a European nuclear force, which our press represented as an endorsement of MLF, was passed only after all reference to MLF in it had been excluded; even then the vote was only 37 to 15 with 9 abstentions. But a resolution unreported here calling on the NATO powers "to make east-west arms control and the normalization of relations between European powers the overriding aims of their foreign and defense policies" (London Times, Dec. 3) was passed unanimously. The W.E.U. preferred detente to MLF.

What British Critics Said of The *Weekly*—

These were among the reviews which greeted "The Haunted Fifties", a collection of the best pieces from the first ten years of the WEEKLY, when it was published in England this year. What better gift for your friends than a subscription? You can send it to them at the special holiday rates on the opposite side of this flap and you can add a copy of The Haunted Fifties for yourself or them at only $4.95 additional. Just add that to your check.

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Ronald Steel in *The Observer*

"If *The Haunted Fifties* proves one thing, it is that in the United States of today, H. L. Mencken has an heir. As a live reporter, as a merchant of ridicule, as a pamphleteering pugilist, Stone is at the very top of the league."

Anthony Howard in *The New Statesman*

"It is not only the vivid language, however, that makes these pieces worth preserving in hard covers. It is also the attitude from which they are written. Whether digging out what scientists have to say about anti-missile missiles or what politicians have said before Congressional committees, Stone's aim is the same. It is to cut through the candy floss of official statements and conventional wisdom to the truth beneath. He is the dedicated enemy of liars, no matter where or what they are. He is a great journalist and a true disciple of Thomas Paine. This is a wonderful book for raising one's spirits."

Raymond Fletcher in *The Tribune*

"Mr. Stone is the main Washington gadfly. He dislikes and distrusts the American Establishment . . . he pulls no punches and plays no favorites . . . this is a lively and welcome book."

The Times Literary Supplement

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Former FCC Official Says It Promotes Instead of Regulating Telephone Monopoly

Break-Up of A.T. & T. Super-Giant (Into 35 Little Giants) Urged

For almost two-thirds of a century the government has tried to prevent the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. from monopolizing the nation's telecommunications. So far it has failed. A.T.&T. has become the world's largest corporation (*see box at right*) and is now about to put its only remaining nationwide competitor, Western Union, out of business. This prospect caused the Federal Communications Commission in 1962 to order a Domestic Telegraph Investigation. At hearings last month, Prof. Dallas Smythe, formerly Chief Economist for the FCC and now at Saskatchewan University, proposed a "final solution" to the A.T.&T. problem. He would break it into 30 to 35 separate pieces. Each of its regional companies would become independent. So would Bell Telephone Laboratories, A.T.&T.'s long distance operations, and Western Electric, which manufactures 90% of U.S. telephone equipment. Average total assets of the independent units would be approximately $800 million each!

AT&T = U.S. Steel + GM + Esso (N.J.)

"Bell System revenues in 1959 were larger than the combined national public revenues of Canada and Sweden. They were $2 billion larger than the combined national public revenues of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. They were $2 billion larger than the public revenues of Italy. . . . . . . To equal the total assets of the Bell System at the end of 1959, it would be necessary to add together the total assets of Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Motors and the U.S. Steel Corporation."

—Prof. Dallas Smythe, before the FCC, Nov. 4.

The Pentagon Speaks Up For A.T.&T.

This was heresy. A.T.&T.'s counsel urged that it be stricken from the record. Within the space of a few moments he managed to call it "scurrilous," "vituperative," "unsupported," "irrelevant," "unwarranted," "irresponsible," "frivolous," "abusive," and "defamatory." The Defense Department's spokesman supported the A.T.&T. objection. Smythe's testimony, he said, was "a discussion of law by a non-expert." We recollect a similar favor in 1956: A.T.&T. was permitted to ghost-write the letter that Secretary of Defense Wilson sent to the Justice Department recommending that A.T.&T. not be divested of control over Western Electric, a favorite defense contractor.

Smythe has been the only witness so far to recommend dissolution of the Bell System. Not too long ago such ideas were commonplace. Pres. Wilson's Postmaster General recommended public ownership of the entire telephone and telegraph industry. Congressional committees had reported favorably on the idea no less than 17 times. Instead the Justice Department chose to compromise. It required A.T.&T. only to divest itself of Western Union stock with the implicit understanding that it would stay out of the telegraph business. Today 42% of domestic telegraph revenue goes to A.T.&T.

The Hoover Commission reported in 1948 that "any real regulation of the telephone industry continues to remain a matter of statutory hope." Smythe's testimony shows how little has changed since then. The FCC, despite much congressional criticism, still sets most A.T.&T. rates on the basis of informal negotiations. All other federal regulatory agencies hold formal rate hearings. FCC officials conceded to *The New York Times* November 26 that "the negotiation procedure might yield slightly higher rates than those that could be established by a unilateral order." Smythe, who examined a transcript of the 1961-63 meetings, was more blunt. The Commission's attitude, he said, "is one of deference bordering on collaboration." The meetings are private. Industry presents its own witnesses, examines them, cross-examines Commission witnesses, if there are any, and calls rebuttal witnesses. "The telephone rate payers," he said, "get a species of star chamber treatment."

Sloppy regulation has permitted A.T.&T. to subsidize its expansion into the telegraph business at the expense of telephone users. This, Smythe said, can be seen from a comparison of earnings: a 10.7% return on private line telephone business but less than 2% on private line telegraph. This loss-leader pricing long went unnoticed by the Commission because it looked only at A.T.&T.'s overall rate of return, about 8%. The cost to the consumer of this and similar monopoly practices has never been adequately measured. It is impossible to know, for example, the price of telephone equipment in a competitive market when Western Electric has eliminated all competition. Since it controls Western Electric, A.T.&T. has little interest in reduced equipment prices; it can pass the cost on to the consumer. The abortive anti-trust prosecution in 1949 to separate Western and A.T.&T. concluded with the three participating federal agencies (Defense, Justice and FCC) all recommending the position taken by A.T.&T. That leaves only Prof. Smythe, and the American Communications Assoc. for which he spoke, representing the public.

Latest Cut In Telephone Rates Still $50 Million Less Than FCC Staff Recommended

The FCC's order for a $100 million cut in A.T.&T.'s long distance telephone rates will do more for the agency's public image than for the public itself. The inadequacy of the reduction has been pointed out in The Wash. Daily News (Dec. 1) by Rice Odell, the only Washington reporter who seems to speak critically of A.T.&T. The cut is supposed to lower A.T.&T.'s rate of return to 7 per cent, but the FCC's staff has repeatedly suggested that a 6.5 per cent return is adequate. The difference: $50 million a year.

It seems doubtful, Odell wrote, that the reduction will lower A.T.&T.'s earning even to 7 per cent. Normal growth in demand and the decreasing cost of electronic equipment have frustrated past attempts to reduce returns to this point. In 1963 the Commission ordered a similarly large reduction but earnings remained at 7.5 per cent. Twelve months later they were at 7.7 per cent and today are at 8 per cent or more. In 1959 the Commission ordered a $50 million rate reduction that also was expected to bring the earnings level down to 7 per cent. Instead, earnings were at a record 7.9 per cent in 1959.

As mild as the reduction was the reaction of Mr. Kappel, A.T.&T.'s Chairman. "The Commission has now insisted on rate reductions larger than we think justified," he said. But he offered, magnanimously, not to appeal the decision.

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After 30 Years, Isn't It Time To Abolish This Excrescence on A Free Society?

WSP Slyly Sends Flowers, and 100 Leading Lawyers A Brickbat, to HUAC

Anyone watching Channel 5 Sunday night Dec. 6 and hearing former President Truman describe the Un-American Activities Committee again as "the most un-American committee in the government" might have imagined it a thing of the past, linked as it was in that "Great Moments" show with a line of similar horrors back to the Salem witch hunt. But next morning there it was on Capitol Hill still in business. It had subpoenaed Dagmar Wilson and Donna Allen of Women's Strike for Peace and Russell Nixon of the *National Guardian*. Object: what happened when the two women visited the State Dept. in Nov. 1963 to urge an entry visa for Prof. K. Yasui, of the Japan Council Against the A and H Bomb. Yasui's subsequent lecture tour was sponsored by the *Guardian*.

You Can't Be Too Careful

After an all-day wrangle in which the witnesses refused to testify except in public session and the subcommittee* threatened contempt proceedings, it turned out that this was to be the tenth in a series of secret hearings begun last February to investigate "whether certain executive agencies of the government [Justice and State] in permitting by special waiver the entrance into the U.S. of aliens inadmissible under the Immigration and Nationality Act [i.e. persons suspected of Communism] are acting in accord with the security interests of the United States." The two women peace leaders later told reporters they were subpoenaed because they were the only two to go in person to the State Department to ask a visa for Yasui. The target of the investigation this time is not Women's Strike for Peace or the *Guardian* but State, a department HUAC (like McCarthy before it) regards with suspicion. It's just safer for discreet citizens not to go there.

Last time HUAC had Dagmar Wilson before it, the Committee didn't do so well. This time it wanted to hear her first in private. The executive session, in the long history of the witch hunt, has usually served not as a way of protecting witnesses but the committee. It provides a dress rehearsal. The three witnesses by refusing to testify except in open session put the committee on the spot since any contempt action must be filed before the year end. With Congress out of session, this requires action by the Speaker, McCormack. There ought to be pressure on him to refuse, especially since he and the late Congressman Dickstein of New York launched this monstrosity on its career just 30 years ago as the Dickstein-McCormack committee to investigate un-American propaganda. It was aimed at the Nazis but soon turned, in the hands of Dies of Texas, into an anti-New Deal smear factory.

Heart of the Abolition Petition

"The Committee on Un-American Activities . . . has attempted to create in the legislative branch a permanent institution, consisting of staff, files, informants and similar machinery, designed to serve as a bureaucratic Big Brother to censor the opinions and associations of American citizens. . . .

"We do not suggest the abandonment of all legislative machinery for investigation of matters pertaining to legislation necessary for assuring internal security. . . . Adequate authority for these purposes is already vested in . . . the Committee of the Judiciary (which) . . . now has jurisdiction over 'bankruptcy, mutiny, espionage and counterfeiting.' . . . In the event members of the House feel that the authority of the Committee should be clarified, however, this can readily be accomplished by amendment. In order to avoid perpetuation of the problems noted previously, such an amendment should make clear that the Judiciary Committee has power to investigate overt actions but not 'propaganda' or other forms of expression or association. . . .

"There remains the question of disposing of the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities . . . containing miscellaneous and often inaccurate data about millions of citizens. . . . Self-respecting citizens of a democratic country cannot allow their representatives in government to keep dossiers on their beliefs, ideas, political views or associations. . . . We recommend that the files be transferred to the Archives, not to be open for official or public inspection for 50 years."

—Petition for abolition of HUAC.

While Women's Strike for Peace, with sly and subversive femininity, flooded the hearing room and the corridors outside with flowers wired from all over the country (roses were individually offered to each subcommittee member but patriotically rejected), 100 constitutional lawyers hurled a formidable brickbat at HUAC: a petition (see box below) calling for its abolition. Thurman Arnold and Henry Steele Commager were among the distinguished signers. The time to act is when Congress reconvenes.

*** Two lame-ducks defeated in the last election, Johansen (R. Mich.), and Bruce (R. Ind.). The other two were Ichord and Poole (D. Tex.) who chaired the hearing.**

Swedish Double Agent Says We Began Mapping Soviet Bomb Targets 10 Years Before U-2

Some fresh revelations about the cold war were inadvertently supplied by the Senate Internal Security Committee in translating and releasing the testimony of Col. Stig Wennerstroem, recently convicted as a Soviet agent in Sweden. The testimony discloses that he began his spying activity as a U.S. agent with "a feeling of sympathy for NATO and an antipathy for the Soviet Union." The occasion for the shift in sympathies, he explained, "was that it became quite clear in my mind that the Soviet intelligence service was purely defensively oriented, while the American one was offensively oriented."

Wennerstroem testified that the U.S. began sending reconnaissance planes over the Soviet Union ten years before the U-2 spy-plane incident of 1960. The purpose "was to obtain information on bombing targets." He said the operation also made use of tourists inside Russia. When Soviet air defenses developed the range to hit these earlier spy planes, the U.S. resorted to higher-flying and unmanned balloons.

The Wennerstroem transcript also threw new light on the U.S. planes shot down along the East German border, the latest one last March. U.S. officials said they had strayed accidentally into East German territory. Wennerstroem testified they were using special radio equipment to contact secret agents inside Russia. The altitude permitted communication at longer distances than from the ground.

For 40 Days MFDP Counsel May Do What Justice Dept. Should Be Doing

(Continued From Page One)

declare this its No. 1 Battle. It will make a mistake if it limits itself to an attack on the seniority and party privileges of Mississippi's John Bell Williams and South Carolina's Albert W. Watson for having supported Goldwater. The White House is reported ready to forget and forgive such peccadilloes; if this is true, it will pull the rug out from under the liberals. But the issue of the Mississippi elections can be fought independently of the White House. Though the elections subcommittee is chaired by Ashmore of South Carolina and all but one of its Democrats is a Southerner, it must submit a recommendation to the House. If sufficient pressure is generated, it can be forced to hold hearings on the evidence which will be submitted to it. Under the rules governing such contests, the seats will remain in doubt at least until next July. By then the Supreme Court will have heard and may have decided the case of *U. S.* v. *Mississippi* in which the Justice Department is asking that all the discriminatory voter laws enacted by Mississippi since 1890 be declared unconstitutional. The laws attacked in the election contests are the same ones attacked by the government in its suit. This offers the House liberals powerful leverage.

A Hitherto Unused Weapon

Whatever the liberal Congressmen do, the election laws give the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party a novel weapon. Within 40 days of the filing (Dec. 3-4), the Congressmen must furnish their answers. Within the period of 40 days from *their* answer, which will begin in January, attorneys for those bringing the challenges are empowered by law to issue subpoenas and take sworn testimony from anyone in Mississippi who has information bearing on the alleged illegality of the elections. During that period volunteer teams of counsel can do what the Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Commission ought to be doing. The challenges rest in part on acts of terror to discourage the voter registration drive. Many of these are alleged against Mississippi law enforcement officers themselves. Such acts are a clear violation of the Federal civil rights laws even as most narrowly construed, and the interrogations should lay the basis not only for a successful election contest but for Federal prosecutions. Wm. Kunstler and Arthur Kinoy, counsel for the MFDP, have already served notice on the Attorney General and the Civil Rights Commission of their plans and asked that observers be assigned to go with these teams of lawyers, to pave the way for prosecution where warranted. During those 40 days much can be accomplished if enough volunteers and funds can be mustered. A memorial fund to the Martyred Three is being established thus to attack the racially stacked electoral system they fought against at the expense of their lives. (The MFDP's Washington headquarters, for the memorial fund and volunteers, is at 1353 U Street, Northwest).

Those whose consciences are stirred may also by letter and otherwise bring pressure directly upon the White House (1) to make sure that the FBI and Federal marshals provide protection to the lawyer-teams in the election challenge and (2) speed up action under the new regulations for withholding Federal funds from communities which practice segregation. This is what Mississippi most fears.

Bulletin Board

We hope California readers will give utmost support to the students at Berkeley; college students willing to fight for free speech and association are all too rare on today's campuses. . . . We deplore the resignation of Ronald Hilton as director of the Hispanic American Report at Stanford and the end of this irreplaceable source of information on hemispheric affairs. Hilton was the first to expose the training camps in Guatemala for the Bay of Pigs invasion; his was an independent and sympathetic Latin American scholarship all too rare in the U.S. . . . A distinguished reader, Erwin Panofsky of Princeton, asks us to correct the error in the Nov. 30 issue which referred to Pius XI when Pius IX was meant. We regret the injustice to a Pope, "I and many other scholars of my generation," Dr. Panofsky writes, "fondly remember as Mons. Achille Ratti, the kindly and ever helpful prefect of the Ambrosian Library in Milan." . . . We salute the death at 80 in Philadelphia of David Levinson, a lawyer who fought all his life long for justice to the oppressed.

For the Way to Peace in Southeast Asia See IFS in the New York Review of Books Dec. 17 (250 W. 57th St. NYC 35c).

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Morse Sees Goldwaterism in Vietnam Policy, P. 3

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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The Early Distant Warning Out of the Congo

United Nations, N.Y.

It is a pity more Americans could not have seen the events of the past week through African and Negro eyes from the vantage point of the UN debate on the Congo. The summary dismissal of charges against the accused killers of the three civil rights workers in Mississippi, the refusal to hear the confession by one of the accused, could not have come at a more terrible moment. Mr. Botsio of Ghana, on the opening day of the Congo debate, had already told the Security Council that under international law the U.S. was no more entitled to intervene in the Congo than Ghana in the American South where "Afro-American inhabitants" are "from time to time tortured and murdered for asserting their legitimate rights." Next day came the news from Meridian, like a flash of lightning before a storm, revealing sharply the true lineaments of the racial landscape, with the colored man everywhere a creature of lesser concern, even to white men of good will.

Their Common Bond

Nothing could be more unwise for our country than to treat the Congo debate as another inning in the cold war, calculating its effects on the UN dues quarrel and China membership issue, as if following a familiar sporting event on a score-card. The protests to the Security Council were downgraded in our press as coming from "left-leaning" African states, the implication being that ideology explained it all. This is dangerous self-delusion. The common bond that unites Negro and Arab, African and Asian, Hindu and Chinese, and the whole underworld of mixed blood in Latin America, is the all too fresh recollection of humiliation at the hands of the white man. This is what the Congo episode stirred up and this is something they do not need to read about in pamphlets from Peking. There never was a sharper cleavage at the UN between white and colored than on the Congo question. Intervention to protect lives and property—gunboat diplomacy—has too long been the traditional excuse of imperialism in Latin America and Eurasia. The Western plea of humanitarianism created solidarity among those accustomed to being regarded as not quite human. Suddenly Africa was talking about Mississippi and Cuba, as if in a world-wide colonial and racial upsurge.

Mr. Beovagui of Guinea protested to the Security Council that the U.S. and Belgium had tried for weeks before the rescue at Stanleyville to impose a military solution on the Congo while the African States were seeking to bring about a political reconciliation. He complained that white mercenaries "under the protection of U.S. military planes piloted by Cubans recruited and financed by the U.S.—soldiers of fortune trying to redeem their fiasco in the Bay of Pigs" had massacred Congolese civilians and "bombarded cities held by the forces of the National Liberation Front . . . as in Albertville and Bakavu" without stirring any indignation in the West. "Was it," he asked, "because the thousands of Congolese citizens murdered by the South Africans, the Rhodesians, the Belgians and the Cuban refugee adventurers had dark skins just like the colored U.S. citizens murdered in Mississippi?" This is a bitterness we would do well to heed. The debate was a Distant Early Warning Line on which we may hear in time the approach of a conflict more serious than the anti-Communist cold war with which we continue to be obsessed. Mississippi, Rhodesia, South Africa and Brazil each in their own time and their own way may bring about a new polarization between white and colored, rich and poor, threatening a war in which our ICBM's would stand impotent, a war from which all mankind would lose.

View from The Lower (and Darker) Depths

"The most pressing problem, as far as my government sees things, is that of poverty. . . . The poor cannot be persuaded to wait. They are no longer politically illiterate either. They do not have to be educated to listen in on their own or their neighbor's radio sets telling them, with a great deal of vanity, about the staggering sums of money misspent on this or that scheme—I need not mention nuclear weapons, studies of outer space and what-not, things which do not help people to live happily or become human beings in the strict sense of the word, things which will only add to the destruction of civilization. . . . And poverty nowadays seems to be the lot of the colored. A most alarming phenomenon. The indignity they suffered over the centuries is receding, but their political emancipation was only the first step on their long road to redemption in the fullest sense of the word."

—Mr. Maghoub (Sudan), in UN Gen. Assem. Nov. 10

We exaggerate the divisions among the African States. Senegal, with Liberia and Nigeria, is counted "on our side." The speech made by Mr. Thiam of Senegal to the General Assembly a week earlier should put us on guard against such over-simplifications. Mr. Thiam did indeed address some perceptive advice to his fellow Africans. "Very often," he pointed out, "it is we ourselves who start the cold war in our countries. Because of internal rivalries between men and different political tendencies, we invite others to interfere in our domestic affairs." He said interventions are approved or condemned, depending on whether they were from Washington or Moscow, without concern for the principle of non-intervention, "bringing into question our independence and our sovereignty." But Senegal's spokesman is no Western mouthpiece. He opposed expulsion of the Soviets on the debt issue. He warned that the chaos in the Congo was a preview of what would happen in Angola unless Portugal unlike Belgium began to train native cadres to take over. He ended by touching on issues more fundamental than color: the con-

(Continued on Page Four)

The fight for peace
Is entering a crucial stage—
Vietnam today, the Congo tomorrow
Perhaps a new Cuban invasion
The day after,
Make it essential to build up
An informed public pressure
For peace.
How few readers in this country
Will see the Morse warnings on
Vietnam we print on page two—
Or get our fuller coverage on African
Bitterness over the Congo?
We are among the slim handful
Of publications which provide
Such information.
What better way to advance
The cause of peace on earth
Than to widen their audience
And ours?
Use the flap on the reverse side
To make your holiday giving
Meaningful for peace.
Instead of wasting it on nonessentials.

I. F. Stone

The New Gore-Ribicoff "Dynamic Cost-Sharing Plan" A Hidden Snare for The Aged

Time to Challenge Timid Liberals For A Stronger Medicare Program

The number one item on President Johnson's legislative agenda should not be to pass medicare but to re-write it. The version the Senate approved last August is not merely inadequate; it is a fraud. In the closing moments of that debate Senators Ribicoff (*D., Conn.*) and Gore (*D., Tenn.*) quietly added a provision that makes the aged and not the government responsible for paying future increases in the cost of hospitalization. The provision is delicately being called "The Dynamic Cost Sharing Plan." We asked an actuary at the Social Security Administration to translate that for us into dollars and cents. This is what we learned:

Upping The Costs For The Aged

Hospital costs are increasing at the rate of 7% a year. At this rate they will double (from $40 to $80 a day) within ten years. Because of cost "sharing," the aged will then be paying for hospitalization under medicare what they are now paying for it without medicare. Social Security now taxes only the first $4800 of a worker's wages. If Congress chooses to increase this wage base to keep up with the 4% annual rise in wages—something which it has refused to do for the past several years—then the benefits of medicare will still be negated though in fifteen years, instead of ten. The objective of cost sharing was to pacify Rep. Wilbur Mills (*D., Ark.*), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. He has been arguing that because hospital costs are rising so rapidly medicare would soon bankrupt all social security programs. Mills is right, but the solution lies not in further pauperizing the aged but in attacking the problem of hospital costs.

This is what the liberals in Congress have been too timid to do. Medicare in fact will probably cause costs to spiral at a rate higher than 7% a year. Like Blue Cross, Blue Shield and most commercial plans, it is a hospital-centered program: it provides benefits (except for some home care) only for hospitalization or for nursing-home care after hospitalization. This encourages over-utilization of hospitals and higher costs. Reformers in the medical field have long been urging more treatment of patients "on the hoof rather than between the sheets." But the insurance plans have generally refused to offer more comprehensive coverage out of deference to the wishes of the hospitals and doctors.

More comprehensive health insurance is a matter of lives as well as money. The just released report of the President's Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke stresses the importance of early detection in combatting these three greatest killers. (They account for about 7 out of every 10 deaths.) Almost three out of four strokes can be detected before they occur and many can then be prevented. So can many forms of heart disease and cancer, if they are detected early. What the Commission does not say is that the entire system of hospital-centered health insurance discourages early detection. Most people go to hospitals only when already ill. Preventive medicine requires a health insurance system that encourages periodic check-ups by paying out-of-hospital physician fees. This in turn may mean paying doctors a fixed salary.

There never was a better time for a comprehensive medicare bill. Inside the House Ways and Means Committee the Southern Democrat-Republican alliance that bottled-up medicare is about to be broken. Speaker McCormack has given his approval to a plan for increasing the Democratic representation from 15 to 17 and reducing the Republican from 10 to 8. Provided the two Democratic appointments are liberals, the Southern Democrat-Republican alliance will be reduced from a majority of 13 to a minority of 11. Instead of pressing this advantage, some liberals are urging further compromise.

On December 11, Senator McGovern proposed "give and take conference sessions" with the AMA. Somebody should remind him that the AMA announced at its last meeting that it will not compromise. And somebody should remind the AMA that their House Of Delegates once indorsed a compulsory national health insurance program. "The time has come when we can no longer resist the social movement," its Board of Trustees reported in 1916, "and it is better that we should initiate the necessary changes than have them forced on us."

While the Sick Are Neglected

"'We face so many real threats,' Dr. Brown said, 'that we can't afford to occupy ourselves with imaginary ones.' Among the 'imaginary threats' of the last few years was the mythical bomber gap and the prospective missile gap that never materialized. These false alarms caused the U.S. to invest billions in the DEW Line, liquid fueled ICBM's and other devices that are now either obsolete or of little value."

—Dr. Harold Brown, Director of Defense Research at the Pentagon, New York Herald-Tribune, Dec. 6.

COFO Volunteers Explain How HUAC Aids The White Supremacist in Mississippi

"HUAC and similar legislative investigating committees have been libel-free centers for false accusations; they have dignified irresponsible smears as 'official' government findings. They have thus promoted among the white community in Mississippi the belief that civil rights protest is synonymous with subversion and treason. The Mississippi press and public officials consistently smeared participants in the 1964 Summer Project; they relied primarily on HUAC 'citations' for their smears.

"The pervasive feeling among white Mississippians that the civil rights movement is 'red-inspired' enables Mississippians to dismiss civil rights as illegitimate, to avoid admitting the existence of the intolerable conditions of the Mississippi Negro which give rise to such protest, and to rationalize violence and economic intimidation against civil rights workers as 'patriotic acts'."

"Having witnessed the workings of a closed society—where the First Amendment is not operative, where white as well as Negro is labelled 'subversive' if he dissents—we feel more deeply the need to oppose threats to free speech and free association in the rest of the country. HUAC, condemning ideas and associations as 'Un-American', is the fountainhead of the threat to an open society. HUAC denies what we went to Mississippi for."

—Petition To Abolish HUAC, signed by 142 workers in the Mississippi Summer Project, Dec. 10.

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The Senate's No. 1 Peace Champion Sees Vietnam as LBJ's "First Great Test"

Morse Fears Johnson Administration Swinging Toward Goldwater Policy

By Senator Wayne Morse[*]

A few weeks ago, people laughed when Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater talked blithely of "interdicting" the routes from North Vietnam into South Vietnam, especially by use of chemicals and radiation to defoliate the trees that conceal the jungle trails. But today there is every evidence that the American Ambassador has returned to Saigon from Washington with something very similar to the Goldwater prescription for the civil war in South Vietnam. A traditional signpost that points to this conclusion is the increased emphasis upon infiltration of men and supplies from North Vietnam through Laos into South Vietnam. This new emphasis is in total contrast to the previous official testimony on this point presented to the Foreign Relations Committee. In fact, no new evidence has been offered to change the assessment that the great bulk of the Vietcong rebels were local residents, that close to 90% of their weapons were captured from government sources, and that their civil war would continue whether or not it received aid or leadership from North Vietnam.

Mistake Admitted But Perpetuated

But the 100% expansion of the South Vietnamese Air Force and the drumbeating in both Washington and Saigon about alleged infiltration from North Vietnam, suggest to these experienced ears that air attacks by U.S. jets flown by U.S. and Vietnamese pilots will soon commence in Laos, as they may already have begun in the de-militarized zone of North Vietnam. One of the most astonishing elements in the discussions of this policy is the number of Washington officials who will tell you that getting into South Vietnam was a hideous mistake, but once involved we have no choice but to continue.

It has cost American taxpayers $5½ billion, exclusive of the cost of our own forces, to try to keep a Western foothold in Southeast Asia. Journalistic spokesmen for the Defense Department are vehement in declaiming that to lose our foothold in Vietnam is to lose all we fought for in the Pacific in World War II. Nothing is further from the truth. Before World War II, the most we ever had was the Philippines, which we voluntarily relinquished in 1935 and formally freed in 1945. Since 1945, we have maintained base rights in the Philippines, as in Japan; and we have kept a base in Okinawa, won by conquest. Our present "foothold" in South Korea is a legacy of World War II, not its objective.

Bombing Supply Lines Futile

"All this talk about blocking Communist supply routes to the Viet Cong operating in South Vietnam with bombs indicates one thing: Somebody has not done his homework on the effectiveness of air assault against supply lines in Korea—or World War II, for that matter. As any Korean veteran can tell you, the Red Chinese sustained a million-man army at the far end of a 300-mile supply route in the teeth of the best aerial effort the U.S. could mount. . . . There were 8 highways leading from Manchuria south to the 38th parallel and for a solid month aircraft from the Air Force, Marines and Navy plastered all of them. . . . The Chinese simply used manpower to make temporary road repairs at night and quickly moved their trucks under cover of darkness. . . . By the time the all-out assault was brought to a halt—no targets left apparently—there was no indication that the fighting abilities of the Chinese troops had been drastically impaired. They were still able to mount an offensive in which they could fire as much as 100,000 rounds of artillery ammunition in one 3-day fight."

—Bem Price, AP, in Wash. Post, Dec. 13.

What these Defense Department spokesmen really have in mind are not the strictly American footholds and bases in that part of the world but the whole network of French, Dutch and British possessions that in World War II were freely used by Americans in the prosecution of the war against Japan. The possibility that these staging areas should no longer be available for use at our pleasure vis-a-vis China is for many of them so unthinkable that they believe it is worth a war to retain at least one of them.

It still is not too late for President Johnson to lead the American people out of this morass. Whether he leads us out or further in will be the first great test of his Administration.

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[*] Abridged from a speech in Denver, Dec. 11.

The AP's No. 1 Man in Saigon Reveals How The News From Vietnam Is Prettied Up

"Frequently, sins of dishonesty by the Vietnamese were compounded by U.S. officials. As a trivial case in point, the Viet Cong released two U.S. Army prisoners on May 1, 1962, after holding them in the jungle for several weeks. The idea that the Communists would voluntarily release prisoners ran counter to the Saigon propaganda line, and its information directors let it be known that a detachment of Vietnamese had overwhelmed a Viet Cong camp and liberated the Americans. This statement, with details about the valor of the government unit's commander, was passed along to correspondents by the U.S. military information office. Some news stories spoke of the government troops "slashing their way into a Viet Cong camp," and made the whole thing sound like a cowboy movie, in which the good guys wiped out the bad guys.

"A few of us smelled a rat. The Viet Cong had never before let themselves get surprised into a jam like that, and it seemed an odd coincidence that the Americans were freed on May 1—a big Communist holiday. It turned out later that the Viet Cong had not only released the two men, but had sent a squad of escorts with them to make sure they got into no further trouble on the way back. . . .

"For a long time, U.S. information policy tried to avoid publishing American battle casualties. On one occasion, U.S. military authorities reported to newsmen that an Army enlisted man had 'slightly injured his arm' on 'a training exercise with Vietnamese troops, when he accidentally tripped over a wire.' But about one week later I learned that the man involved was a sergeant friend of mine, and I looked him up at the hospital. It turned out that he'd been on patrol with Vietnamese troops, all right, and he had tripped over a wire. He had tripped because the wire was connected to an electrically detonated Viet Cong land mine, which had blown away half his elbow."

—Malcolm Browne, the AP's senior correspondent in Saigon, in Columbia Journalism Review, *Fall, 1964.*

Adlai Could Not Have Made A More Feeble Reply to Che Guevara

(Continued from Page One)

tinued fall in the raw material prices on which the ex-colonial countries depend; the damage done them by the one-crop economies imposed under imperialism; "the elementary duty of justice and humanity" which requires the ex-colonizers "not to go away and leave us to pay the bill"; the need for "a new organization of our planet based on a new ethics." This was man's better conscience speaking through Africa.

Savagery—After Auschwitz?

Mr. Spaak of Belgium defended his country with eloquence. He said he would not attempt to give lessons to black men because after Buchenwald and Auschwitz the white man had no right to give lessons in humanity. He said that in the Nairobi talks, the representative of the rebels had demanded a cease-fire, which Belgium and the U.S. could not obtain because the Leopoldville government opposed it. But Tshombe was put into power by Belgium and the U.S. They could have put pressure on him if they were not themselves opposed to a peaceful settlement which would bring the rebels into the government. Spaak was on stronger ground when he discussed the people Belgium had rescued. He said these were the technical assistants, the professors, the veterinarians, the doctors for whose services the Congo had asked. "They went to the Congo at our request," he said, "and it was because we had a special responsibility toward them that we had to make a special effort in their behalf." How could Africa get the white technical aid it needed if they were to become the hostages of internal struggle?

But one felt that the quarrel had reached that blind stage where neither side hears the other, and each is more concerned with his own grievances than in squarely meeting the issue. The Belgians felt aggrieved that after being asked to come back they were being mistreated and denounced. The Africans remembered Leopold and the horrors of his Congo Free State; this is but yesterday for them. They recalled how the CIA had connived in the overthrow of Lumumba, the Congo's one national leader, and picked that clown, Mobutu, as our strong man. They regard Tshombe as Lumumba's murderer and our puppet and feel as a slight on all of them the headlines about a cannibalism that never occurred. In their rage they forgot that their own savagery to each other in the Congo was worse than anything the white man had done to them.

That Two Deaf Nations May Hear Each Other

Except for the writer Edgar Snow and relatives of Americans imprisoned in China, Dr. Samuel Rosen of New York is the first American in 10 years to be cleared by both sides for a visit to that country. There is a gratifying symbolism in this. This distinguished ear surgeon discovered and perfected the "mobilization of stapes" operation for deafness. Both China and the U.S. need to hear each other again. Dr. Rosen has taught his technique in 27 countries including Egypt and the Soviet Union, where five doctors he instructed have been awarded Lenin Prizes. Dr. Rosen was first invited to China two years ago by its medical association but then the State Dept. said "no." The invitation was renewed last spring, and has not only been approved now but the story was given out by State. We hope it is a harbinger of better relations. Dr. Rosen's favorite proverb is, "If every man would mend a man, the world would soon be mended." He lives by it. We might add, as a grateful postscript, that it was he who operated recently on our right ear, with results that promise to be near-miraculous. We hope to have the other done when he returns.—IFS

There never was greater need for the voice of reason. The debate may cost Africa aid it badly needs from the U.S. Congress. The news from the Congo will not make it easy to recruit the technicians it requires. Che Guevara in his green fatigues, symbol of the guerrilla fighters against whom the West has proven powerless, suited the mood of the moment and was given an ovation by the Afro-Asians after a revolutionary speech even the Chinese might have thought a bit sweeping. He was escorted out of the hall by a throng of admiring blacks. Mr. Stevenson could not have made a more foolish reply than calling Guevara "a man with a long Communist and revolutionary record in Latin America." In that atmosphere it sounded to the Europeans as a feeble echo of McCarthy and to the embittered Afro-Asians as a positive accolade.

Dec. 13, 1964

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Happy Holidays to All Our Readers

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NEWSPAPER

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Our Last Chance in The Congo, Pps. 2-3

The New Year Begins With Two Hopeful Harbingers for A More Peaceful World

The two most hopeful events in the week before we went to press were grossly underplayed in the press. One was the news that the State Department was closing down its special office for the MLF; its head, Gerard C. Smith, had already left the government. This marks the end of the campaign for this nuclear monstrosity. The other was the announcement Dec. 30 by Senator Russell of Georgia that the Senate Armed Services Committee he heads would hold hearings soon on Vietnam and the Congo. "It would be nothing less than a tragedy," he said, "for us to go and get involved in the Congo as we are in Vietnam." Of Vietnam he remarked, "I thought we made a terrible mistake in getting involved" and he said "the time is about at hand when we must reevaluate our position." President Johnson likes to "touch bases" with key figures in the power structure before embarking on major policy changes. Russell was at the LBJ ranch Nov. 25. This is no longer Morse and Gruening calling for peace from the periphery of the Senate. This is the most powerful figure in the Senate establishment speaking.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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LBJ's Great Society—and Mrs. Fannie Hamer's

The first full Johnson Administration has made an auspicious start. Even before the Inaugural, there were reassuring portents for better international relations: the deflation of the campaign for an MLF, the discouragement of plans for widening the Vietnamese war, the announcement that we would negotiate a new treaty with Panama. The Inaugural set a useful precedent in picking prime TV time for the President's message; there is no reason why that communications wasteland should not be commandeered more often. The President's diction and delivery have improved, as has the style, though it dragged a little toward the end with repetition. The one sentence which reached a truly high level was "We seek the unity of man with the world he has built." The passage which was most revealing and touching, amid so much that was corn, came when Mr. Johnson said the President's hardest task was not to do what was right but to know what was right. "Yet," he added sadly, "the Presidency brings no special gift of prophecy or foresight." This was the man himself speaking.

The Potential for Peace

The latest Louis Harris poll (Washington Post, Dec. 28) shows how strong is the potential support the President can muster if he moves toward peace. The poll showed: people favor negotiations with the Communists almost 3-to-1; 83% favor the test ban treaty with Russia and 74% would negotiate a world-wide ban to include Communist China; by more than two to one, people oppose war with China or Cuba, and only 9% think war inevitable. On policy toward the new Russian leaders: 55% were for trying to negotiate with them, 13% favored "getting tougher," 32% wanted to wait and see. Peace was the biggest issue of concern (65%) followed by race problems (43%) jobs and prosperity (26%). Only 7% thought "Socialism, Communism at home," the mainstay of the witch hunters a No. 1 concern.

No Mention of The Arms Race

In the sphere of foreign policy, the Inaugural recalled the cautious Eisenhower more than the combative Kennedy. Mr. Johnson is taking up where Eisenhower left off with the U-2 incident. His invitation to the new Russian leaders to visit here, communicated in advance of delivery to the Soviet Embassy, opens the door to that first Presidential visit to Russia which Ike originally discussed with Khrushchev at Camp David. The Communist menace, that standby of the past two decades, was subtly subordinated at least in Eastern Europe to "older and deeper sources" of world unrest. "In Asia," Mr. Johnson said, "communism wears a more aggressive face." We hope the time will come when U.S. policy recognizes that the more aggressive face we see in the Far East is in substantial degree the mirror image of the aggressive face we steadily turn toward it. The friendlier face in Eastern Europe is largely a reflection of our own. The discussion of Vietnam continued the sham that we are only there to help a friendly nation against outside aggression, but mercifully it was brief and left the door open for more flexible policy in the future. The one distressing and perhaps historic omission was the absence of any reference to the arms race; we have settled down comfortably to our annual $50 billion dollar pump-priming war expenditures and Mr. Johnson is not one to disturb the comforts of the status quo. His is a prudent and peripheral idealism.

This was evident in his domestic program. He recalled—in his buoyant optimism about U.S. business—the inaugural of Herbert Hoover, which promised two cars in every garage and two chickens in every pot. There was the same naive confidence that our business civilization is the best of all possible worlds, which needs only to be cleaned up around the edges to become the Great Society. The most revealing passage was the President's call for "a new and substantial effort . . . to landscape highways"—those highways onto which General Motors and Ford can pour ever more cars at the fabulous 20% or more they earn on net worth. But what happens to prosperity when these roads are hopelessly clogged? There was no recognition in the Inaugural of those tougher problems before us if full employment is to be achieved in the shadow of automation and profit-maximizing administrative prices in our basic industries. Mr. Johnson spoke of "relentlessly" pursuing "the conquest of space." This makes new millionaires in Houston but there is still

(Continued on Page Four)

UN's New Resolution Offers A Peaceful Way Out of the Congo Civil War . . .

The ideal solution for the Congo would be a United Nations trusteeship administered by the non-aligned nations; it is obviously unready for independence and self-government. But the Africans would never accept this. The second best solution would be an agreement between East and West to keep hands off the Congo while the African states bring into being a government of national reconciliation to hold fresh elections when its various rebellions have died down. The Congo needs Western technicians and Western capital; these now operate in other independent African States; they could operate safely in the Congo, too, were the Western powers honestly to keep hands off and end their constant intervention in Congolese politics.

The Usual Vendetta Spirit

The resolution on the Congo passed by the Security Council at the close of the year, after three weeks of acrid debate, could be the framework for such a new start. As usual, the spirit of East-West vendetta has obscured the constructive aspects. Our press has focused on the Western victory in amending the original resolution to take out of it the condemnation of the Western powers for the Stanleyville operation. The rest of the resolution is being dismissed in a tide of cynical inspired stories.

But to treat the resolution as nugatory is to increase distrust of the Western powers in Africa, and disillusion with the UN. The resolution was passed 10-0, only France abstaining. The U.S. and Britain voted for it. Will their governments treat that vote as an empty gesture in an international comedy, or will public opinion in both countries force them to pay some attention to the action pledged? The resolution, wisely considered, offers the West the advantage of putting the Congo up to the Organization of African Unity. It appeals for a cease-fire in accord with the OAU's resolution of last Sept. 10; it requests all States to desist from intervention while the OAU pursues its efforts to achieve a government of national reconciliation and—most important of all, as a token of good faith—it "considers" in accordance with that same OAU resolution "that the mercenaries should as a matter of urgency be withdrawn from the Congo."

Just A Fine Bunch of Fellows

"One may also hope he has heard the last slurring reference in the UN and elsewhere to the 'white mercenaries.' Without them, God help the Congo."

—Editorial in the Washington Star, Jan. 3.

ABC's Moloney: There are a lot of allegations made against the mercenaries. I've heard stories about some of them having committed atrocities . . .

Major Hoare (leader of those who took Stanleyville): No, completely untrue . . .

Moloney: Well, one last night told me that he had burned two villages because two of his men had been killed in an attack. How would you defend this?

Major Hoare: Yes. Well, now it's a question of how we define atrocities. . . . The burning of villages, this is punishment, and I'm entirely in favor, when it is required of punishing the rebels in this manner. . . .

ABC's Peters: Wally, how do you feel when you're out there fighting? How do you feel about killing anyone?

Harper (a South African mercenary): The first time I felt a bit squeamish, but after that it was like, well I'd done a lot of cattle farming you know, and killing a lot of beasts, it's just like, you know, cattle farming, and just seeing dead beasts all over the place. It didn't worry me at all."

—ABC-TV show on mercenaries, Dec. 9.

This is the neuralgic point. These white hired killers, mostly from South Africa and Rhodesia, have sown a terrible bitterness in Africa by their racist brutality in support of the Kasavubu-Tshombe regime. That Tshombe, in Leopoldville, as earlier in the Katanga, has to depend upon such whites for his maintenance of power robs him of all legitimacy in African eyes. The blacks feel about these mercenaries exactly as Jews feel about the Nazis at Auschwitz. It is essential that this be understood if a peaceful way out is to be found.

The obverse is that without these mercenaries the Kasavubu-Tshombe regime cannot maintain itself in power. Tshombe and Kasavubu have already declared that they will not accept the UN resolution. Their defiance is only possible as long as they have U.S., British and Belgian support. What

Brazil Provides An Ironic Footnote on Wars of National Liberation

Joint U.S.-Latin American war games were held last month in Peru. The Chilean government declined to let its army participate. Chile, with one eye on Brazil, fears a fresh rise of militarism in the hemisphere. The purpose of the maneuvers was to teach Latin regimes how to deal with "wars of national liberation." Unfortunately such wars are rarely suppressed by military means. A wiser policy is not to provoke them.

Brazil threatens to become a pilot model in how to brew a future uprising. There the military dictatorship has just given the Hanna Mining Company and Bethlehem Steel concessions they had sought in vain from the predecessor democratic regimes. For five years both the moderate Left and the Nationalist right (including Lacerda, the favorite Brazilian of Readers Digest) opposed the efforts of the Hanna Company's George H. Humphrey to obtain control of rich iron ore deposits.

A week before Castelo Branco, the new Brazilian military dictator, signed the decree Humphrey wanted, the Alliance for Progress announced it would make available $450 million to Brazil in 1965. Humphrey was Ike's Secretary of the Treasury and Goldwater's most influential supporter. Yet he seems to do better under the Democrats. The "give-away" policies his candidate deplored have bought Humphrey concessions in Brazil its own Congress had refused to grant. Such are the wonders which foreign aid, it its mysterious ways, can perform.

In April we will hold the Second Special Inter-American Conference in Brazil. It is to deal with "human rights and measures to strengthen democracy in the hemisphere." The site would seem to be well chosen, since many of Brazil's leading statesmen and intellectuals have been proscribed, jailed or exiled by its military, were it not that the purpose is to deal with Cuba not Brazil. Its Foreign Minister (Reuters in Washington Post, Dec. 29) looks favorably on allowing a Cuban government in exile to establish itself on Brazilian soil. The military who destroyed democracy in Brazil would then, by an exquisite turn of fate, provide the base for restoring democracy in Cuba, or if not democracy at least United Fruit.

. . . Will We Abide By It or Go On Playing Cloak-and-Dagger Games In Africa?

happens will be determined not in Leopoldville but in Washington.

Even with mercenaries the Kasavubu-Tshombe regime cannot maintain itself; there just are not enough killers for hire on the market to hold down an area as large as Western Europe. They can take cities but they cannot control the countryside. Neither Tshombe's Kantanga gendarmes nor Kasavubu's NATO-trained army has proved capable of fighting. Either the U.S. goes in with its own forces, or it disengages. "Only by choosing to disengage from the internal affairs of the Congo," says an editorial in *Africa Today* (Dec. '64), organ of the American Committee on Africa, "can the U.S. emerge from this crisis with honor and continue to act as an influence for progress and development in Africa." We agree.

U. S. Now The Senior Partner

But it would be naive to expect so sharp a turn in national policy to be easily achieved. In four years the Congo, with its riches and its strategic importance, has been converted under cover of a UN operation from a Belgian to an American sphere of influence. U.S. capital was junior partner before to Belgian and British interests; we are the senior partner today.

The murder of Lumumba, the one leader who might have held the Congo together; the substitution of a scarcely veiled military dictatorship in Leopoldville for parliamentary rule; the transformation of that frightened and insipid clown, Mobutu, into a synthetic military strong man; the long delay in driving Tshombe out of the Katanga and his reappearance as the head of the whole Congo—all this can be traced back to the wire-pullings of Washington, London and Brussels. The CIA regards the Congo as one of its major successes, as may be seen from the boastful account given in Andrew Tully's *CIA: The Inside Story* (pages 219-29), which hails the Leopoldville operation as a triumph of U.S. operatives.

The pro-Western Indian newspaperman, Frank Moraes, whose *Report on Mao's China* several years ago delighted Western propagandists, interviewed Lumumba a few weeks before his murder. "The real problem," Moraes quotes Lumumba in his new book *The Importance of Being Black: An Asian Looks at Africa* (Macmillan), "is the problem of the great powers, who do not want a united and neutral Congo. The West does not want leaders like me, who want to be neutral. The West only wants a Chief of State 100 percent under its guidance." Moraes' own first-rate summary of the tangled Congolese story concludes that "Tshombe's return to the Congo, with the support and connivance of his Western friends, must intensify the cold war in that territory."

If U.S. policy continues along these lines, the Congo may yet forge a sense of nationhood in years of guerrilla struggle against the puppet governments we try to impose. These confused, ill-armed and primitive bands may learn the hard way the facts of modern life, and the new guises that imperialism may assume. Inevitably they will turn for help to China, as the country with kindred views of the Western powers. These and wider war are the risks ahead if we do not disengage now. The heart of Africa is a dangerous place to play cloak-and-danger games.

Remember How Solomon Picked The True Mother?

"Vinh Long, South Vietnam, Jan. 2 — The Communist Viet Cong have extended blanket immunity to American civilians, especially those engaged in cultural and economic activities in South Vietnam. Intercepted instructions to guerrilla units in the Mekong Delta say that whenever American civilians are captured, they are to be released with an explanation it was all a mistake and that the Communists have no quarrel with them or their work in South Vietnam.

"The Communists in the past have shown a decided unwillingness to damage or destroy this country's physical assets. For example, whenever they attack the railroad running from Saigon north to the demarcation line, they are careful not to blow bridges or otherwise damage the roadbed beyond repair."

—Jim Lucas in Washington Daily News, Jan. 2.

A War of Liberation in Which The Liberators Are Not Accustomed to Be Welcomed

There were rewarding insights to be found in press coverage of the battle which raged for several days recently around the village of Binh Ghia in South Vietnam. One sentence, in an AP dispatch (Washington Star, Dec. 30), lit up the truth about this war as if in a lightning flash. It said that when the village was retaken by government forces, "The marines, used to sullen receptions from villagers in Viet Cong-controlled areas, looked puzzled by the enthusiastic welcome."

This village was different because settled by Catholic refugees from the North.* "We are friendly because we hate the Communists," the same dispatch quotes one villager as shouting. A headline over the Washington Post account (Jan. 2) said, "Little Catholic Town of Binh Ghia Still Paying Dearly For Its Faith." It doesn't seem to have done too badly.

This was the fourth Viet Cong incursion into this village since the war began. In counter guerrilla action, as in Vietnam and the Congo, villages thought to be hostile are wiped out. We bombard first and ask questions afterward. But as one of the anti-Communist villagers related in the same AP story in the Star Dec. 30, "All Monday night we argued with the Viet Cong commander to leave us alone . . . we were so furious we fought the man with our fists and feet. . . . They just laughed and ridiculed us." Ridicule hurts, but not as much as napalm.

As a Catholic anti-Communist village, Binh Ghia was given favored treatment by our side. "Much less heavy firepower than usual was used in the attacks on Viet Cong emplacements," the AP reported in the Baltimore Sun Dec. 31, because of the danger to the anti-Communist villagers." The Washington Post story Jan. 2 said, "The Vietnamese Air Force skyraiders carefully limited their attack to Viet Cong positions outside the town." We are not usually so tender with villages held by the Viet Cong.

* Few Americans realize the extent to which the war in South Vietnam has depended on such Catholic villages of refugees from the North. This minority was the main support of the Diem regime. For those who would understand this more fully we recommend an article by Robert Scheer "Hang Down Your Head, Tom Dooley" in the progressive Catholic magazine *Ramparts* for Jan.-Feb. (1182 Chestnut St., Menlo Park, Calif., 75¢) which deals with a story no other American publication has had the courage to tell fully—the extent to which this from the beginning has been Cardinal Spellman's war.

The Inaugural Failed to Make An Appeal Against Racism

(Continued from Page One)

nothing "relentless" about the magnitude of his war on poverty. Even doubled, as promised, it will hardly mean a billion dollars a year in new money. This is the program of a moderate conservative Democrat, offering fringe benefits to the less privileged sectors of society. In the politics of consensus a little for the poor makes it easier to go on giving a lot to the rich.

The Old Tory Coalition Now A Minority

The most important promise here is the beginnings of medicare. The huge Democratic majority now makes this possible. The vote in the House against shelving the rules reform showed that the coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats has lost control. Though only 16 Republicans voted for the new rules, and the South was solid for the old, the vote was 224 to 201 for the change. This vote is the true index to the shift of power, and clears the way for the President's moderate social reform program. The rules changes themselves were in keeping with this program; the reform was minimal. It gave the Speaker power, through the 21-day rule and two lesser changes, to override recalcitrant committee chairmen, especially in the Rules committee. But it does not give greater power to the *hoi polloi* on the floor. It is the Speaker and the party leadership which decides when to utilize these devices.

That there is a potential for more drastic action in the rank-and-file membership was indicated when two dozen rose with Congressman Wm. Fitts Ryan of New York to challenge the election of the Mississippi delegation and 148 voted not to seat them, an extraordinary vote for the Negro and the Mississippi Freedom Party. This should stimulate the taking of depositions on how white supremacy procedures prevent honest elections in the deep South, and the size of the vote will make it harder for the privileges and elections committee to bury the challenge. For the first time since Reconstruction, the Negro from the deep South made his appearance on Capitol Hill, still outside the door but definitely on his way in.

Alexander Meiklejohn

We record with sorrow the death at 92 of Alexander Meiklejohn, one of the great Americans of our time. As an educator, his influence was not limited to Brown, Amherst and Wisconsin. He taught us all by his presence and example. Few men have combined such deep conviction with such courtesy towards opposing points of view, such foreboding about man's fate with so sweet a serenity and so ever-fresh a joy. He was a philosopher in the ancient sense; his concerns were the good life and the good society. For him as an American, the First Amendment was the essence of all that is best in our country and he spoke up for it when many were afraid to speak. Fittingly, his last message was a letter protesting the contempt action brought by the House Un-American Activities Committee against Dagmar Wilson, Donna Allen and Russ Nixon. His was never "a fugitive and cloistered virtue." We will always remember him with love.

To watch the Mississippi Negroes arrive in their rickety buses, chilled but eager, in the darkness before a downtown church the night before was to see an oppressed people pressing at last for justice. The most disappointing thing in the Inaugural was the absence of any appeal against the spirit of racism; the few meager words about the right to vote were no substitute. In such great challenges lie the birth of great societies, and Mr. Johnson's failure to give this the lofty word it deserved made his own vision of a Great Society seem little more than a middle class suburbanite dream. The whole world would have applauded if America had opened the doors of Congress, at least for opening day, to the three women from Mississippi. An ugly Nazi clown, insulting the Negro, was able to get through the strict security, but not the three women challengers. Of all that was said on opening day, history may best remember Mrs. Fannie Hamer's bitter words outside the door. "Mississippi Negroes are excluded from everything except hanging," she said as she was turned away. "Someday we want to be able to teach our children that this really is a democracy." Here is the real blueprint for that greater society.

IFS to Speak on Peace in Southeast Asia Before the Washington Ethical Society in the Dupont Theatre, Connecticut Ave. near Dupont Circle, 10:45 a.m. Sunday, January 10

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I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. VIII, NO. 2 JANUARY 18, 1965 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

The No. 1 Business of Mankind

The Cost of Empire

The decline in U.S. gold holdings and weakened confidence in the dollar are due largely to our far-flung military commitments abroad. Foreign aid has little to do with the gold crisis. It is largely a disguised subsidy for U.S. business, agriculture and arms manufacturers. All the military aid we send abroad, and more than 80% of the non-military, is purchased here. The dollar outflow is due to our foreign bases, our troops in Germany and Korea and wars like Vietnam. These eat up our huge surplus of exports over imports. In 1963 our export surplus was $5 billion but we had a balance of payments deficit of $2.6 billion. If it were not for our $2.9 billion military expenditure abroad that year, we could have had a $300 million surplus. Similarly in 1964, despite a $2 billion rise in our export surplus, the payments deficit will be at least $2.3 billion. Without $2.9 billion in military expenditure abroad, we would have had a net gain of $600 million. The dollar has been weakened by two decades of trying to impose our will on much of the world; this is the cost of empire. The French economy on the other hand has been so strengthened by the "loss" of Indochina, Algeria and once-French Africa that De Gaulle can shift his reserves from the unsteady dollar to the revived franc, exchanging his huge dollar holdings for gold and thus adding to U.S. money troubles.

There is a poem of Robinson Jeffers in which he likens the struggles of nations to the waves and tides of the sea, and sees in them as little meaning. This comes to mind as one watches the new crisis shaping up in Southeast Asia over Indonesia and Malaysia. It is a mistake to view it through the stereotyped spectacles of either the cold war or anti-colonialism. It is better seen as another example of the endless anarchy to which the world will be subject as long as clashing national aspirations are left to be determined by organized murder. In this area Western imperialism is ebbing and far older forms of imperialism, Chinese and Malay, are reviving. No sooner is one clash resolved when another takes its place, as in waves breaking upon a beach. In perspective, the area is one in which the Malay peoples were conquered by Spain in the Philippines, by Holland in the Indonesian archipelago and by Britain in the Malay peninsula. We pushed the Spaniards out of the first and took over from the Dutch in the second, though in a much weaker form, and are now being asked for military aid to maintain the British in Malaysia.

Why The U.S. Plays It Cool

From Sukarno's point of view Malaysia is a neo-colonialist device to maintain British bases in Southeast Asia, and to prevent the reunion of the Malay peoples. From the standpoint of the Malays in Malaysia, this Federation is a way to assure Malay predominance over Singapore, which is one of the great Chinese communities of the world. From the standpoint of Singapore, where the majority party is moderate, Socialist and Chinese, Malaysia is preferable to rule by Indonesia where some 2,000,000 Chinese have been exposed to mob violence, legal discrimination and loss of property because they dominate the economic life of 100,000,000 Malays. For England, Malaysia, to which she transferred Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo only 18 months ago, is a device for keeping this area rich in rubber, tin and oil in the sterling bloc, and maintaining the last lifeline of its empire East of Suez from Singapore to Hongkong. The U.S. is as cool about Britain's troubles with Sukarno as it was about Holland's. For we emerged from Sukarno's struggle against the Dutch with the major share of $1 billion in Western oil investments in Indonesia and in the quarter billion annual trade in Indonesian oil. America's greatest oil interests (Stanvac, Caltex) are fearful of offending Sukarno lest he expropriate their properties. We have also become Indonesia's No. 1 supplier; in trade with the archipelago, we rank ahead of Japan, Communist China and West Germany, in that order. From the standpoint of the cold war, both Washington and Moscow have been swindled; they bid against each other in offering Sukarno foreign aid; we played for the army, Moscow for the Indonesian Communist Party. The latter has turned up in Peking's corner, and the Army likes the war against Malaysia. (In Malaysia, too, the war threat, in the immemorial bloody comedy of international relations, has strengthened "unity"). Our nightmare has been the fear that Sukarno would seize our oil companies and sell the oil to Communist China. That seems to be coming closer. Peking is winning out over both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., though Sukarno has always talked of his great role in "containing" China. Once Western imperialism is out of the area, the next clash will be between Malay and Chinese. This endless vista, which began in the era of bow-and-arrow, looks less and less attractive in the era of the atom bomb.

Never was a world order more urgent. Yet this is the moment at which Indonesia becomes the first nation to resign from the United Nations. Sukarno's walkout and our exclusion of China means that three quarters of a billion human beings are now outside the community of nations in the Far East. Its authority survives there only on the fringes. Indonesia's withdrawal recalls its analogue 32 years ago when Japan, condemned for aggression in Manchuria, became the first nation to walk out of the League of Nations, setting an example Hitler Germany was soon to follow. We know the consequences. The recollection should make the preservation of the UN the No. 1 business of mankind.

WSP-ers Can Go to Jail for A Year But A Nazi Need Only Forfeit $20 Deposit

When Contempt of the House of Representatives Is Treated As A Peccadillo

If a Negro had broken into the House on opening day and launched a tirade before he could be ejected, you may be sure that there would have been a major outcry, an exhaustive inquiry into how security was breached, and a severe penalty imposed on the interloper. But the Nazi who broke into the House on opening day in blackface, with a fur loincloth around his leotards, to insult the Negro people during the Mississippi challenge, was allowed to go free after forfeiting a $20 deposit for disorderly conduct. The intrusion was treated as a peccadillo.

Since this Nazi was pandering to white supremacist sentiment, we are not surprised that dominant Southern elements in the House took the affair lightly. But we are surprised that not one of the five Negro Representatives rose to protest.

One of 20 Such Incidents

It was left to Congressman Charles S. Joelson, *D., N.J.*, to urge action. In a letter to the District of Columbia Corporation Counsel he called attention to the fact this was only one in a series of some 20 incidents in which Rockwell's Nazis have caused disorder at public meetings but have gone unscathed except for a $10 disorderly conduct fine. Joelson's letter called for prosecution. Joelson also introduced a resolution asking the House to punish the intrusion for contempt.

The resolution has about as much chance of getting out of committee as Howard Smith has of being decorated by the NAACP. The indifference of the House to so plain a breach of decorum and security came forcibly to mind when we watched the arraignment later in the week of Dagmar Wilson, Donna Allen and Russell Nixon for contempt of the House Un-American Committee. Here a mere refusal to testify in secret, though not in public, was treated as if it were a major crime. The three were set down for trial respectively on March 1, 8 and 15; and taken down to the cell blocks to be finger-printed.

Even if they win, the victory will cost months of anguish and heavy legal fees. Win or lose, these two members of Women's Strike for Peace and the general manager of the *National Guardian* will be punished—all because they refused to answer questions in secret about a visit to the State Department where they requested a visa for a distinguished Japanese professor and crusader against nuclear war. The net effect is to make people wary of taking part in peace activity.

Civilization's Defenders in The Congo

"Stanleyville, the Congo, Jan. 6—A cold war has broken out here between the United Nations and Premier Moise Tshombe's mercenary fighters. . . . The first [incident] came just 48 hours after the mercenaries drove into town following the Belgian paratroop attack Nov. 24. 'They burst into the PX in our headquarters at the Hotel Wacenia and walked off with $24,000 worth of food, whiskey, clothing and other goods,' Mr. [Fernand] Scheller ["the Swiss UN representative here"] said. 'You know that the rebels never touched the PX during the four months they were here, but the mercenaries grabbed the stuff within two days. . . . They've looted everywhere they can,' he declared, 'they've broken open every safe in town except two, and stolen millions of francs. They've looted stores, taken refrigerators, typewriters and every piece of equipment they could get their hands on.'"

—*J. Anthony Lukas in New York Times, Jan. 7.*

Their "contempt" of the House was theoretical. The contempt shown by the Nazi interloper was immediate and real He gets off by forfeiting $20 deposit for disorderly conduct; they could go to jail for a year and be fined as much as $1,000.*

One way to express a sense of outrage is to write your Congressman (1) to support the bill submitted on opening day by Edwards (*D. Cal.*) with the support of Ryan (*D. N.Y.*) and Moorhead (*D. Pa.*) for abolition of the Un-American committee and transfer of any legitimate function to House Judiciary and (2) to vote against the committee's appropriation when it comes before the House. The vote will be the measure of the country's concern for political freedom.

*** At press time we learned that D. of C. Corp. Counsel Chester Gray had written Rep. Joelson agreeing with him and ordering the forfeiture set aside and the Nazi tried.**

Conflicting U.S. and British Views of Castro's Cuba on Its 6th Birthday

"Fidel Castro has begun his 7th year, but there is no joy in this for anybody. . . . He holds on because he runs a police state."

—*"Cuba's Six Year Nightmare", editorial, Washington Daily News (and other Scripps-Howard papers) Jan. 6.*

"What's life like in Cuba? It resembles Europe in 1945. There is no bomb damage but thanks to the American blockade . . . there are all the other symptoms—food rationing, clothes rationing, empty shop windows . . . shabby offices. . . . Wages are comparatively high, and far more fairly apportioned than 'before', but there is little that is off ration and available to buy with them. . . .

"How do people think? In spite of all this austerity and the feeling that there is no real prospect of a change, the Americans delude themselves in believing the population is ripe for revolt. The Cubans are a proud people and while regretting the material benefits of the old days (in the case of those who profited from them), they would not want to return to their former dependence. Of course, they are dependent on what they call the Socialist countries, but materially only, not psychologically. They feel it is their revolution. . . .

"There is surprisingly little unthinking anti-Americanism. . . . Radio Miami and the Voice of America are regularly listened to (though rather in the spirit that Britons listened to Lord Haw Haw). . . . The permanent circumnavigation of the island by an electronically-equipped U.S. warship and the regular reconnaissance flights of a U-2 are subjects for humor. . . . What do they think about Castro? He is still extremely popular, though far from being beyond criticism, except in print. Everyone, including government officials, refers to him as Fidel. . . . Does the country seem like a military dictatorship? Not in the least. . . . They need Fidel, who is to Cubans what Churchill and the monarchy combined were for Britain in the Second World War. It is frightening to contemplate what might happen to Cuba if anything happened to Fidel. One thing is certain, though: it could not be a return to the days 'before'."

—*J. Halcro Ferguson, Latin American expert of the London Observer, writing from Havana to that paper, Jan. 3.*

LBJ Quit Smoking After Heart Attack But Won't Tell Public It's Hazardous

Health Message Recommends Medical Aid for Young As Well As Old

Amidst the dazzling array of health proposals which the President sent Congress last week there was one that promises a wiser direction in health policy. The Kennedy health program focused almost exclusively on health care for the aged. President Johnson has added a new dimension by recommending the expansion of the Kerr-Mills program for the aged to include medical and dental care for children in medically needy families. A more liberal federal-state formula for participation would overcome the major weakness of the present Kerr-Mills. The proposal still falls far short of President Truman's goal of comprehensive health care for every American, but it is a long-delayed step in that direction.

It takes on added significance because of the influential role that Wilbur Cohen, Assistant Secretary of HEW, played in drafting the health proposals. Cohen is known to favor the expansion of Kerr-Mills to all ages and all but the highest income levels. This route to universal health care would have at least two advantages over a similar expansion of medicare. Kerr-Mills is more progressive because it is financed out of the general tax fund, not by a flat tax on wages. Its benefits are also more comprehensive; they can cover all medical expenses, whereas medicare is limited to hospital-centered bills. If expansion of Kerr-Mills is President Johnson's long-range goal, he deserves enthusiastic support.

Where Medicare Is Deficient

The President's medicare program is less encouraging. The Democrats' improved position in Congress and especially on the House Ways and Means Committee offered the opportunity for a more comprehensive bill. Benefits to cover the cost of long-term illness might have been added. There are practically none in the present King-Anderson bill, although more than four out of five of the elderly suffer from at least one chronic disease. Benefits covering out-of-hospital drugs, doctor services or even annual check-ups might have been added, but the President did not do so. The one step forward was the elimination of the "dynamic cost sharing plan" which had been added to the Senate-passed bill last August. It would have made the elderly responsible for paying the major part of increased hospital costs, which are rising at the rate of 7% a year. In place of "cost-sharing" there has been substituted a deduction equivalent to the average cost of one day's hospital care. This too will be a substantial burden. One day's care now costs $40 and this will double within ten years.

Landrum and Medicare

The House Ways and Means Committee has dominion over political privilege in the House and economic privilege in the country. It presides over all tax legislation and its Democratic members decide all Democratic committee appointments. The "election" of Phil Landrum (D. Ga.) to this committee, thanks to sly footwork by Speaker McCormack, is a major setback for medicare and every other liberal reform bill that comes before the committee. Landrum is being touted as a liberal, but he's not. Congressional Quarterly **last November ranked him more conservative than six other members of the 10-man Georgia delegation. His support of the Poverty Bill last year now looks like the bargain price he paid for his seat on Ways and Means. He has promised not to block medicare in committee but he is not committed to voting for it on the floor or strengthening it in the future. He has seniority over the two new liberal appointments, which means that they will be the first to go when the Democrats lose seats in the House. Medicare will get through because of Republican votes, but when these side with the 7 Dixiecrats, they will still control the Ways and Means Committee.**

An even greater disappointment was the President's continued silence on the hazards of cigarette smoking. (He has not smoked since his heart attack.) In its recent report the President's Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke noted that "reduction of cigarette smoking offers great possibilities for the prevention of illness, disability and premature death, with regard to both cancer and cardiovascular disease." The Commission recommended a three-year, $10 million program of public education and a network of smoking control clinics to assist those who wish to give up smoking. There was no word of this in the President's message. It did contain recommendations for the protection of consumers' health, including a provision for more adequate labeling of hazardous substances. A White House aide, when asked whether this applied to cigarette packages and advertising, could give only an embarrassed "No."

Ex-Madison Ave. Ad Man Advises Tobacco Companies to "Taper Off" on Cigarettes

Less than a week after the President's health message appeared minus any allusion to the dangers of cigarette smoking, the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health issued its own health report at a meeting in Washington. The Council is made up of the nation's leading health agencies including the U.S. Public Health Service. "The emerging medical opinion," said Emerson Foote, the Council's chairman, "is not that cigarette smoking seriously damages the health of some people who practice it, but that [it] damages the health of most **people who continue to smoke." It kills at least 125,000 Americans every year, he said, and perhaps as many as 300,000. Foote, an ex-Madison Ave. magnate, then offered the tobacco companies some expert advice: Abandon all cigarette advertising and use this $200 million a year to develop non-tobacco products.**

Cigarette makers ought to see the wisdom in this. They have been trying to convince consumers and stock market investors that cigarette consumption is back to normal, but it isn't. If it were, cigarette sales would have to be 3% to 4% ahead of 1963 because of the increase in the smoking-age population. Instead sales are still below their 1963 level. The Surgeon General told the Council that one out of every 4 men smokers has quit in the last ten years. So did 1.2 million women last year.

Remember the Cigarette Advertising Code by which the industry was going to eliminate the more perverse appeals in its ads? Sen. Neuberger (D. Or) told the Council that the Code's supervisors have ordered an end to all tar and nicotine statements on cigarette packages. These were a major incentive to the development of safer cigarettes.

Clark's Attack on Southern Oligarchy Voted Down Even In A Secret Ballot

The Senate Establishment Makes A Strategic Retreat, But Retains Control

Senator Clark's long campaign against the Senate Establishment began to pay off this year. He has aimed at its heart, the Southern oligarchy's control of the Democratic steering committee which determines the size and ratio of committees and assignments to them. This year, for the first time, the oligarchy no longer felt secure enough to hold up the assignments until after the biennial assault on the filibuster. In the past, freshmen Democratic Senators have been put on notice that they would only get the choice assignments they wanted if they voted right. This time committee assignments were handed out in advance of the filibuster fight, which has been put off until March.

Three Powerful Northern Chairmen

What happened is that three powerful Northern chairmen, McNamara of Public Works, Magnuson of Commerce and Jackson of Interior, in effect joined forces with Clark by sending out a letter in December to Democratic Senators declaring the steering committee unrepresentative of the party. They asked that four new members be added, one each for the East and the Far West, two for the Middle West, enlarging it from 15 to 19 members. Pastore later joined in this call, which would have given the North 10-to-9 control of the committee.

But pressure from Majority Whip Mansfield, as always for compromise, and the election of Russell Long as whip seems to have frightened these chairmen into retreat. In caucus they asked for only two new members, leaving the South in control 9-to-8.* Clark's motion for four new members was voted down 34 to 22—in a secret ballot, without fear of reprisal from the oligarchs. This vote is the real index of how few Democratic Senators really want a democratic Senate.

Troubles We Must Talk About

There used to be a series of advertisements which used the tag line, "troubles people don't talk about." One of the political troubles Americans don't talk about, lest this seem like bigotry, is the power of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to block action on birth control and public education. President Johnson touched the sensitive nerve of the birth control issue when he became the first President who dared to refer to it in his State of the Union message. Though the reference was vague—"I will seek new ways," the President said, "to use our knowledge to deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources"—it has already brought an alarmed protest from the Family Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and a reminder that the U.S. hierarchy opposed any public aid for birth control in 1959. This, and the hierarchy's stand on aid to education, will have to be fought out in the open. And one thing which needs to be said loud and clear is that Catholic education in the parochial schools and universities is generally inferior education, on a low cultural level and politically reactionary.

As in the House, where the Rules committee often provides a convenient graveyard for measures on which supposed liberals want to evade a vote, so it is handy in the Senate to let conservative control of key committees remain the excuse for burying militant liberal proposals.

It is indicative that Long—highly overrated as a "Populist"—had his way on the powerful Finance committe on which he is nominally No. 2 man but chairman in all but name. On his insistence, Finance was the only committee on which the ratio of Democrats to Republicans was unchanged. This ensured conservative control over vital money matters from taxes to oil and gas depletion allowances.

The caucus and the steering committee were shaken up enough, however, to get stepchild liberals some good committee assignments. Clark and Pell went on Foreign Relations; Yarborough on Appropriations; Mrs. Neuberger on Commerce and Nelson on Labor.

*** Actually the Southerners on the steering committee can almost always count on Hayden (Arizona) and Bible (Nev.) and often on Mansfield (Mont.) and Dodd (Conn.). There were only three real liberals on it: Douglas, Clark and Williams (N.J.) to which have now been added McNamara and McCarthy. The committee would have to be enlarged to 25, with 8 more liberals, to be sure of outvoting the conservatives.**

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Johnson's Education Message, P. 3

The Alliance for Progress Was Not Supposed to Buy Latin American Troops for Vietnam

"It is difficult to understand the legal right which the U.S. professes in extending an invitation to Latin American countries to join us in the fighting in Vietnam. . . . The pressures exerted by the U.S. . . . will seriously retard the Alliance for Progress and cast doubt upon its very objectives. Our neighbors to the south . . . have a long way to go in correcting the social and economic inequalities with which they are beset. . . . We should not be encouraging them to spend additional sums in the empty gestures of 'showing the flag' in a war not of their concern thousands of miles away."

—Gruening (D. Alaska), in the Senate Jan. 15.

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It's Been A Faked Class B Movie From the Beginning

Associated Press correspondent Peter Arnett drove south of Saigon Jan. 14 to check reports of a battle and found U.S. Information Officers staging fake war scenes for a propaganda film. "We don't want to show cruel things like bodies," an information officer in charge explained, "And we will avoid references to tanks, fighter aircraft and artillery. This is a people-to-people film. . . ." When the story broke, the film was, of course, disavowed by USIA Director Carl T. Rowan. Only those with short memories will be taken in by the disavowal. The Vietnamese war, as far as the information given the American people is concerned, has been a faked class B movie from the beginning. The Moss subcommittee of the House two years ago protested the information practices of the State Department on Vietnam. It called attention to a speech by Mr. Rowan in which he spoke of the public's "right *not* to know in a period of undeclared war." Even this cynical statement misstated the facts. What is involved is not just "the right *not* to know" but the government's right to deceive. President Kennedy himself (see box on p. 3) tried at one point to get a New York Times man transferred from Vietnam because he was reporting the war too independently for the government's taste.

Doctoring The Record

Every agency of government is drawn into this campaign of deception. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week put out what purported to be an objective volume of "Background Information" on the war in Vietnam. It is supposed to be a compilation of the important official statements. But the record is tailored. The fullest official reports to the public on the war were the Blue Book the State Department issued in the Fall of 1961 to explain Kennedy's decision to intervene; Secretary Rusk's speech to the Economic Club in New York April 22, 1963, and Secretary McNamara's speech to the National Security Industrial Association (an arms lobby mouthpiece) on March 26 of last year. All three pictured South Vietnam under Diem as a model of progress and democracy, an "economic miracle" comparable to West Germany (no less!), a land of such contented people (land reform, educational expansion) that the Communists in desperation resorted to invasion as their only hope of reunifying the country. This notion that guerrilla war can successfully be carried on in a prosperous country, amid a happy people, is so preposterous that even a public as doped-up as ours could no longer be expected to take it seriously. In the Foreign Relations handbook not a scrap remains of the two-volume Blue Book. Rusk's speech has disappeared altogether. Discreet editorial scissors have cut out of McNamara's speech the whole opening section with its glowing picture of what McNamara called the Vietnamese "success story." Why should the Foreign Relations Committee, which is supposed to provide some check on the State Department, help to hide this record of deception?

The Wild Far East and The Wild Far West

"Americans in Asia are basically aliens, of a different race, religion and culture. Moreover, the Vietnamese are nationalistic and race-conscious in their outlook. As one on-the-scene observer pointed out, 'If you imagine a Chinese Sheriff speaking Cantonese and trying to keep order in Tombstone, Arizona, in its heyday, you will begin to get the problem.'"

—McGovern (D. S. Dak.) in the Senate Jan. 15.

Even Senators Uninformed

Even members of Congress, who get private briefings, show an extraordinary ignorance of what has been going on. McGovern of South Dakota made a good speech in the Senate Jan. 15. It echoed de Gaulle's suggestion that the war be ended by negotiating the neutralization of the area. McGovern opposed expansion of the war. "Attacks on North Vietnam," he said, "will not seriously weaken guerrilla fighters a thousand miles away, fighters who depend for 80% of their weapons on captured U.S. equipment and for food on a sympathetic local peasantry." But then he went on to make a suggestion which shows how little Senators are told. He said that "the most practical way" to put pressure on North Vietnam was "quietly through infiltration and subversion by South Vietnamese units" into the North with the aim not of "military victory" but of "bringing Ho Chi Minh to the negotiating table."

This is doubly ludicrous. Ho Chi Minh has been trying to get to the bargaining table for two years. The problem is to get the United States to the bargaining table. He has made clear his readiness to accept a neutralized independent South Vietnam in return for peace and resumption of North-South

(*Continued on Page Four*)

RR Nationalization: For the First Time in Years A Radical Proposal from U. S. Labor

"I Ain't Got Much Confidence in Mississippi Doing Anything Right"

For years the FBI and the Justice Department have excused slack follow-through on Civil Rights complaints against police brutality in the South on the grounds that indictments and convictions could not be obtained. The arrests in the murder of the Martyred Three in Philadelphia, Miss., show that if enough evidence is mustered, Southern grand juries will sometimes indict. Maybe petit juries will convict. In any case what is happening to the Sheriff of Neshoba county and his deputy puts similar types in the South on notice that the murder and beating of Negroes and civil rights workers may not be quite as safe as it used to be. Still we hold our breath and agree with the redoubtable Mrs. Lillie Jones who keeps a shotgun handy in Philadelphia, Miss. She told Homer Bigart (*N.Y. Times* Jan. 17), "I ain't got much confidence in Mississippi doing anything right."

Public Ownership Long Overdue

The railroad brotherhoods have let a fresh breath of air in on a stale problem by demanding nationalization of the railroads. The glamorous improvement in service between Boston and Washington, on which the President touched in his State of the Union message, is impossible under present management. The railroads have too long been in the hands of a banker-lawyer bureaucracy devoid of business enterprise. At the end of World War I, the entire labor movement and many farm organizations campaigned for public ownership, under the once famous Plumb Plan. "A low degree of managerial skill," Glenn E. Plumb wrote about his plan in *The Nation* (Aug. 16, 1919), "cannot be taken into account at a rate-hearing." A great national resource has been plundered and run down by incapable hands.

Congress may soon authorize four new judges for the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals which covers the deep South. These with two vacancies on the present bench will make way for six new appointments, and may change the character of this hitherto liberal court, on which civil rights enforcement so much depends. Negro organizations are petitioning for the nomination of Clifford Durr of Montgomery, Alabama, an outstanding Southern liberal, one-time New Dealer and ex-FCC Commissioner for the Court. Unless pressure is built up, all the new appointments may go to segregationists.

An Echo of McCarthyism

At the end of a first-rate speech in the Senate Jan. 12 on the radical right by Church of Idaho, Morse boasted that in 1954 he co-sponsored a bill to outlaw Communism "which is the law of the land today." This referred to a shameful incident of the McCarthy period. The right-wingers had put in a bill to subject labor unions to the Subversive Activities Control Board. Most of the liberals were afraid to oppose it directly. They offered as substitute a bill to outlaw the Communist party. When this maneuver failed, they accepted both the original bill and their amendments. The purpose, as Morse said on the Senate floor at the time, was "to remove any doubt as to where we stand on the issue of communism." The law was never applied because so loosely written as to be clearly unconstitutional. It defined membership in the Communist Party so broadly that the liberal sponsors could themselves have been outlawed under it. They made it unlawful to indicate "by word, action, conduct, writing or in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and in any degree" Communist "plans, designs, objectives or purposes." This is broad enough to label Morse a Communist for advocating withdrawal from Vietnam. Only Kefauver and John Sherman Cooper had the nerve to oppose this cowardly nonsense at the time. We did not expect to hear Morse boast of it.

The appointment of freshman Congressman John Conyers (*D. Mich.*) to the House Judiciary Committee is auspicious for civil rights. Conyers is a Negro lawyer from Detroit who worked last year in the Mississippi Summer Project. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer went to Detroit to campaign for him. . . . The assignment of Maurine Neuberger (*D. Ore.*) to the Senate Commerce Committee strengthens the hand of its chairman, Magnuson (*D. Wash.*) in his campaign to put a cigarette labelling bill through Congress. . . . We applaud Dom Bonafede for his story in the *New York Herald-Tribune* Jan. 14 exposing the close connections between W. Ellis Meehan, chief investigator for the Senate Rules Committee in the Baker inquiry, and Thomas D. Webb, friend of Bobby Baker's and Washington man for the Murchison empire. . . . We mourn the death of our old friend, Fowler Harper of Yale Law School, a lifelong fighter for civil liberties.

Why Is The Supreme Court So Timid When Confronted With The First Amendment?

Mr. Justice Stewart's opinion for a unanimous court in the case of Stanford v. Texas last Monday was disappointingly narrow. Stanford did a mail order book business in San Antonio under the trade name, "All Points of View." His premises were raided and some 2,000 of his books and pamphlets seized. The raid took place under the Texas Communist Control Law of 1951. The search warrant was issued in response to an affidavit by two Assistant Attorneys General of Texas asserting that mailings by Stanford of "pro-Communist material and other information received in the course of investigation" indicated that Stanford "has in his possession the books and records of the Texas Communist Party." A four hour search turned up no such records but the police made off as consolation with the works of suspect authors as diverse as Marx, Sartre, Pope John and Justice Black.

The conviction was attacked on First Amendment grounds as an invasion of political freedom. But the Court chose instead to rule under the Fourth amendment which makes search and seizure under general warrants unconstitutional. This gave Mr. Justice Stewart occasion for much romantic rhetoric about James Otis and John Wilkes and how in Tudor England general writs were used "to suppress and destroy the literature of dissent." But all the Court ruled in ordering Stanford's books returned is that "the constitutional requirement that warrants must particularly describe the 'things to be seized' is to be accorded the most scrupulous exactitude when the 'things' are books." So what if the Texas warrant had asked to seize Marx's Capital or Lenin's Imperialism? Would that have made the seizure constitutional? How pusillanimous to leave the question open.

Almost 40% of the School Funds Will Go to Eleven Southern States

Johnson Combines Political Shrewdness and Humanity in Education Program

The President's education program combines shrewdness and humanity. It is Mr. Johnson at his best, and there is every reason to be grateful. His program aims to improve our education system where it is now most deficient, at the elementary and secondary level. Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy all failed at this, although they did win aid for higher and vocational education. President Johnson almost surely will succeed, but not because he is handing out little scraps for everyone. His bill concentrates federal funds in proportion to poverty. Suburbs will generally get less than urban and rural centers; Southern and industrial states will get more than those of the Middle West and West. Perhaps most refreshing is that for once the main theme of a Presidential education message was really education, not national security.

Winning Over Southerners and Catholics

There are compromises in his bill, but these strengthen rather than mar it. In the past, a coalition of Republicans, Dixiecrats and Catholics have blocked federal aid to lower education. The President's program is designed to win support from the latter two. Almost 40% of the funds will go to eleven Southern states. This results from drawing the poverty line at family incomes of $2,000, a level which includes most of the Southern rural poor but excludes many poor Northerners whose incomes tend to group in the $3,000 range. It would be wrong to see this as only a gimmick to win Southern votes. It is also a way to focus aid on the South's poor whites and Negroes. If they can be made to share it together, the education bill will mean a leap forward for both the mind and the spirit of the South. The bill's compromise with Catholics is also to the general good. It permits parochial school students to attend supplementary educational centers along with public school students. Here is an opportunity to let fresh air into minds that all too frequently have been closed and retarded.

If the education bill is encouraging in what it sets out to do, it is depressing in what it reveals about the extent of poverty in America. The bill entitles a school district to federal aid when either 3% or 100 of its school-age children come from families with annual incomes less than $2,000. An information sheet released with the bill explains that school districts in 95% of the counties in the United States will qualify for aid under this formula. This is appalling. It means that poverty is not regional but nationwide; that our economy is fundamentally out-of-joint, and that it, not ignorance, is the taproot of poverty. It means also that unless the President is as imaginative and earnest in creating jobs as in educating children, America may soon be confronted by a generation of poor young people who because they are better educated will be even more frustrated.

The President's higher education bill has not been drafted yet, but his message lacked any indication of a request to broaden the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. This permits federal funds for facilities in science, math, engineering and foreign language, but none for the social sciences and humanities.

Inequities of the Wheat Program

Wheat products are among the major food items in the diet of the poor. In a country with as many sources of revenue as this one, there seems to be little excuse for a tax on wheat, especially one that amounts to 50% of the price of every bushel. There is even less excuse for such a tax if most of its proceeds go directly into the pockets of some of the wealthiest farmers in the United States. Yet this is exactly what is happening under the wheat certificate program that passed Congress last year with the help of President Johnson. A farm subsidy like this one is supposed to aid poor farmers producing for glutted markets. In a House speech last week, Rep. Paul Findley (R., Ill.) revealed that the $350 million raised by the wheat tax will be parcelled out so that 1,300 big wheat farmers receive payments averaging $15,000 per farmer while small farmers—over a million of them—receive payments averaging only $58. Still worse, less than one-third of wheat farmers have agreed to participate. Most of the really small farmers, the 15-acre ones, refused because participation would have required taking too much of their already scarce land out of production. The President in his State of the Union message spoke of the need "to direct more of our effort to the small farmer who needs help most." The wheat tax program would be a fine place to start.

How the White House Tried to Discourage Independent Reporting From Vietnam

In the January issue of Commentary, David Halberstam of the New York Times tells how the Kennedy Administration tried to discredit and silence independent reporters in Vietnam. A coordinated attack on Halberstam himself began in September 1963. Here is part of his story:

"In early September, a friend sent me a column from the New York Journal-American in which I was accused of being soft on Communism and of preparing the way for a Vietnamese Fidel Castro. A few days later, Joseph Alsop, after a brief visit to Vietnam, attacked a group of 'young crusaders' in the Saigon press corps. . . . The President's press secretary, Pierre Salinger, and other White House staff members more interested in their chief's political standing at home than in the status of the war in Vietnam, would knowingly inform White House reporters that we in Vietnam never went on operations. At the Pentagon, in the higher reaches where the realities of the war rarely penetrated, the criticism was particularly vehement. 'It's a damn good thing you never belonged to any left-wing groups or anything like that,' a friend of mine high up in the State Department told me after I left Saigon, 'because they were really looking for stuff like that.'

"On October 22, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, the new publisher of the Times, went by the White House to pay a courtesy call on the President. Almost the first question the President asked Mr. Sulzberger was what he thought of his young man in Saigon. The President suggested that perhaps I was too close to the story, too involved. The President asked if perhaps Mr. Sulzberger had been thinking of transferring me to another assignment. No, said Mr. Sulzberger, the Times was quite satisfied with the present distribution of assignments."

That Bridge at Ban Ban Was No "Bridge Over the River Kwai"

(*Continued from Page One*)

trade (see Bernard Fall's *The Two Vietnams*). The idea of using commando raids on the North for "infiltration and subversion" which McGovern recommends is not new. There is evidence* that such raiding operations were begun 10 years ago when our leading counter-guerrilla expert, Gen. Lansdale, was Diem's military adviser. These operations represent a major political and military defeat. The infiltrees have never succeeded in sparking local anti-Communist guerrilla uprisings. Richard Dudman of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported a year ago (Feb. 26, 1964) that officials were disillusioned about infiltrating the North. "Although it is not generally known," Mr. Dudman wrote, "special South Vietnamese troops already have been parachuted into North Vietnam on missions of espionage and sabotage. They have vanished."

How We Broke The Geneva Pact

These cloak-and-dagger activities, which began five years before fighting broke out in the South, were a violation by the United States of the Geneva agreement of 1954. Though we did not sign the agreement, we pledged ourselves not to upset neutralization of the area by force. The training and supply of those early commando raids violated that pledge. So did our Programs Evaluation Office in Laos, a disguised military mission of U.S. officers in civilian clothes who took over control of the armed forces in Laos in the same period. They twice engineered the overthrow of its neutralist Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma and are still at it.

It is a pity Chairman Fulbright of Senate Foreign Relations does not take time off from retailing safe liberal generalities about easily discernible "myths" and use his committee to give the U.S. public a thorough investigation of what is going on. We went to the conference table in Geneva in 1962 to save Laos from being completely taken over by the Left when our rightist military proteges faced collapse. The price was an agreement to neutralize the country and to establish a coalition government of the three factions under Souvanna Phouma. The aerial bombardment of Laos now coming to public knowledge with the loss of more planes to enemy action was made possible by the overthrow of Souvanna Phouma for the third time last April. Though he was restored, the conditions were such as to make him and the neutralists prisoners of the right. With the coalition destroyed, the way was clear to escalate the war by having the Laotian government invite the U.S. to send its planes into Laos for "reconnaisance." This violated the promises made at Geneva in 1962. Laos offers an ideal way to satisfy the demand for escalation without direct attacks on North Vietnam or China. The recent bombings, notably that on the bridge at Ban Ban, have been overplayed in the U.S. press. Our public, brought up on movies about the bridge across the River Kwai, pictures Ban Ban as a jugular attack. But this bridge is not anywhere near that legendary Ho Chi Minh supply trail to South Vietnam, and bridges are of little importance anyway in small scale guerrilla fighting. This is another phony "movie" about the war.

While We "Blast Supply Lines" 1,000 Miles to The North

Before retreating from Tan Buu, the Viet Cong stole all the weapons from the armory, carried away so much ammunition they could not paddle it all down the river, and even swiped the commander's boots and uniforms. They captured four heavy weapons and enough rifles to equip a new company; three American-supplied radios, which enables them to listen to radio communications of government forces; classified documents, and even a government trooper's hammock. . . . 'The Viet Cong has now the same weapons that we have,' an American adviser lamented after the attack. It appears we are equipping both sides. . . . The attack was made in an area supposedly pacified under the Hop Tac Plan, designed by Gen. Westmoreland, commander of American forces in Vietnam and approved by Secretary of Defense McNamara. The plan, using Saigon as the center of the so-called 'oil spot,' calls for gradual expansion of government authority into the six provinces around Saigon."

—Beverly Deepe, New York Herald-Tribune, Jan. 17, describing an attack made just 10 miles outside Saigon.

*** See Edgar Ansel Mowrer's boastful account in the Paris magazine, Realités, May 1964, and Georges Chaffard's sober account of these activities in Le Monde, Aug. 7, 1964.**

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NEWSPAPER

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Disappointment for Appalachia, P. 2

Would It Have Seemed Less Subversive If They Carried Banners Against Democracy?

"One banner [in the Buddhist demonstration against the U.S. and the Huong government] paralleled a slogan of the Communist guerrillas, 'We desire democracy, freedom and peace for the Vietnamese people'."

—Another AP dispatch from Saigon implying that the Buddhists are fronts for the Reds, N.Y. Times, Jan. 23.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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The Arms Lobby and LBJ's Great Society

Ours is a muscle-bound society. The job of shaking it loose from the conditioned reflexes imposed by its huge vested interests, and giving it new directions, is terribly difficult. Looked at from within the Budget Bureau, where the pressures converge and the hard decisions are made, Mr. Johnson and the men around him must feel that they have made a start. A poverty program has been launched, education expanded, a beginning of medicare is in sight, the steep rise in military spending since the Eisenhower Administration has been stopped; the arms budget is down a little.

Poverty and War

But this shift in emphasis should not put us off our guard. The new budget shows that the main concern of the government is still war; the main beneficiary of its vast expenditures, still the military bureaucracy and its Siamese twin, the armaments industry. The budget advertises a quadrupled appropriation for the attack on poverty, but the dimensions are still minuscule. The budget enables us to see in cold money terms the prime concerns of our society, and the prime determinants of policy. At one end of the scale, more than $50 billions for the war machine, 50% of the administrative budget. At the other end of the scale, $1.3 billion for that purely metaphorical "war on poverty", 1.3% of the budget. The total budget for space, that breeder of new Houston millionaires, that additional gravy train for missile and electronic makers, will get $5.1 billion in the next fiscal year, or almost four times as much as the poverty program, though "quadrupled". $1.3 billion divided among 35 million living a substandard existence figures out to a little over $30 a year, or $2.50 additional a month, hardly enough for an extra beer a day. If only somehow fat profits could be made out of building men, as they are out of building missiles, the poverty program might be something more than a bone tossed from a well-laden table. The fast buck is still in making and inventing ways to destroy, to kill and to waste.

Many grudge even the bone, and there is already grumbling from the military-industrial complex. Its authentic voice can be heard in David Lawrence's column (Jan. 25). The President in his defense message to Congress looked forward to a levelling-off in military expenditures, so that even "if we continue to spend the same amount of dollars annually" this will become a smaller percentage of a growing national income and release more funds "for other vital needs, both public and private." But who is to judge, Lawrence asked, "whether the defense program is adequate and whether it can be measured primarily by the desire to spend more money on 'The Great Society'? Some of the top men in America's military establishment do not believe that such a rigid rule can be applied to defense expenditures. They do not wish to leave a stone unturned to obtain the most efficient armament that scientific minds can develop." That way lies a sky's-the-limit arms race.

When We Last Saw Churchill

"The huge and garish Presidential room of the Statler was jammed. . . . Sir Winston, with that big cigar, looking more and more like the late W. C. Fields, brought the house down when he appeared, followed by Anthony Eden, who had the pleased and incredulous look of a small boy allowed to go along and watch a gifted grandpa do card tricks. Churchill was magnificent. I never expect in my lifetime to hear and see a greater man. Beyond the puckishness and the hamming, there came through with tremendous sincerity the last, desperate effort of a noble old man to stem the tide toward war. His plea for 'a good hard try' at peace and co-existence could not have been spoken in a more unfavorable context; such talk has long been regarded here as subversive. The atmosphere was vividly indicated for all time when Churchill felt it necessary to assure his audience that he was not a Communist!"

—From our Weekly, July 5, 1954, on the press conference in Washington at which Churchill, at the height of McCarthyism, pleaded unsuccessfully that the death of Stalin called for a reversal of Western policy toward Russia and China. All the obituaries recall that Churchill was the prime architect of the cold war; few, that he was also among the first to propose its end.

Johnson and McNamara, in an effort to appease the military, seem to be resorting to a qualitative arms race. Looked at from the viewpoint of numbers, we have somewhat scaled down our projected strategic forces. Instead of 1200 intercontinental ballistic missiles, we are to have 1,000. This force will be supplemented by 900 long range bombers and 41 Polaris submarines, each with 16 missiles, or 656 in all. This adds up to a strategic striking force of 2,556. Just how stupendous this is may be seen if we realize that there are probably not more than a dozen prime targets in the Soviet Union; if these crucial industrial and urban areas were wiped out, its back would be broken. In terms of numbers, how-

(*Continued on Page Four*)

Plans for Three Highways By-Pass Kentucky's Poorest Rural Counties

This Year's Appalachia Bill Even More Disappointing Than Last Year's

It is a pity that the people of Appalachia have come to expect so much of the Appalachia Development Bill. They will be disappointed. The bill as unveiled at Senate hearings last week is about as resourceful as a surgeon who assumes in advance his patient cannot be saved. Administration witnesses spoke of making Appalachia "just like the rest of the Nation" in 20 years, but the bill betrays them. If this is really a long range development program, it is the only one we know of with such short range plans. The life of the Appalachia Commission expires in just six years. The bill is so innocuous that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and other like groups did not bother to testify against it. It even lacks the usual handouts to big business, which in Appalachia means coal, chemicals and railroads. "We couldn't come up with any solutions that were acceptable to all involved," said John Sweeney, the chief federal planner, "and therefore we had best avoid it." Evasion is the bill's one distinctive trait. (Also see box below.)

A Self-Defeating Standard

This bill is even weaker than the one the Senate passed last summer. A new section has been added which requires federal funds to be concentrated in areas where there is "the greatest potential for future growth, and where the expected return on public dollars will be greatest." Shouldn't the government be as interested in need as in profit? Isn't this just a polite way of saying that the most impoverished areas will receive the least funds? If so, the addition is superfluous for the entire administrative procedure tends to by-pass the poorest areas. The federal government is not permitted to initiate any projects. The purpose of this is to foster local self-help, but the effect is to give unfair advantage to the well-organized, administratively sophisticated urban centers which already have had some experience with government programs. By the time the more backward communities submit development plans, there will be little money left.

This isn't merely cynical speculation. Near the close of its hearings the Senate Public Works Committee heard testimony from two representatives of Jackson County, Kentucky. Jackson has the lowest median family income in the state. This means that 60% of its families earn less than $2,000 a year and 75% earn less than $3,000. About 10% of its homes are graced with hot running water. There is maybe one lawyer in the county to help with development plans. Jackson's spokesmen told the Senate committee that what Jackson and its four surrounding counties need most is a better highway. The present one, U.S. 421, is narrow and winding. It frightens off tourists and makes it hard to market the produce of the area. Highway construction is the central program in the Appalachia Bill and one would think that the Jackson region would be a priority target.

Taking The Sting Out of Antitrust

"The Internal Revenue Service Ruling in TIR-615 is bad law, bad public policy, and bad public administration. It permits an antitrust offender, already convicted of a criminal antitrust violation, to deduct [from his income tax] the treble damages paid to his victims. The legal question before this Committee is whether conduct which constitutes a criminal antitrust violation is conduct that is 'ordinary and necessary . . . in carrying on any trade or business' within the meaning of the statute [governing] income tax deductions. From the standpoint of public policy, the question is whether the 'sting' of treble damages should be lessened by shifting from the shoulders of criminal antitrust offenders to the taxpayers approximately one-half of treble damage awards. From the standpoint of public administration, the question is whether the Internal Revenue Service by an administrative ruling, not subject to judicial review, should in effect amend the antitrust laws by mitigating treble damages. . . . The attitude that a violation of our antitrust laws, even a flagrant criminal price-fixing conspiracy, is no worse than a traffic ticket is the major premise of TIR-615."

—Rep. Celler* (D., N.Y.), *in a statement to the Joint Comm. on Internal Revenue Taxation, Jan. 22 (abr.).

It isn't. When these Jackson men visited the state Appalachian planning office, they were told of tentative plans to build three highways all of which will neatly by-pass the poorest counties in Kentucky. There is no indication that the state will revise its plans, and Jackson is not entitled under the bill to appeal to Washington. All projects, according to another new amendment, must come through the state representative.

Appalachia's planners envision flourishing timber and tourist industries as the foundation of the region. Even if they are successful, the achievement is not an inspiring one. Timber is an uncertain business and some say demand is declining. Tourism is seasonal and low-paying. Surely this is not the best we can do. The bill is a challenge to Congressional liberals. We look to them for strengthening amendments.

Appalachia Gets Sewage Systems But Needs "Just Plain Water"

Sen. COOPER (R., Ky.): . . . Is there a gap in the [Appalachia] bill in that this section would not be available for the provision of just plain water to some community? I know it would provide sewage facilities . . . but there is no provision for water. And I know that there are many communities in my state, several county seats, which do not have any water facilities, they still use wells. In many cases, it is brackish mine water and very very dangerous to the health of the people and to the children in schools even. . . . I think we should correct that.

Mr. SWEENEY (Chairman, Federal Development Planning Committee for Appalachia): Senator, let me explain why it is not in the bill. We are aware of this. There are also no funds for school construction. It was our judgment and the President's judgment that until Congress had resolved this question nationally, we ought not to ask for a special program in Appalachia. When those two questions are resolved and there is a national program for water supply on a grant basis and also for school construction, . . . we [will be] in a position to recommend the needs Appalachia actually has. . . . This whole bill is an extension of existing programs to meet Appalachia's needs."

—Hearings on Appalachian Development Bill, Senate Public Works Committee, Jan. 19.

Behind Drug Magnate Connor's Appointment as Secretary of Commerce

Big Business Under LBJ Won A Privileged Position It Lost Under JFK

The President has done the country a disservice by making John Connor Secretary of Commerce. Connor was vice-chairman of the Business Advisory Council just prior to his appointment. The Council, which is confined to the elite of the business world, enjoyed privileged access to the Commerce Department until Luther Hodges became Secretary under Kennedy. Hodges refused to "consult" with the Council unless the press and small business were represented. Since this meant an end to its monopoly as an adviser the Council deserted both the Department and the Administration. After Mr. Johnson became President, the Council began meeting in the White House. Now one of its own rules the Department from which it was ousted. It is not surprising that Mr. Hodges departed Washington before the Inauguration.

Drugs and Patents

Unfortunately, Secretary Connor is more than the symbol of a new alliance with big business. He is also the just-resigned president of Merck & Co., one of the nation's leading drug firms. The lifeblood of the drug business is patents, and Connor, as Secretary, has jurisdiction over the U.S. Patent Office. At his Senate Commerce Committee hearing, Connor declared he would leave all patent matters involving Merck to the Patent Office. This is doubly misleading. The present Patent Commissioner, Edward Brenner, was persona grata with powerful patent interests. Before President Johnson appointed him last year, Brenner worked for Standard Oil of New Jersey as a relatively obscure patent attorney. Merck is also located in New Jersey. So are a host of other drug companies, including Johnson & Johnson, Olin Mathieson, Schering, Hoffman La-Roche and Ciba. Each has a battery of patent attorneys who together with Esso's make up a large part of the New Jersey Patent Bar. The Bar lobbyed hard for Brenner, while Connor on the Business Council and soon to become co-chairman of a campaign committee for Johnson-Humphrey was in a position of great influence. Leaving Merck's patent problems with Brenner is as risky as Mr. Johnson's policy of leaving oil matters to the former vice-president of Humble Oil, who heads the Oil Office at Interior.

Connor's offer is misleading in a more serious way. The major danger in having him as Secretary is not his ties with Merck but his pro-industry bias on drug patent policy. The drug companies have been taking advantage of the government. No matter how much money it pours into developing a drug—and there is practically no new drug without some federal funds—private industry gets the right to patent it. Often this means that the firm with the patent is the only one to sell the drug, at virtually any price, for 17 years. President Kennedy a month before he died tried to end this giveaway. He issued a memorandum which some officials at HEW interpret to mean that no patent should be given on any drug developed with government funds. They are now in danger of being over-ridden by the drug industry.

The industry, supported by Asst. Commerce Secretary Eaton, is pressing for a Presidential Commission to rewrite patent policy. Secretary Connor would recommend its members and might even become its chairman. It is appalling that Senators did not question him more closely on this. A clue to his attitude may be found in the drug industry's poop sheet (called "The Blue Sheet") for Dec. 23. Connor, it says, has "long suggested that the formula used by the National Cancer Institute in its chemotherapy program could serve as a model for a compromise policy." This was no compromise. The drug companies refused to take a single NCI contract until they were assured practically irrevocable patent rights. If a Presidential Commission is appointed, and it almost surely will be, Congress and not the Patent Office or the Commerce Secretary should set the ground rules.

Dept. of Humanitarianism in the Congo

"News correspondents are being kept out of Government-reoccupied territory in the northeastern Congo. The ban is apparently intended to prevent reporting of the killing of Congolese civilians by army troops and mercenaries. G. McMurtrie Godley, the U.S. Ambassador, has refused to permit correspondents to fly on the U.S. planes that carry mercenaries, ammunition and supplies for the Congolese forces. The transports provide the only available transportation to Paulis, Bunia, Lisala and other northeastern towns liberated from the rebels. Mr. Godley and other embassy officials insist that, although they would like to allow correspondents on the aircraft, the ban is enforced by Gen. Mobutu, the Congolese army commander. . . . One high ranking official said: 'There are so many things we are trying to get the Government here to do, you can hardly expect us to press them very hard on a thing like this'."

—From Leopoldville in the New York Times, Jan. 24.

Connor Hearing Disclosed That Conflict-of-Interest Law Was Weakened in 1962

An intriguing sidelight on Mr. Connor's appointment as Commerce Secretary is the revelation that the conflict of interest law for executive officers was seriously weakened by a 1962 amendment which was generally assumed to have been an improvement. This came to light in a memorandum written by the Chief Counsel for the Commerce Committee and included in the official record of that committee's investigation of Mr. Connor. The conflict of interest statute as amended has so many loopholes, wrote Counsel, that it "raises the question whether stock ownership in a corporation will ever suffice to establish" a violation of the statute (18 U.S.C. 208, 209).

The loopholes are subtle but substantial. The 1962 amendment applies only to action taken with respect to a "particular matter" and thus excludes action on equally profitable matters such as procurement and patent policy. It also fails to apply specifically to indirect financial interests and thus requires the difficult showing that a "particular matter," such as a government contract, has directly influenced the value of the stock held by the executive official. The amendment further fails to apply to action taken by a subordinate even though he may be aware of his boss' financial interests.

These omissions would allow McNamara were he today appointed Secretary of Defense, to do business with Ford Motor Company without selling his $1.5 million holdings in its stock and without violating any law. We may never rid government of corruption, but why invite it?

The New Pied Piper Campaign for the Anti-Ballistic Missile

(*Continued from Page One*)

ever, we can claim that we are "levelling off" in our attacking forces. But to keep the military happy, the new budget unveils an improved missile for the Polaris submarines, the Poseidon, with double the warhead payload and eight times the killing power of the Polaris A-3 missile. At a cost of $2 billion we are planning to begin replacing the A-3 with the Poseidon in 1969. But if some or all of the 656 Polaris missiles are to be replaced with Poseidon, this is the equivalent of a sharp quantitative increase. One Poseidon equals two Polaris missiles in payload and eight in killing power.

Polaris Becomes A First-Strike Weapon

The Poseidon also does something else, which we hope will be explored in Congressional hearings on the budget. Up to now Polaris has been described purely as a second-strike deterrent, a city-killer which could be used only in revenge if and after the Russians struck at us. Polaris was described as putting them on notice that even if they crippled the United States, these hidden watchdogs under the seas would destroy them. But now it is said that with Poseidon, and their increased payload and accuracy, Polaris submarines could strike harder-to-hit buried missile silos and thus become a first-strike weapon. This transformation of the Polaris from deterrent defense to an instrument of potential aggression is calculated to alarm the other side, and to set off the renewed arms race our military want.

The shrewd masters of the military-industrial complex are old hands at this game. Through Senators like Symington and journalists like Joseph Alsop, they built up the bogey first of an imaginary "bomber gap" and then of an equally imaginary "missile gap" with which to heat up the arms race and push up military expenditure. The extent of their triumph in these scare-campaigns can be measured. One measure is the jump in the level of arms spending from $45 billion a year under Eisenhower to more than $50 billion a year under Kennedy. The Democrats, on taking power under Kennedy, learned that there was no missile gap, but nevertheless built up a huge missile program just as if there had been a gap. This was the election pay-off to the aviation and missile lobby.

If We're Looking for Gaps to Fill

"A new review by one of the nation's leading nutrition experts in Postgraduate Medicine, a medical journal, re-emphasizes the food gap between white and Negro. That food gap probably accounts for a large part of the health gap: the Negro has a higher mortality rate in nearly every disease category. What Dr. Jean Mayer, professor of nutrition at the Harvard School of Public Health, found was appalling. One survey of the rural and urban South revealed that 60% of the Negroes and 25% of the whites had 'obviously inadequate' diets. For the North, no figures are available but Dr. Mayer checked hospital records in the North, talked with dieticians and health administrators and decided that Negro slums are a maelstrom of malnutrition. The indicators: anemias, growth failures, skin ailments, accidents of pregnancy—all associated with malnutrition. The worst fed were the Negro migrant workers who followed the crops from Florida to New York. In each group the children bore the brunt of the food gap."

—Earl Ubell in N.Y. Herald-Tribune, Jan. 24 (abr.).

Now the Joint Chiefs of Staff are pressing hard for an anti-missile and shelter program which could easily cost $50 billions. Johnson and McNamara have again turned them down, as Kennedy did before them. But in Alsop's column of January 13, one can read the opening strains of a new Pied Piper chorus building up for an anti-missile program next year. Should this campaign succeed, it would cut off Johnson's welfare program in the bud and subordinate all else to an intensified arms race more costly than anything we have yet seen. To the Russians, the launching of such a program, on top of our enormous first-strike power, would raise the spectre of preventive war. What little has been gained in relaxation of tension would vanish overnight. What this means is that the President cannot hope to hold the arms budget stable very long. He must educate the public to the dangers and take vigorous steps toward arms control and reduction, or sooner or later our military-industrial complex, with its vast propaganda resources, will succeed. That would end all hope of a Great Society.

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Double-Pronged Attack on HUAC, P. 4

The Truth About the Vietnamese War in A Dead U.S. Soldier's Pathetic Last Letter Home

"The day before he was killed, Army Sgt.1C Harold E. Strong wrote to his wife in nearby Fairfax County that he was glad to be 'getting out' of Vietnam in April. . . . He also wrote, a friend of the family said, that 'we just don't know what we're doing here.' The letter added, 'these people' (the Vietnamese) 'don't even want us here'."

—*"Wife Tells of Letter From Viet Cong Victim" in the Washington Evening Star, January 29.*

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The Day the CIA's Crystal Ball Cracked Wide Open

Washington, Jan. 26 (UPI)—Sen. J. Wm. Fulbright, D. Ark., said today after a briefing by Central Intelligence Director McCone that there did not appear to be any immediate danger of the South Vietnam government being overthrown.

This item deserves preservation. It came off the United Press-International ticker the afternoon of Tuesday, Jan. 26. Few newspapers published it next day though by 8:30 p.m. that night Washington was officially informed that the South Vietnamese government had again been overthrown. When I was a boy the favorite sport of enterprising newspapers was to catch public officials with their pants down. The new game laws seem to protect CIA Chiefs. Nobody seemed to feel that it was news that our foremost intelligence official had been proven wrong within a few hours of the private briefing he had given the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that day on the situation in Vietnam. Mr. McCone is a hard-driving business man. If a subordinate had so misinformed him on an important business deal, that subordinate would almost certainly been looking for another job.

Coup Already Planned and Announced

The flaccidity of the press is matched by that of the Senators. There was a time when one would have expected the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to recall Mr. McCone and ask him how he came to be so badly informed. There is evidence that the new coup was already in the works at the very time he spoke. For the *New York Herald-Tribune* reported from Saigon Jan. 28, "Reliable sources said Gen. Khanh and the powerful Armed Forces Council which he heads had originally planned the coup for next Tuesday [i.e. Feb. 2] but moved up the date after General Taylor decided on a 24-hour trip to Thailand and Laos yesterday [Jan. 26]." Indeed one of the Generals seems to have publicly indicated that the coup was coming hours before McCone briefed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. For in Paris *Le Monde,* which covers Southeast Asia better than any other paper in the world, reported Jan. 28 that Tuesday afternoon, before flying off to Saigon, Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi, commander of the first region, told students demonstrating against the government in Hué that a change of regime might well occur next day. The time difference between South Vietnam and Washington is 13 hours. When it's 3 p.m. in South Vietnam, it's only 2 a.m. in Washington. Mr. McCone appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at 10 a.m. Washington time. By then it was 11 p.m. in South Vietnam. But no agent had caught or sent this bit of news

(Continued On Page Two)

Auguries For Peace?

We note some auguries for peace in Vietnam. Joseph Alsop is despondent. On Jan. 27 he complained that the President on three separate occasions had overruled recommendations from Gen. Taylor for strikes at North Vietnam. On Jan. 29 Alsop reported that the "domino theory" was now being treated scornfully at the White House. "The President has evidently persuaded himself, or at least three-quarters persuaded himself," Alsop wrote indignantly, "that a great defeat in South Vietnam need not have the grave consequences outside Vietnam predicted by the 'Domino Theorists'." The tone indicated that Alsop's patience was wearing thin, and that any day now he might stage a guerrilla uprising of his own.

On the afternoon of that same day, as if to confirm Alsop's suspicions, the Washington Star appeared with a headline, "Saigon Coup May Be Beneficial" over a column by Joseph Kraft, who also has sources in the White House. The coup, Kraft speculated, "far from being an undoubted setback," could be "a step toward the least bad of all possible settlements." This would be one that was "negotiated between the Saigon government and the Vietnamese Communists, with the U.S. edged obscurely into the background, and the Chinese Communists excluded altogether." This was preferable, Kraft wrote, to a "Geneva type" negotiation with Peking in which the U.S. might come off second-best with "disastrous impact . . . on domestic politics."

Mr. Kraft admitted that "Khanh's new regime has not yet fixed its direction." He could break with the Buddhists and "establish a military dictatorship." But it is possible, Mr. Kraft continued hopefully, "that Khanh will stick with the Buddhists, and initiate local negotiations." It sounded as if someone in the government were trying desperately to send Khanh a message, in a plain unmarked envelope.

Two days later, in the Sunday New York Times (Jan. 31), Seymour Topping reported from Saigon that "if a relatively representative government" asked the U.S. to leave, "officials here feel that there would be no choice but to go." He added that contingency plans were ready "to deal with a situation in which Americans might have to leave South Vietnam hastily." U.S. Marines would be airlifted from Okinawa "to screen the withdrawal of Americans." The only thing missing was an offer to supply "Americans Go Home" signs free of charge, with demonstrators paid by the CIA to wave them as we left.

Like the Bay of Pigs, Another Warning of Incompetent Intelligence

(Continued From Page One)

to Washington. Could it be there were no American agents around to observe that student demonstration, no informers among them?

$4 Billion A Year on Intelligence

The U.S. spends a fortune on intelligence. David Wise and Thomas B. Ross in their recent book, "The Invisible Government" (Random House) report that Mr. McCone told a private briefing for high ranking military men in the summer of 1963 that U.S. intelligence had 100,000 persons involved in its work and spent $2 billion a year. That is three-quarters of a billion dollars more than the new and quadrupled poverty program. But Wise and Ross point out that this included only conventional forms of intelligence and not the electronic world-wide eavesdropping and aerial reconnaissance operations of the National Security Agency. They figure the total bill at $4 billions. A substantial portion of our intelligence network must be in Vietnam as a crucial war zone. There must be a swarm of U.S. agents and native informers assigned there by CIA and by the Pentagon's DIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency which tries to coordinate the separate, often exasperatingly conflicting intelligence services of Army, Navy and Air Force. Electronic monitoring by NSA must go on all the time from those ships and planes which constantly patrol the shores and skies of both North and South Vietnam. The Vietnamese Armed Forces depend for their payrolls on the United States. Its government would collapse overnight without U.S. support. Yet a new coup can be plotted in opposition to U.S. wishes without our far-flung civilian, military and electronic spy apparatus hearing about it until too late.

The coup was a blow to Gen. Taylor's prestige. No sooner did he leave town than the Huong regime he supported was thrown out and Gen. Khanh, whom Taylor hates, put back into power. Obviously military intelligence was pretty poor. Gen. Taylor wouldn't have left for Laos and Bangkok if he had suspected that this was brewing. The coup must also have hurt Mr. McCone's reputation as an intelligence chieftain with the Senators who heard him that morning. Here he was telling the Foreign Relations Committee in a private briefing that there was no immediate danger of an overthrow just when a change had already been plotted and indeed publicly forecast by one of the Generals. It would hurt Mr. McCone's reputation even more if the newspapers had done their duty and focused public attention on the incident. For he is not only head of CIA but chairman of the U.S. Intelligence Board which coordinates the activities of the government's twelve separate intelligence agencies. As after the Bay of Pigs affair, another glimpse of incompetence on the part of our intelligence, it is time to stop and consider this deeply. It is on such misinformation that American prestige, treasure and lives depend in Vietnam.

North Vietnam's Attitude Toward Peace

A dispatch from Moscow in The Worker (Jan. 31) merits wider attention. Its correspondent interviewed British Laborite MP William Warbey when he passed through the Soviet capital on his way back from North Vietnam. Warbey found Ho Chi Minh still vigorous and well-informed at 74. Warbey said he would report to the Foreign Office on his talks with Ho and with his Premier, Pham Van Dong. According to Art Shields, the Worker correspondent, Warbey reported that the Premier "said his government had no wish to hurry the question of unification" and added, "the people of South Vietnam have autonomy and will establish their own government and carry out their own policies in their own way. The North Vietnamese government, of course," this account continued, "wants to restore economic ties with the South. But it will not pressure South Vietnam to join its planned economy, and the way is open for friendship with the United States after the end of the intervention." This indicates that North Vietnamese policy is still the same as that reported by Dr. Bernard Fall and two other Western correspondents after interviews with Ho and Pham Van Dong in 1962 (see Fall's The Two Vietnams, p. 199), i.e. the acceptance of an independent neutral South in return for resumption of trade and peace between North and South. This provides a favorable atmosphere for Moscow's newly announced mission to Hanoi if (as Washington plainly hopes) it explores the possibilities of peace.

The War's No End of Fun in Saigon, But Not So Jolly in The Villages

"The U.S. military 'advisory' morale remains high, if chiefly because most 'advisers' know that, provided they survive, they will have gained battle experience and service promotion. Approximately 25% of the officers of the American Army's 16 divisions are already engaged in the South Vietnam war.

"With the growing influx of Americans, gracious, tree-lined Saigon at night is reminiscent of Tokyo under U.S. occupation. Crew-cut Americans in civilian clothes, with all the advantages of PX comforts, parade and dine their Vietnamese beauties, who are learning to chew gum, to pet in public and to wear skin-tight slacks.

"There has been a great expansion of bars and cabarets offering striptease. . . . Food and service have sharply deteriorated and prices are soaring. Every night the exhaust roar of crowded taxis and latest model limousines, racing the 1 a.m. curfew, drowns the distant rumble of mortar fire on the outskirts of the city.

"An average full-time investment in a 'good-family' concubine runs to about £25 a month. Any enterprising dance hostess can earn ten times the salary of a Government secretary. A cynical Saigon jest is 'the Vietcong occupy our countryside and seduce the peasants; the Americans occupy our cities and seduce our girls'."

—Richard Hughes, Saigon, to London Sunday Times *Jan. 24.*

"As an aide shrilly called off names, Major Ly handed each old man and woman a packet of freshly green printed piastre notes. Those who had lost a son or daughter, father or wife, were given the equivalent of $40; a lost cow or razed home brought half that amount. The villagers were very grave and formal and did not speak nor count their money nor acknowledge its receipt. It was like an ancient, unquestioned ritual solemnly undergone as a memorial to the dead. Yet almost every old face registered hate."

—Richard Critchfield from Nghia Hanh Village, South Vietnam, to the Washington Star, *Jan. 27, describing the payment of reparations five months late "for the deaths and damage inflicted by the government's troops."*

Public Hearings Begin on Enforcement of New Anti-Discrimination Weapon

Civil Rights Commission Panelists on Title VI Termed Too Lily-White

Civil rights and anti-poverty workers had a rare opportunity last week to confront federal bureaucrats en masse with their protests. This at least was the result if not the intention of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's national conference on the Civil Rights Act. Agency officials were called on to explain how they will administer Title VI, which says that all federal funds must be withdrawn from state and local programs that practice discrimination. This can be a powerful $15 billion a year weapon against segregation.

At the two sessions we attended the audience showed itself in no mood for compromise. Aaron Henry, president of the Mississippi state NAACP, hit the most exposed nerve. "There are no Negro panelists helping direct this program," he declared to a panel on elementary and secondary education. "Why do you expect us to do more down South than you do in Washington?" When Hyman Bookbinder, the special assistant to Sargent Shriver in the poverty program, retorted that this wasn't a "useful" comment, Clarence Mitchell from the Washington Bureau of the NAACP quipped that it wouldn't be very helpful in Mississippi "if the *Jackson Daily News* came up here and took a picture."

14 Negroes 'Elected' in Miss.

The Agriculture Department has one of the toughest and most important jobs under Title VI. Its services in the rural South have always been administered locally by white men only. Assistant Secretary John Baker announced that special precautions last December resulted in the election of 14 Mississippi Negro farmers to a few of the county committees that administer the farm subsidy program. This was a remarkable first, but it was just a token victory compared to what a fair election would have produced. A young member of the National Lawyers Guild produced a briefcase full of affidavits from Negro farmers telling how they had been deprived of their votes. Many weren't informed of the election; others were directed to the wrong polls, and because the polls were in private stores, several civil rights workers who tried to assist them were arrested for trespassing. The Department had asked the FBI to guard the polls but the agency deferred to the local police.

The executive secretary of the National Sharecropper's Fund told the same panel that integration of the extension service in South Carolina was being used to downgrade the once independent Negro staff members. She said the Department would never find out the truth about its programs unless "someone from the Federal office and not tied to local influence is sent out to talk to the Negro agents away from the whites." The NAACP field director in South Carolina wanted to know why the few Negroes who are appointed to agricultural committees from Washington "in most instances owe allegiance for their jobs to the local power structure and cannot speak for the Negro community." These complaints were themselves indications of progress, but progress so slow that it embitters. The Department, for example, has failed to make any Negro appointments from the list of names that it asked civil rights workers to submit. The list took weeks to compile, and the Negro farmers who agreed to be part of it—some of them even from Neshoba county—did so at great personal risk.

Testimony from a young idealist at the Office of Economic Opportunity shows what can be done. The Office has refused to approve a Community Action Program in Cleveland because its board is not representative of the community; one of the two Negroes chosen for the 22 member board was most widely known for his refusal to take part in civil rights activity. A quarter-million dollar grant to Louisiana has also been held up because the administrator there is an ardent segregationist. In Atlanta, Georgia, a Negro woman active in voter registration has been given the job of neighborhood coordinator for the poverty program. These few isolated actions show what militant administration could do.

The Price Of That Tax Cut

"Sen. CLARK: I congratulate President Johnson on the budget which he sent to Congress yesterday—a budget which calls for a $5.3 billion deficit. In view of the prevailing attitude in Congress toward Federal expenditures, I recognize the political necessity which required him to hold his budget below $100 billion; but I deplore it. . . .

"Sen. GORE: . . . Had Congress not passed the tax reduction bill last year, we would now have a surplus instead of a deficit. . . . Now that we have closed our eyes to the real needs of our people and reduced Government revenue by more than $11 billion, we discover that we have something called poverty, against which we must wage war. We discover that our health facilities are inadequate; that our education is woefully inadequate; that our streams are polluted; our trains too slow; and that America is badly in need of beautification. But now we do not have the money to meet those problems because we gave away the revenue in an unwise, unjustified, political tax cut."

—In the Senate, Jan. 26.

Supreme Court Justices Startled by U.S. Position in Mississippi Voting Rights Case

No less than five Supreme Court justices expressed amazement last week at the government's argument in U.S. v. Mississippi. The case involves the constitutionality of Mississippi's voting laws, under which only 5% of voting-age Negroes in the state have been able to register. A finding of unconstitutionality would eliminate the need to prove county by county that the laws are being unfairly applied. This has been a painfully slow approach. Justices Harlan, Stewart, White, Black and Goldberg indicated readiness to rule on the question of constitutionality. Mr. Justice Harlan said the government's brief as he read it seemed to ask that "the laws be declared unconstitutional on their face by this court," but Mr. Archibald Cox, the Solicitor General, replied that he was not "pressing" for immediate relief. He asked only that the Court remand the case to a three-judge U.S. District Court for trial.

The reason for Mr. Cox's strategy was not made clear. Perhaps he feared defeat, but remanding the case means a two year delay. The three-judge court, with its two Mississippi justices, will almost certainly rule against the government, as it did in the original suit, and this will make necessary a second appeal to the Supreme Court.

Un-American Committee Faces Two Separate Attacks In The House

Attorney General Asked to Suspend HUAC Contempt Citations

Congressman Phillip Burton (*D., Cal.*) took the first action in Congress last week to overturn the Un-American Activities Committee's contempt citation against two leaders of Women Strike for Peace and the manager of the *National Guardian*. Dagmar Wilson, Donna Allen and Russell Nixon were cited last December when they refused to testify in an executive session of the committee. In a letter February 1 to Attorney General Katzenbach, Burton noted that he has introduced retroactive legislation which requires House approval for any contempt citation. In the current case, the Speaker of the House certified the contempt citation when Congress was not in session. In his letter, Burton asked the Attorney General for a stay in the contempt proceedings until Congress has acted on his bill.

To Avoid Another Surprise

More than a dozen liberal congressmen are currently planning two broader attacks on HUAC's powers. The first, which should occur in mid-February, seeks to reduce HUAC's funds. This is tricky because committee appropriations are privileged motions: they by-pass the Rules Committee and come directly to the floor from the Committee on House Administration. This happened so swiftly last year that every liberal but one was caught off the floor. To guard against a similar surprise move this year, Rep. Don Edwards (*D., Cal.*) has asked to testify on the HUAC appropriation. Liberals would then know approximately when it was coming to the floor. This year they will also have an ally inside the Administration Committee in freshman Rep. Jonathan Bingham (*D., N.Y.*). In the past this has been one of the most conservative committees in Congress. Nine of its fifteen Democrats are Southerners.

A further complication is that many liberals who are anti-HUAC are reluctant to use committee appropriations as a weapon against it. They fear that the precedent, once established, could be used against them easier than against the conservatives. In fact, it already has been. Last year the Administration Committee severely cut the appropriation for Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's Education and Labor Committee. Powell had to turn out anti-poverty, education and fair labor standards legislation with less money for his 30 staff members than HUAC received for its nine.

The second attack on HUAC seeks abolition. Here there are two approaches. One group of congressmen, including Burton, Edwards, Resnick and Hawkins from California, Rosenthal and Farbstein from New York, and Diggs from Michigan, all Democrats, has introduced resolutions to abolish HUAC and give Judiciary authority to investigate sabotage and "overt acts affecting internal security." All HUAC's records would be transferred to the National Archives "not to be opened for official or public inspection." A smaller group of congressmen, so far including only Roosevelt (*D., Cal.*) and Lindsay (*R., N.Y.*) has embarked on a bit of flim-flam. Their bills would "abolish" HUAC but only by transferring its existing authority to an Un-American Activities subcommittee of House Judiciary. This would merely shift the evil, not eradicate it.

FBI'S Right To Harass?

After two weeks of 24-hour a day surveillance by Chicago FBI agents, Mr. Sam Giancana sued for an injunction against the head of the Chicago FBI, Mr. Marlin Johnson. With only Mr. Justice Douglas dissenting, the Supreme Court last week refused without explanation to hear the case. The FBI agents, lacking a warrant, had followed Giancana on some 15 or 16 occasions to his golf club, had informed his partners and the club's manager that they were "federal agents," and had pursued Giancana even into the mausoleum where the remains of his wife were interred. The 3 to 5 FBI cars stationed within 10 yards of his home were equipped with telescopic lens cameras for photographing its interior. A U.S. District Court granted Giancana a temporary injunction and found FBI chief Johnson guilty of contempt for refusing to answer any questions concerning the surveillance. A U.S. Court of Appeals confirmed the contempt conviction but vacated the injunction on the ground that a district court has no jurisdiction in suits involving less than $10,000. Giancana had failed to place a dollar value on the damage done to him.

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File

The Supreme Court Upholds Iron Curtains, P. 4

The Prize Remark of the Dominican Crisis

"In reply to a question based on a statement made yesterday by former President Juan Bosch that his government—if it came back—would not be Communist, Mr. Harriman responded: 'The United States takes no part in the political decision of the Dominican people in the selection of their leadership'."

—From Bogota, Colombia, where Harriman, as President Johnson's Ambassador at Large, stopped over on his tour to drum up Latin American support for U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, New York Times May 3.

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The Fatal Lure of World Dominion

The Department of Commerce publishes a daily bulletin in which the government advertises various wants for bidding. There in the issue of April 29, as our Marines were landing in Santo Domingo, appeared an ad which deserves to be preserved for the historian. Amid requests for bids on tires, spare aircraft parts and survival kits, was this item—

> *Service and materials to perform a RESEARCH STUDY ENTITLED 'PAX AMERICANA'* [*capitals in original*] *consisting of a phased study of the following: (a) elements of National Power; (b) Ability of selected nations to apply the elements of National Power; (c) A variety of world power configurations to be used as a basis for the U.S. to maintain world hegemony in the future. Quotations and applicable specifications will be available upon request, at the Army Research Office, 3845 Columbia Pike, Arlington, Va., until 1 May 1965.*

Military Taking Over The State Dept.

What better time to study the problem of maintaining American world hegemony than the moment when our combat troops were going ashore in Vietnam on the South China sea in one hemisphere and in the Caribbean in the other. Coupled with this ad were three others from the Army. One was a study of the foreign aid programs of the West European nations. The second was "U.S. Involvement in the Emerging Nations," a study "to determine the quality and quantity of total U.S. presence and influence in Latin America, Africa and Asia, to identify salient trends and to project the latter into the 1975-1980 time frame." The third was the most disturbing, "Investigation of the feasibility and desirability in the 1970 time frame, of providing selected U.S. allies a significant nuclear defense capability *without necessity for maintaining U.S. controls or custody over weapons systems or their employment.*" (Our italics). These contracts provide an insight into what is going on within our military bureaucracy, the extent to which it is invading the State Department's province in making foreign policy, and the kind of foreign policy the armed forces project for the future—one in which they play policemen to the world, even handing out nuclear weapons to favored allies in the task! This is a formula which can only end by spilling the blood of our best youth in an endless attempt to dominate the planet. This is in the background of Johnson's increasingly militaristic policy in Asia and Latin America. Like Bismarck, we are resorting to blood and iron.

Glimpses of the Truth

"A U.S. Peace Corps worker, who asked not to be identified, said there seemed to be wide countryside support for the revolution to return Bosch to power. He said the more than 100 U.S. Peace Corps volunteers in the Dominican Republic were safe and in no danger, even in Santo Domingo."

—AP from Santo Domingo in Washington Post *May 3*

"Diplomatic sources said the rebels promised to do their best to make the cease-fire effective. So far they appear to have done so. There was little shooting here today by either of the opposing forces. Some diplomats point to this as indicating the pro-Bosch but anti-Communist military leaders have greater control of the rebel movement than many observers here had supposed. U.S. officials who claimed the Communists now dominate the rebel movement, declined to explain the ability of the rebel military leaders to achieve a cease-fire, except to say that apparent Communist obedience was simply a matter of Red 'tactics'."

—Dan Kurzman, Washington Post *staff man from Santo Domingo in that newspaper same day.*

Two of Kennedy's utterances come to mind as one watches the steady degeneration of policy under Johnson. One was in Kennedy's American University speech in June, 1963, "What kind of peace do I mean and what kind of peace do we seek? Not a *Pax Americana* enforced on the world by American weapons of war." The other was at the University of California that year when Kennedy warned, "We must reject oversimplified theories of international life—the theory that American power is unlimited, or that the American mission is to remake the world in the American image." Such views are now out of fashion. They are stigmatized as neo-isolationist while ultra-nationalist ambition parades as internationalist idealism.

All kinds of excuses could be made for Johnson's Vietnam policy. He inherited the war from Kennedy. He needed a position of strength from which to negotiate. But the Dominican affair and the "Johnson Doctrine" put Vietnam in a different light. For what Johnson is saying is that despite the Charters of the United Nations and of the Organization

(Continued on Page Two)

of American States we arrogate to ourselves the right to intervene whenever and wherever we believe a Communist regime may take over. This doctrine has two deplorable consequences. Like the Vietnamese war it must tend to solidify the Communist bloc just when centrifugal forces had made an appearance within it; American policy in Europe under Eisenhower and Kennedy had begun to encourage independence within the bloc by treating each European (though not Asian) Communist regime differently. Now that different types of Communism have begun to appear, and with them liberalizing trends, we enunciate a doctrine that no longer distinguishes among them. The effect may be to risk a new Stalinist Ice Age in the bloc as its members draw together again in fear of the U.S.

Bosch Accuses The U.S.

Mr. [Robert] PIERPONT (CBS News): Mr. Bosch, do you support the presence of U.S. troops in the Dominican Republic?

Sr. [Juan] BOSCH (deposed President of the Dominican Republic): No, sir. As you or other Americans could not support the presence of foreign troops in your country. . . .

Mr. PIERPONT: Do your people there feel and report to you that American troops are supporting General Wessin y Wessin and opposing your return? . . .

Sr. BOSCH: When infantry landed in San Isidro they found Wessin y Wessin was defeated. . . .

Mr. [Richard] HOTTELET (CBS News): Are you saying, Mr. Bosch, the U.S. has invaded the Dominican Republic and is changing the course of the revolution?

Sr. BOSCH: Of course, of course. . . .

Mr. PIERPONT: Mr. Bosch, you said that you have asked your forces in Santo Domingo not to fire on Americans. Are they following their orders?

Sr. BOSCH: Not absolutely. It was impossible because American Marines have shot Dominicans and they are going into the city, the old city, firing, in the first moment firing into the air and firing into the ground, not exactly at persons but they are going to disarm people who walk in the streets and so they are going to kill people and people are going to kill them.

Mr. PIERPONT: Are you saying the American forces began the killing then?

Sr. BOSCH: Yes, sir. . . .

Mr. PIERPONT: Does this mean, in your opinion, the cease-fire has broken down completely?

Sr. BOSCH: Yes. It was broken by American Marines.

—Juan Bosch on CBS Face The Nation, May 2.

McCarthyism In Foreign Policy

The implications are also serious for the non-Communist world. Social reform movements and anti-military uprisings in Latin America and elsewhere will be at the mercy of American definitions of what constitutes Communism. The Johnson Doctrine is McCarthyism in foreign policy. Like McCarthyism at home, it faces the same basic dilemma and that is to determine who is a Communist. Foreign policy generally tends to be to the right of domestic policy; the familiar accusation of Communism was unable to block the New Deal and the Fair Deal at home when popular feeling and democratic institutions overrode rightist propaganda in the press and communications generally. But in foreign policy, where popular feeling rarely registers, we often tend to regard with suspicion in Latin America regimes which are no more Leftist than was FDR's. This is why countries like Chile, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Venezuela and Mexico—all non-Communist regimes—look with suspicion on our Dominican intervention. The sources on which the government depends in foreign policy decisions are all heavily weighted against the non-Communist reformer. Big business, the military, the intelligence apparatus and the Foreign Service tend to share the views of their opposite numbers in the countries with which we deal, and in Latin America these sectors of society are even further right than in our own. To this influence must be added that of the Catholic Church. Cardinal Spellman—himself a major factor in U.S. foreign policy—was long a pillar of both the Diem regime in South Vietnam and the

How the Anti-Castro Obsession Undercut JKF's Program for Latin Social Reform

"However enthusiastic Kennedy's New Frontiersmen were in behalf of counterinsurgency . . . they did not convince the Latin American military leaders that this was the best way to fight Communism. The Administration's thesis that Castro's success was due to guerrilla-warfare techniques, unbeatable by the use of conventional arms, was not accepted. Instead, the Latin American generals . . . demanded tremendous amounts of new equipment—tanks, jets, destroyers—to defend their own country. The military, particularly those of Brazil and Venezuela, took advantage of the October, 1962, missile crisis to double and triple their demands for heavy military hardware. . . .

"Latin America's armed forces were willing to cooperate with the U.S. anti-guerrilla training missions and to devote a unit or two of their establishments to anti-guerrilla warfare operations but . . . the counter-insurgency units did not always perform as intended. In Peru, the anti-guerrilla commandos spearheaded the ouster of President Manuel Prado. In the Dominican Republic, the U.S. trained police joined the Army in ousting President Bosch, following which both the police and the anti-guerrilla units, trained during 1963 by a 44-man U.S. Army Mission, were used to hunt down Bosch's non-Communist partisans in the name of anti-Communism. In Guatemala and Ecuador, too, there was every indication that the counter-insurgency forces, both the police and Army units, were being used principally to stifle the political thrust of the non-Communist left. . . . which Washington [under Kennedy] believed to be the best defense against Communism. . . .

"The [Kennedy] Administration's policies were not always consistent. Its general policy was to encourage the growth of responsible apolitical military organizations so that democracy might have a better chance to function; yet, when it wanted to isolate Cuba, it did not hesitate to make political use of the military against policies of the civilian governments of Argentina and Ecuador. Also, it compromised democratic principles for the sake of expediency in accepting the coups of Guatemala and Ecuador. Finally, it began to veer toward a watered-down definition of democracy by going along with vetoes issued by the military against majority-supported civilian politicians. . . .

"As military intervention in many countries blocked democratic social revolution, it gave added weight to Castro's oft-repeated assertion that there is no alternative between violent social upheavals and military dictatorship. And it was certainly true that, despite its noble efforts and intentions, the Kennedy Administration accomplished little in furthering the cause of democracy in Latin America."

—Edwin Lieuwen: Generals vs. Presidents—Neo Militarism in Latin America (Praeger, 1964) highly recommended.

Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic. If such forces decide who is Communist, then social reform in the hemisphere and elsewhere is indeed in trouble.

Kennedy Supported Bosch

Here we come to a sharp difference between the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. The former was friendly to Bosch but Standard Oil of New Jersey was hostile to him, as was (to its shame) the AFL-CIO. While our Ambassador, John Bartlow Martin, warned the Dominican military against a coup to unseat Bosch, his warnings were undercut by our Military Mission in the island, some of whose members agreed that Bosch was a Communist. The Catholic Church, which had opposed Bosch's election, was angered by the adoption of a secular Constitution. So after seven months, the first freely elected Dominican regime in a generation was overthrown. Bosch was all we claimed we wanted: a truly democratic social reformer absolutely free from any taint of Communism, as his friends Betancourt of Venezuela and Figueres of Costa Rica and our own Norman Thomas were prepared to attest. I was in the Dominican Republic when Bosch was in power, and I was impressed by his inspiring eloquence, his devotion and his uncompromising civil libertarian principles. But for the military and big business and the CIA to be a genuine liberal was by definition to be "soft on Communism." Kennedy, to his credit, shut off all aid to the new military regime after Bosch was overthrown and refused to recognize it. Only the military dictatorships of Spain, Portugal, Formosa and Honduras extended recognition in the month after the coup, while the U.S. held off. But Johnson, soon after Kennedy's assassination, reversed that policy. The reader can see from the box at the bottom of this page that Johnson, with Tom Mann, swung away from the social reform emphasis of the Alliance for Progress and toward military dictatorships submissive to American business interests—like Brazil's which Rusk hailed as a victory for democracy and constitutional government!

Just One Big Plot From One Big Switchboard

Mr. Rowland EVANS: Senator Dodd, you just said you are very sure there is a connection between events in the Dominican Republic and the fighting in Vietnam. Would you document that a little bit? Do you mean there is a central command post somewhere, perhaps in Peking, that is signalling an outbreak of trouble in the Caribbean at a specific time to embarrass President Johnson and the United States?

Senator DODD: Yes, I do. . . . I am satisfied that this situation in the Dominican Republic is tied right into our struggle in Southeast Asia.

—On Meet the Press, May 2.

There is no country for which U.S. intervention has a grimmer meaning than the Dominican Republic. The long and bloody night of the Trujillo dictatorship was ushered in by a similar U.S. Marine occupation. That Caribbean Nero was himself trained by the Marines, later armed by U.S. military aid, and praised by our Eastlands and Ellenders and McCormacks during the terrible years he imposed upon his people. The cry of Communism is familiar to them; for 30 years every opponent of The Benefactor was labelled a Communist. "I beg President Johnson and the American people," Mrs. Juan Bosch, herself a Cuban aristocrat, said at an anguished press conference here, "to understand that we are your friends. We are not 'rebels.' We are democrats fighting to *regain* the liberties which were stolen from us by Gen. Wessin. We need your help and understanding, not your paratroopers . . . not your bullets." Never was the Red Menace more fraudulently trotted out than against Bosch and his supporters. Every American who knows what such interventions have cost the Latins in the past must blush with shame over Johnson's revival of gunboat diplomacy.

How Johnson and Tom Mann Shifted the Emphasis from Reform to Anti-Communism

"Since his very first days in office, President Johnson has had to deal with the problem of militarism in Latin America. In the last two months of the Kennedy Administration, the U.S. boycott—diplomatic, economic and military—of the Dominican and Honduran regimes, as intended, seriously weakened the position of the military rulers in those two nations. But they soon came up with the magic formula for resisting demands to restore democracy and constitutionalism; it was the cry of Castro-Communism. Though Castro-Communism was never a serious problem when the democratic governments of Bosch and Villeda Morales were in power, the new military rulers repeatedly warned that Washington's ostracism of their regimes had given strength to subversive elements and that a Cuban-type upheaval was in store unless recognition and aid were granted. To this blackmail, the new Johnson Administration succumbed. On Dec. 14, 1963, in exchange for assurances that some kind of elections would be held during 1965, the juntas in the Dominican Republic and Honduras were recognized. During January and February 1964, the economic and military aid programs were resumed.

"During March came further evidence that a basic policy shift was under way in Washington. On March 16, the third anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, President Johnson paid lip service to the U.S. continued devotion to the principles of economic development, social justice and human freedom for Latin America, but he made no mention of the principal internal impediments to freedom and social justice, namely, the military and the oligarchies. Instead he mentioned that the principal threat to the Alliance was from Communism and in unequivocal terms pledged that 'the full power of the U.S. is ready to assist any country where freedom is threatened by forces dictated from beyond the shores of the continent.'

"But two days later, on March 18 [1964], at a meeting of U.S. Ambassadors to Latin America, the new Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs, Thomas Mann, reportedly suggested that it was unwise for the U.S. to continue to become involved in internal threats to freedom in Latin America, since Kennedy's policies had demonstrated how fruitless it was for the U.S. to try to impose democracy upon Latin America. Mann urged that greater attention be paid to immediate national-security interests, such as protection of U.S. investments and resistance to Communism. He suggested a less passionate commitment to political freedom and social justice. The emerging 'Mann doctrine' seemed to be that henceforth the U.S. would no longer oppose military coups or rightist dictatorships. Thus, the new and much narrower criteria for recognizing and supporting new governments in Latin America seemed to be anti-Communism and security for foreign investments. Eliminated were the Kennedy foreign-policy dimensions of human freedom and social justice."

—Lieuwen: Generals vs. Presidents (Praeger, 1964)

To Uphold The Cuban Travel Ban Is To Make Police State Law for the Hemisphere

A Supreme Court Decision To Match LBJ's Latin American Policy

It is most disappointing that Chief Justice Warren and Mr. Justice Brennan abandoned their liberal principles and made possible a 6-to-3 victory for reaction in the Zemel case. The issue was the State Department's power to erect Iron Curtains around countries of which it disapproves, in this case Cuba, and forbid travel to them. The Chief Justice's decision breathes the same Metternichian spirit as the Johnson messages on the Dominican Republic and can serve only to set a bad example for the Americas.

The Same Iron Curtain Logic

This is a hemispheric police state decision. "The U.S. and other members of the Organization of American States," the Supreme Court noted, "have determined that travel between Cuba and the other countries of the Western Hemisphere is an important element in the spread of subversion, and many have therefore undertaken measures to discourage such travel." But if conditions in Cuba are as repellent as our government says they are, what better way to expose them than to encourage more people to go and see for themselves? If, on the other hand, progress is being made under Castro, then our Iron Curtain has the same purpose as those of totalitarian regimes—to keep their people from seeing the truth about the outside world and the falsity of their own propaganda.

The Chief Justice recognizes queasily that "the Secretary of State's refusal to validate passports for Cuba renders less than wholly free the flow of information concerning that country." But he and the majority decline to accept the contention that this is an invasion of First Amendment rights. They fall back on the view that "the changeable and explosive nature of contemporary international relations" justify the Executive in wielding greater authority on the world than on the domestic scene.

If travel can facilitate "the spread of subversion" so can the reading of dangerous books and periodicals. If the President can shut off travel to Cuba or China or North Vietnam, as he does under present travel restrictions, can he also shut off publications from those countries? Or publications at home he deems friendly to them? Where do you stop once you decide that First Amendment rights may be restricted for foreign policy reasons? The Communists are not the only ones to use "salami" tactics in cutting away basic rights.

Punished for Going to Cuba

The U.S. seems to think it has the right to control the travel to Cuba not only of its own citizens but of Latin Americans. On April 28 immigration authorities at Kennedy Field in New York took away the residence card of a respected Latin American Washington correspondent, Leopoldo Aragon, on his return from Mexico. He was told the action was taken "on suspicion of having been to Cuba"! Aragon writes for El Dia (Mexico), Ultima Hora (Santiago, Chile), Epoca (Montevideo) and Gestos (Lima). His visit to Cuba was no secret (his last previous visit there was in 1961) and he is to write a series on Cuba for his papers. This means writing with the threat of expulsion hanging over his head. Unless he obtains a new residence card, he and his family must pull up roots and leave the U.S. or face separation. Aragon's wife is a naturalized citizen. They have two American children. He is a Panamanian. We ask other papers to inquire and protest.

Black, Douglas and Goldberg dissented. The views of the dissenters reflect a philosophy suddenly on the wane. If travel is to be barred to shut off Communist ideas, Douglas and Goldberg argued, we have to deal with more than Cuba. There are Communist regimes on every continent "and if we are to know them and understand them, we must mingle with them, as Pope John said." The dissenters pleaded that "keeping alive intellectual intercourse between opposing groups" has "perhaps never been more important than now."

The First Amendment, Douglas and Goldberg declared in words which recall Holmes and Brandeis, "presupposes a mature people, not afraid of ideas." That Amendment, they protest, "leaves no room for the official, whether truculent or benign, to say nay or yea because the ideas offend or please him, or because he believes some political objective is served by keeping the citizen at home or letting him go." The words begin to sound like the echo of a vanishing age.

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NEWSPAPER

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JAN-64-15

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ALL FIGURES from 1960 census

Memo from **BARBARA PATTERSON**

	TOTAL POP.	N-W POP.	W-POP.
U.S.	179,323,175	20,491,443	158,831,732
ALA.	3,267,000	983,123	2,283,609
ARK.	1,786,000	390,079	1,395,703
FLA.	4,952,000	887,679	4,063,881
GA.	3,943,00	1,124,898	2,817,223
LA.	3,257,000	1,045,068	2,211,715
MISS.	2,178,000	920,734	1,257,546
N.C.	4,556,000	1,156,707	3,339,285
S.C.	2,383,000	834,962	1,551,022
TENN.	3,567,000	589,136	2,977,753
TEX.	9,580,000	1,204,846	8,374,831
VA.	3,967,000	822,426	3,142,443
Total for 11 Southern states	43,436,000	9,959,658	33,415,011

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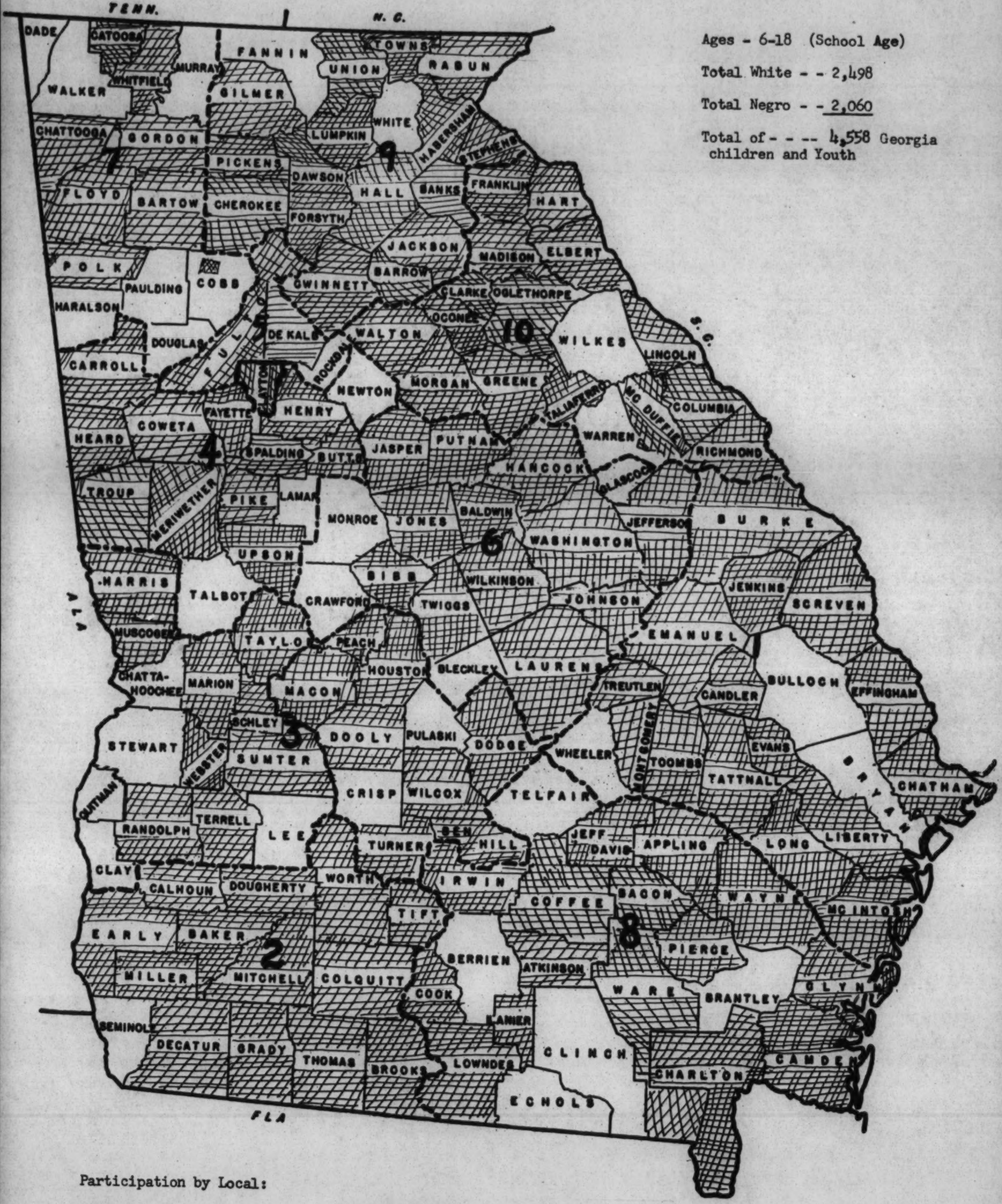
Pritchard

SURVEY ON GEORGIA CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN COMMON JAILS
DURING ONE YEAR - June 1, 1960 - June 1, 1961

123 COUNTIES INCLUDED. INFORMATION OBTAINED DURING SUMMER 1960


TENN.
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WHITE
CHATTOOGA
GORDON
LUMPKIN
HABERSHAM
STEPHENS
PICKENS
DAWSON
FLOYD
BARTOW
CHEROKEE
FORSYTH
HALL
BANKS
FRANKLIN
HART
JACKSON
MADISON
ELBERT
POLK
PAULDING
COBB
BARROW
GWINNETT
CLARKE
OGLETHORPE
HARALSON
OCONEE
FULTON
DE KALB
WALTON
WILKES
DOUGLAS
ROCKDALE
LINCOLN
CARROLL
CLAYTON
NEWTON
MORGAN
GREENE
TALIAFERRO
MC DUFFIE
COLUMBIA
FAYETTE
HENRY
COWETA
WARREN
HEARD
SPALDING
BUTTS
JASPER
PUTNAM
RICHMOND
HANCOCK
GLASCOCK
TROUP
MERIWETHER
PIKE
LAMAR
MONROE
JONES
BALDWIN
JEFFERSON
BURKE
WASHINGTON
UPSON
HARRIS
TALBOT
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CRAWFORD
WILKINSON
TWIGGS
JOHNSON
JENKINS
SCREVEN
MUSCOGEE
TAYLOR
PEACH
EMANUEL
CHATTAHOOCHEE
MARION
HOUSTON
BLECKLEY
LAURENS
MACON
TREUTLEN
CANDLER
BULLOCH
EFFINGHAM
SCHLEY
DOOLY
PULASKI
DODGE
STEWART
WEBSTER
SUMTER
WHEELER
MONTGOMERY
TOOMBS
EVANS
QUITMAN
CRISP
WILCOX
TELFAIR
TATTNALL
BRYAN
CHATHAM
RANDOLPH
TERRELL
LEE
TURNER
BEN HILL
JEFF DAVIS
APPLING
LONG
LIBERTY
CLAY
CALHOUN
DOUGHERTY
WORTH
IRWIN
COFFEE
BACON
WAYNE
MC INTOSH
TIFT
EARLY
BAKER
BERRIEN
ATKINSON
PIERCE
MILLER
MITCHELL
COLQUITT
COOK
WARE
BRANTLEY
GLYNN
SEMINOLE
LANIER
CLINCH
DECATUR
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THOMAS
BROOKS
LOWNDES
CHARLTON
CAMDEN
ECHOLS
1
2
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Ages - 6-18 (School Age)

Total White - - 2,498

Total Negro - - 2,060

Total of - - -- 4,558 Georgia children and Youth

Participation by Local:

Sheriff
Visiting Teachers
Juvenile Court Personnel
Police
Welfare Personnel
Clerk of Court
Probation Officers
School Principals
School Superintendents
Judge of Superior Court
Jailer and/or his Wife
County Ordinary
Others

SURVEY ON GEORGIA CHILDREN AND YOUTH
Made Summer 1961

This survey has been an attempt to bring together factual information on children and youth held in common jails in Georgia during the year June 1, 1960 to June 1, 1961.

The survey was not made in a critical attitude toward anyone. Local people usually do the best they can with facilities at hand. Pertinent information on actual conditions and needs is necessary to enlist many individuals and groups in a "look-see" regarding needs for detention, study and diagnosis, as well as the strengthening of programs dealing with prevention of juvenile delinquency, mental illness, etc. The foundations for adult crime and mental illness is formed in the earlier years.

It is hoped that the information secured by this survey will be used to help Georgia boys and girls soon, and in turn future adult Georgians.

- - - - - - - -

Some Instructions or Suggestions for Completing Survey:

1. Those held in jail include all children confined in the common jail, even if a separate space is provided within the jail for detaining children.
2. If the exact age is unknown or unavailable to you, then estimate as close as possible. Example; if the child is thought to be less than 12, or even 12, then count this child in the first block - if more than 12 count him in the second block, etc.
3. The child may have been neglected and as a result become delinquent, but if the delinquent act brought him to the attention of the law, then the delinquent act is the major cause at the time for being placed in jail. The reason at the time of being detained is needed, not contributing causes.
4. In order to get a true survey in a county, the information on children within the independent school area must be combined with those outside.

Information Compiled From Reports Submitted From 123 Counties:

WHITE
Number, Sex and Age Levels

Age	Under 8		8-12		12-16		16-18		
Sex	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Total
Number	4	4	77	13	895	162	1,238	105	
Totals	8		90		1,057		1,343		2,498

NEGRO
Number, Sex and Age Levels

Age	Under 8		8-12		12-16		16-18		
Sex	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Total
Number	7	1	171	16	658	119	969	119	
Totals	8		187		777		1,088		2,060

WHITE

Major CAUSE and NUMBER held at given ages, also Sex (123 Counties Reporting)

Age	Under 8		8-12		12-16		16-18		
Sex	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
Neglected and/or Dependency		2	18	6	170	10	91	1	
Totals	2		24		180		92		298

NEGRO

Major CAUSE and NUMBER held at given ages, also Sex (123 Counties Reporting)

Age	Under 8		8-12		12-16		16-18		
Sex	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
Neglected and/or Dependency	3	1	15	4	74	7	38	2	
Totals	4		19		81		40		144

What do you think is the significance of the above information?

SOME ITEMS LIFTED FROM SURVEY WITH TABULATED REPLIES

I. Do you have sufficient foster homes in your county or available in near-by counties?

17 replied -- yes

82 replied -- no

Others doubted having a sufficient number, but stated some foster homes were available.

II. With the help of your sheriff, judge or who ever is most concerned and with whom you work closely, estimate how many children in your county need detention and study to determine what would be appropriate handling or treatment to prevent delinquency and/or mental illness, etc.

The tally shows 4,862

Comments when number not given were such as:

1. "about 10% of the children need some help"

2. "cannot estimate number"

3. "large number"

III. If you have detention facilities separate and apart from the jail for detaining children in trouble please describe briefly.

99 counties reported NO facilities

PERTINENT FACTS

The length of time confined in jail by Georgia children ranged from one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) hour to twelve (12) months.

The majority of those more than 16 were school drop-outs. A significant number 840 had already dropped out of school from the 16 to 18 age group, but were sent back to the local school by the court. This practice creates undue problems in the local school.

The majority of those held for delinquent acts had records of irregular school attendance.

Irregular and non-attendance are symptoms of underlying problems.

Several counties reported that no records on juveniles were kept. These counties are included in the count.

Three counties reported only names were available - local officials attempted to recall ages and offences.

Two counties reported that local officials did not want the information given. Survey coordinator advised workers not to send report, as desires of local officials should be respected.

The Atlanta Journal Saturday, October 21, 1961

THE JOURNAL FORUM

Children in Georgia's Jails

Crying for Understanding, Child Finds Doors Closed

By **PEPPER ROBERTS**

Georgians apparently love children—our census reveals that we have many. And we seem interested in their future because we provide them with schools, health centers, and elaborate recreation facilities.

But when the child cries out in the dark for understanding and a protecting arm, our services falter drastically. Somewhere along the line many children become disenchanted with what we have to offer, and many parents, if they are around, are not communicating with them too well.

These are the times when children have problems and children are problems. These are the crucial periods for parents and society. Here are our children by the thousands who are groping for love, affection, compassion, undertaking, guidance, and protection.

But how do we Georgians respond to their desperate needs. The answer comes quick and direct: For years we have slammed the steel door of the common jail in their helpless faces.

* * *

FOR THE PAST 12 months in 123 counties in Georgia we have subjected over 5,000 boys and girls to this terrible fate, and they join the inestimable thousands who have shared a similar fate for generations past. Can we still wonder why in 1958 Georgia held the record among states with the most persons behind bars per population —181 per 100,000. And in 1960, after the infamous 1958 record, our prison population jumped to 244 per 100,000.

The appalling fact is that most of the current children were not included in the statistical count. But we can be assured that children of the past who have been subjected to these injustices swell the ranks of the 10,000 persons now in our prison system.

Thousands of our children are jailed each year as delinquents and many times their delinquency is based on who they are, how much they are in the way, and the place where they live. Additional hundreds are jailed because they are neglected and dependant.

* * *

ONE DOES NOT need to be an expert in the field of child welfare to recognize the tremendous harm done to these poor unfortunates and even to succeeding generations that they may sire. These children suffer from shame and humiliation. They bear a stigma which will exist with them all their lives. These persons of tender years are often subjected to older criminal offenders and witness many acts and hear many things that would cause any decent adult to pale.

Children having once been jailed find themselves demeaned and the object of ridicule. Many are ostracized and lose their feelings of worthwhileness and self-respect. They are the innocent victims who are made fertile to feed the tremendous crime mill we possess here in Georgia.

If you have begun to wonder whether anyone cares about these children being locked up, then seek out your local sheriff and determine how many children he has harbored in his home rather than using his jail. These acts of humanitarism have been performed by sheriffs hundreds of times. They have pleaded for help years on end.

* * *

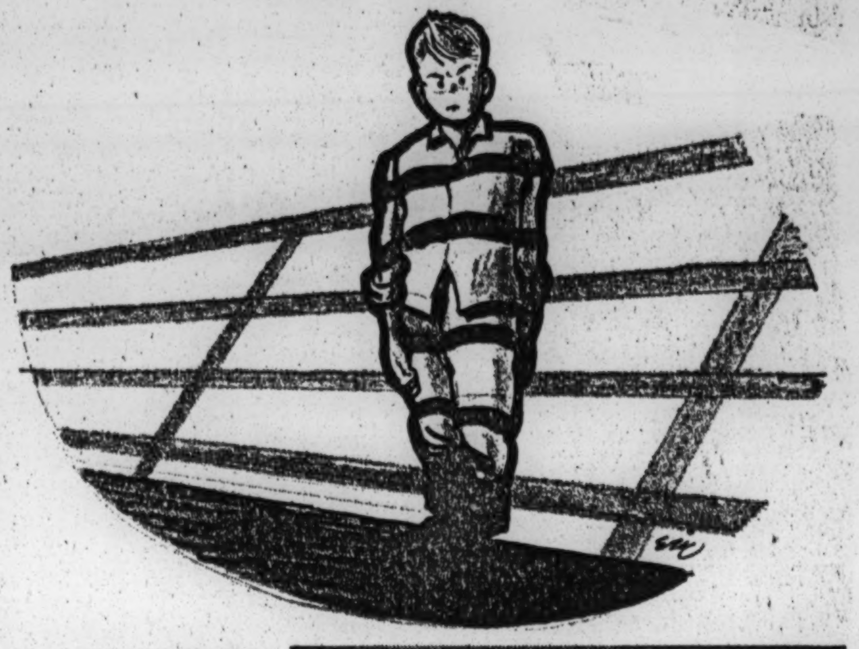
TALK WITH the school authorities and visiting teachers concerning their problems of readjusting these children to their respective schools and communities.

Visit in the home of a distraught mother and father who have a child locked behing bars and are helpless to do anything about it.

Look jailed children in their eyes and try to convince yourself that this is for their welfare.

Perhaps a more realistic shock will develop if you will envision your own children in jail. They aren't immune.

When we Georgians realize and feel the need for a remedy to this grave problem, something will be done. Open your eyes, seek the truth of this awful fact in your community, and you will open your heart.



Money Used to Jail Child Would Help New System

By **ADA TOOMBS**

"Parens Patriae," a principle of old English Common Law, describes the chancellor as "keeper of the King's conscience" and as such responsible for protecting widows and orphans and correcting wayward children. It means simply the king, through his chancellor, stood in place of "the wise father."

From this ancient principle developed our concept of governmental responsibility for children who become wards of the state through our courts and who are in need of guidance, protection, discipline and correction. Because citizens now hold the power of government then vested in the king, you and I stand in the "parens patriae" relationship to children who for whatever reason are brought to our courts.

How do we fulfill this responsibility to the thousands of children in our courts?

Well, last year we clapped 5,000 of them in our county jails and city lockups because we had no place else to keep them until their cases could be heard. Five hundred were young children. They weren't accused of any mischief. They were abandoned or neglected by their parents and dependent on our cold mercy.

* * *

THERE IS only one full-time juvenile court judge in all of Georgia. Only 26 counties have juvenile courts with part-time judges.

Such state children services as we have are divided, fragmented and covered up by the major responsibilities of various state departments. The Welfare Department operates the training schools for delinquent boys and girls. The Board of Corrections operates a prison for young offenders. Pages 56 and 57 of their annual report shows 476 boys and girls up through age 17 sentenced to prison last year. Of these, 452 were first offenders.

Now I don't believe judges enjoy sending youngsters to state prison. Our prison officials aren't happy to have them. There was simply no place else to put them.

* * *

THIS ISN'T any new problem. We have talked about this sorry circumstance for years. Meetings about juvenile delinquency and our lack of children services are held regularly from Brasstown Bald to Tybee Light. We've had surveys. Joint House and Senate committees have met, studied and recommended. The question is how to get past the talking and into action.

It's a big problem, a big state and there is no simple [illegible] so many boys and girls behave in ways which cause us pain and cost money. Behavior is a symptom like fever. The fever isn't what's wrong, it's what ails them is the matter. This involves diagnostic counselling and guidance by competent trained people.

* * *

WE NEED vocational training to give these boys and girls usable skills. The market for unskilled workers is down and dropping every year.

If they are ever to become economically independent, instead of a charge of the taxpayers, they must be trained to fit our emerging industrial economy—but they cannot be used until they are trained.

We need a diversified system of state facilities equipped with trained staff and geographically located for maximum use of other available private and public services to properly house and care for these youngsters. We must at long last get these children out of Georgia jails.

* * *

OF COURSE this will cost money. This cannot be denied. But we are spending our tax dollars now on our archaic and sometimes vicious operation. If we could redirect the money we spend on sending and keeping these boys and girls in prison, we wouldn't have to look for money. We would have saved it.

A bill to establish a Georgia Department of Youth will be before the General Assembly in January. This legislation takes a new direction. It consolidates the responsibility. It contains the beginnings of hopeful, forward looking programs. Many people are giving careful thought to its provisions.

It will be introduced by the representative from Ware County, Tom Parker. It will pass the House and Senate and receive the necessary appropriation only if it receives the full support of Georgia citizens. It's high time for you and me to get into action. It's time for us to act in "parens patriae" for our children.

About the Forum Writers

MR. ROBERTS, of Atlanta, is a federal probation officer for the Northern District of Georgia. Formerly he was Georgia state-director of probation.

MRS. HENRY TOOMBS, of Atlanta, is chairman, of the Youth Service Committee of the Georgia Federation of Women's clubs and is a leader in other civic and political activities.

You'll find on this page thoughtful discussion of major issues facing our state and nation. Today's Journal Forum discusses the problem of children in our jails.

RELEASE

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS That for and in consideration of ONE AND NO/100 DOLLARS ——————————(\$1.00) to the undersigned Kennon Travis in hand paid or given by CITY OF BIRMINGHAM, a municipal corporation, and other good and valuable consideration, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, I, the said Kennon Travis, for and on behalf of myself, my executors, administrators and assigns, do hereby forever release and discharge said City of Birmingham, its officers, agents and employees ~~and~~ namely, Officers D. P. Jones and W. D. King, (none of whom admit liability but who expressly deny liability) from any and all liability of whatsoever nature, growing out of or arising as a result of the search, seizure and arrest of either Phillip Travis, Sr., Phillip Travis, Jr., or Kennon Travis, or all three, at 405 Irving Street, Ensley, Birmingham, Alabama, at about 2:50 A.M. on, to-wit, October 28, 1961, in the City of Birmingh including any and all damages growing out of or arising from person injuries, if any, sustained as a result of the aforesaid circumstan

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand___ an seal___, this ______ day of ________________, 195___.

______________________________(

______________________________(

Witnesses:

Harold Cooper

Jesse Jenkins

CORE-LATOR

Published bimonthly by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y. Subscription $2.00 a year
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*
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THE WEST FELICIANA STORY

by Ronnie Moore

West Feliciana is a southeastern Louisiana parish with a 60% Negro population where no Negro had registered since 1902. On October 17, 1963, at approximately 2:30 p.m., Rev. Joseph Carter emerged from the St. Francisville courthouse, smiling and waving his voter registration certificate.

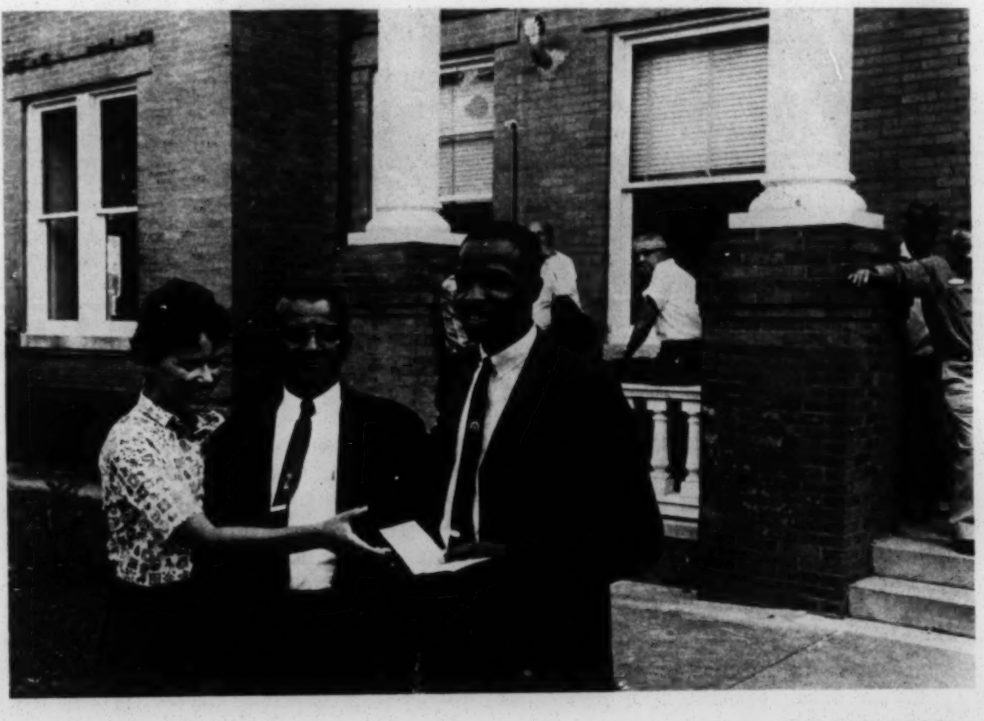


Photo by Bob Adelman

In this photo, CORE Field Secretary Mary Hamilton (at left) and I (at right) are congratulating him on being the first Negro to register since reconstruction.

It was just a year since the start of CORE's registration drive in West Feliciana and seven other parishes of Louisiana's 6th Congressional district. In West Feliciana, fear, apathy and ignorance had prevailed. On one occasion in the town of Tunica, Weldon Rougeau, also a CORE field secretary, and I were ordered out of a minister's conference because local Negroes feared for their lives and the safety of their meagre property.

This past summer our efforts were intensified when Rudy Lombard, and Gordon Carey, two national CORE officers, headed a group of some 50 CORE Task Force workers to work in this area and especially in West Feliciana. As a result, on August 10, Rev. Carter and another Negro minister, Rev. Rudolph Davis, attempted to register. They were told that they each would have to be identified by two registered voters—an impossibility, since there were no Negroes registered in the parish. When Rev. Carter approached Registrar Fletcher Harvey to inquire about his qualificaiton, he was promptly arrested by Sheriff W. C. Percy for "disturbing the peace" and jailed overnight.

(Continued on page 2)

P.S. TO "THE PLAQUEMINE STORY"

by James Farmer

On October 7, the Negro students of Plaquemine, Louisiana went on strike forcing a four-day shutdown of the high school. In addition to demanding reinstatement of a fired lunchroom worker, they sought reinstatement of 35 of their fellow-students who had been suspended, desegregation of Iberville parish schools by 1964 and equal job opportunities for Negroes.

Police teargassed the striking students, first as they marched in groups of 10 to the white high schools, which they were picketing and again as they assembled in Freedom Rock Baptist Church (the church's name had been changed from "Plymouth Rock" to "Freedom Rock" following our mass demonstrations which I described in the last COREIator).

Police Chief Dennis Songy threatened to destroy the church asserting: "If they want to use that church to serve God, that's OK, but they're not going to use it as a fort." The word "fort" was ill-chosen for the student protest action remained peaceful throughout. Evidently the police chief does not believe the parishioners have the right to use their church as they see fit.

Two of the student leaders—Kenneth Johnson and Willie Mellien—have been committed to the State Industrial Detention House for Juvenile Delinquents for an indefinite period. This means up to five years for Johnson, who is only 16 and was a CORE Task Force member. Attorneys are seeking a habeaus corpus writ to secure their release.

* * *

In Clinton, the start of picketing in the downtown business section on October 14 resulted in the arrest of 38 pickets and a CORE field worker. Attempts by the state to enjoin all CORE activity were halted pending a ruling by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals on the validity of the state court hearing.

FREEDOM VOTE DRIVE

CORE was an active participant in the Council of Federated Organizations during its recent Freedom Vote Campaign in Mississippi which netted 90,000 gubernatorial votes for Aaron Henry. CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis was an executive of the Henry campaign committee.

CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond was run out of Yazoo City three times by local police and was finally arrested by highway patrolmen. Yazoo City is one of the localities where CORE concentrated its campaign efforts. Others were Meridian, Canton and Jackson.

Georgia Insurrection Law Voided—4 Freed

(Editor's Note—Thanks to readers who heeded the appeal in the last CORE-lator to write Attorney General Kennedy and President Kennedy on this case.)

Georgia's 1871 insurrection law and a state law against unlawful assembly were declared "unconstitutional and void" by a special 3-judge federal court on November 1. Reasonable bail was ordered set immediately for a CORE field secretary and three SNCC field workers who since August had been imprisoned in Americus without bail on the grounds that this law carries the death penalty.

(left to right are Donald Harris, Ralph Allen and John Perdew of SNCC and Zev Aelony of CORE)

Also the court demanded reasonable bail for two other SNCC workers who had ben held on other miscellaneous charges. The six were thereupon released on bail totaling $11,150 and were greeted enthusiastically by a group of over 150 friends and supporters. They want to remain in Americus and continue the civil rights struggle from where they left-off.

The court decision, which was two-to-one, came after a-day-and-a-half hearing marked by testimony of extreme police brutality against civil rights demonstrators last August. Witnesses related how they had been clubbed mercilessly and jabbed with electric prod rods.

Sallie Mae Durham told how, upon requesting medical aid following her arrest, she was thrown into a five-by-five "dungeon." James Williams, a laborer, testified that his leg had been broken by a state trooper wielding a baseball bat.

The state prosecutor, Stephen Pace, Jr., admitted to the court that the main purpose of invoking the insurrection law which he admitted is unconstitutional—was to halt the demonstrations. He reaffirmed the correctness of his statement quoted by UPI that "the basic reason for bringing these charges was to deny the defendants, or to ask the court to deny them bond."

Pointing this out in his argument to the court, Morris Abram, CORE's attorney, said: "Defendant Pace has admitted that prior to the commencement of this action, he did not even intend to call plaintiff's case to trial. He has in fact indicated that if plaintiff would agree to leave the state of Georgia, he would consent to his admission to bail."

The SNCC members were defended by attorneys for the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund.

The defense lawyers pointed out that the court decision marks the first time the federal judiciary has halted a state court civil rights proceeding at the request of private individuals—the imprisoned men. Filed on their behalf, the suit seeks to restrain state and county officials from conspiring to suppress the civil rights movement in Americus. The court gave these officials until January to prepare their defense against this charge.

WEST FELICIANA STORY (cont'd)

Rev. Carter thereupon filed a $100,000 damage suit in federal court accusing both the registrar and the sheriff of violating his civil rights. This boosted local morale to the extent that attendance at our voter registration clinics, which had ranged from 5 to 10, increased to as many as 115 by the end of September.

Then, on October 17, 43 prospective registrants, including Rev. Carter, assembled at Masonic Hall and boarded a bus for the courthouse in St. Francisville. Upon arrival, I conferred with the district attorney and the registrar. However, the registrar claimed that 8 whites were ahead of us on the waiting list and we sat across the street from 8:35 a.m. until 2 p.m. before Rev. Carter was called.

As the morning passed, tension mounted. On several occasions, a group of whites tried to block the entranceway. I was shown a knife and was told I would be emasculated. Rev. Carter was likewise threatened. FBI agents and a Justice Department official were stationed around the courthouse. Of five Negroes attempting to register that day, four were rejected. Three of them had attended high school but the fourth had been unable to do so.

That night, two Negro families were threatened. Their landlord, Daniel Lee, accompanied by two other white men, warned that if the two family heads should again attempt to register, their homes would be burned to the ground and they would be killed or injured in the fires. Johnny Hamilton, the first to be threatened, complained to the Justice Department and then decided to leave town. James Payne, the second man threatened, was hit across the face with a rifle butt.

Nevertheless, we returned to the registrar's office next day, 30 strong. Again we were told that a group of whites was ahead of us and we would have to wait. Although on every occasion the registrar has made such a claim, we have never actually seen any of these prospective white registrants. Seven of our people actually gained admission to the office that day, of whom three were registered: Nathaniel Smith and Ernest Morgan—both farmers—and Handy Berry, an unemployed hod carrier. As Smith came out of the office, I pinned on him an "I Am A Registered Voter: Are You?" button.

That night five carloads of whites went to the home of our bus driver, John Brannon, and fired gunshot volleys around his home.

(Continued on Page 3)

SUSPENSION OF 2 STUDENT CORE LEADERS PROMPTS CAMPUS PROTEST

The suspension of Patricia Stephens Due and Ruben Kenon from Florida A & M University in Tallahasee, Florida, has resulted in several student protest actions and one mass rally on campus.

The two students received the heaviest prison sentences—six months—as a consequence of Tallahasee CORE's mid-September mass demonstrations at the Florida Theater, in which 354 demonstrators were arrested. The cases are presently being appealed.

Following the suspensions, CORE has taken Patricia Due on its staff to lead a voter registration campaign in the Tallahassee area. She is a longtime leader of Tallahassee CORE and was a participant in the first jail-in of the 1960 lunch counter sit-in movement.

WEST FELICIANA STORY (cont'd)

The following Monday we returned to the courthouse to find that the registrar had adopted a tactic of demanding extraordinary identification. He asked for identification from two registered voters in each applicant's ward, which was impossible since the four Negroes thus far registered had been from different wards. He agreed to accept a driver's license over a year old, but this proved an impediment since Louisiana's drivers licenses are renewed every two years. All nine of our prospective registrants were thus rejected because of insufficient identification, so a complaint was filed with the Justice Department.

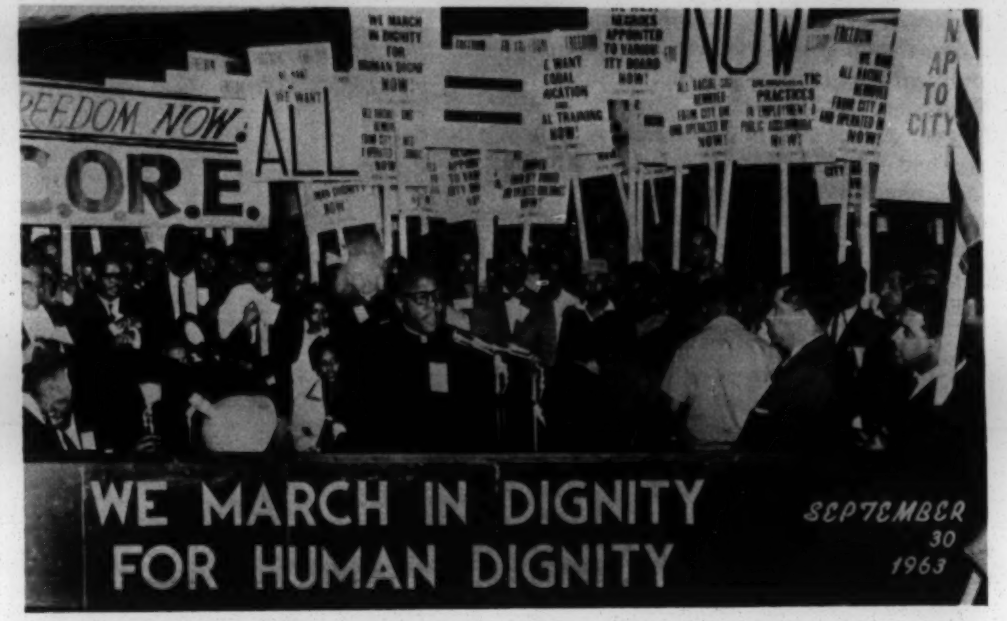
Next day, we canvassed the parish and held a clinic with over 165 participants. On Wednesday, we returned to the registrar's office to check on the identification requirements. Two days later, possibly as a result of our complaint to the Justice Department, an official of the state registration office was supervising the local registrar and two of our five applicants succeeded in registering.

That brought our total of registered Negroes to 6. Since then, 10 more have been registered. This total is small, but extremely significant in a parish where no Negro has registered since 1902.

* * *

In Iberville parish, which was the initial target of the CORE voter registration drive, a full slate of 12 Negroes qualified for the 1963 Democratic primaries. Among the candidates are Spiver Gordon, a CORE Task Force worker, and Dr. Bertrand Tyson and W. W. Harleaux, both community leaders.

BIGGEST PROTEST MARCH IN SOUTH



The biggest civil rights march to be held in the south took place in New Orleans on September 30 under the sponsorship of the Citizen's Committee, a joint group whose chairman is Lolis Elie, CORE's chief southern counsel.

Over 15,000 Negroes and whites participated. The New Orleans CORE contingent carried a large banner saying "Freedom Now—CORE." CORE National Associate Director Richard Haley and New Orleans CORE Chairman Oretha Castle led the contigent. Over 300 white students were among the marchers.

Another banner in the march said: "We March in Dignity for Human Dignity Now." A banner proclaiming the march's chief objective said: "We Want Equal Employment and Equal Training Now." Another objective of the march was desegregation of those public accommodations which still refuse to serve Negroes and repeal of a local ordinance imposing segregation in public places selling alcoholic beverages.

Speakers included Oretha Castle of CORE, Ernest Morial of NAACP, Rev. Avery Alexander of the Consumers League, Rev. G. L. Hayden of St. James AME Church, A. Horowitz of the Hillel Foundation, Monsignor Clauche and Rev. A. L. Davis.

Follow-Through Action

Two of these speakers—Rev. Davis (at the microphones in above photo) and Rev. Alexander—were among 25 persons arrested a month later—on October 31—while sitting-in in the City Council chamber, the segregated City Hall cafeteria and the Mayor's waiting room.

Rev. Davis, who was ousted from the City Council chamber, had pledged to "stay here and sit for 30 days hence until we get some word" on demands for complete desegregation and equal job opportunities. Rev. Alexander was dragged by the heels by two policemen from the cafeteria.

Five days later eight more sit-inners, including CORE Field Secretary Isaac Reynolds, were arrested in the mayor's waiting room and in the cafeteria. Included in the group were five whites: a Tulane University professor and four Tulane students.

A Mass March in the North

Trenton, the capital of New Jersey, on October 26 was the scene of a Statewide March for Jobs and Freedom in which 12,000 persons from all parts of the state participated. Arriving in special buses and by train, they started marching at City Hall, proceeded to the State House and then to the War Memorial Building where a giant rally was held.

Participating in the March were a large number of unions and religious bodies in addition to the New Jersey chapters of CORE and the New Jersey Conference of NAACP. Directing the March was Robert Gore of CORE. Honorary chairman and director were A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, who led the August 28th March On Washington.

IN BRIEF

Los Angeles CORE has formed a Mexican-American Committee to concentrate on winning equal housing and employment opportunities for Mexicans. Asked about rumors that Negro gains are being made at the expense of Mexicans, Adolph Villavazo, chairman of the new committee, said: "This is nonsense. We can all achieve our rights together. Let's not fall prey again to that old theme of 'divide and conquer.' "

* * *

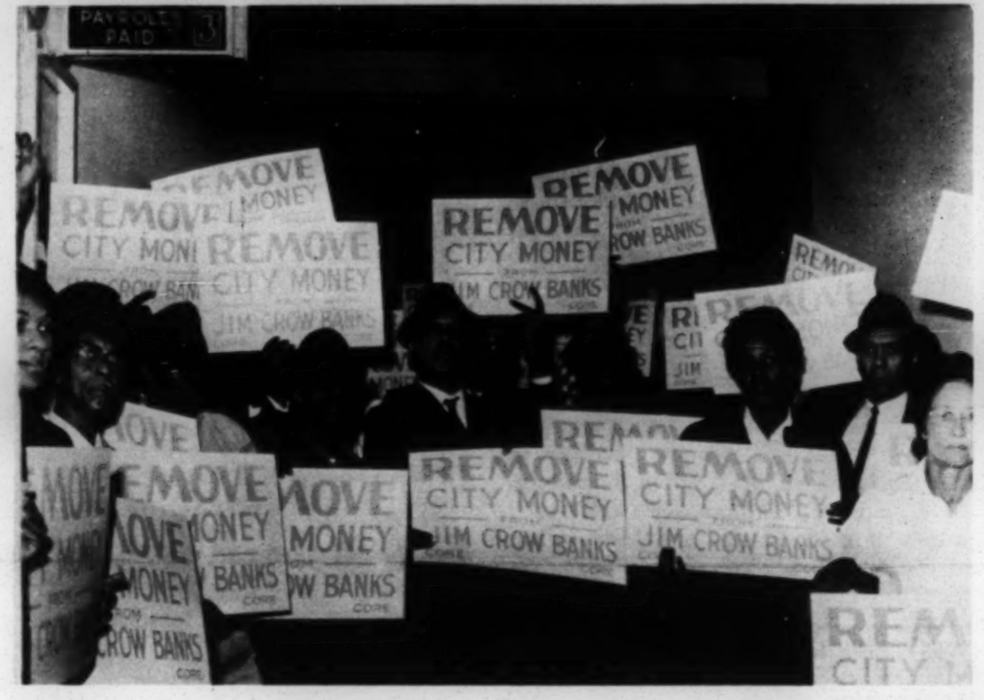
Chicago CORE groups played a leading part in the detailed organizational work which made the October 22 Freedom Day school boycott the biggest demonstration against de facto school segregation in the north. On that day, over 225,000 students, nearly half the total enrollment, stayed away from classes, while over 10,000 demonstrators marched on City Hall and the Board of Education. They demanded the resignation of School Superintendent Benjamin Willis, who has been unwilling to make any changes to bring about integration.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Date of Filing: October, 1963. 2. Title of Publication, CORE-lator. 3. Frequency of Issue, bi-monthly. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication, CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038. 5. Location of Headquarters or General Business offices of the Publishers, CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher, CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038, Editor, James Peck, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038, Managing Editor, Marvin Rich, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038. 7. Owner, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038. No stockholders. 8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 per cent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities; None. 9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders of a corporation which itself is a stockholder or holder of bonds, mortgages or other securities of the publishing corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1 percent or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation. 10. This item must be completed for all publications except those which do not carry advertising other than the publisher's own and which are named in sections 132.231, 132.232, and 132.233, Postal Manual (Sections 4355a, 4355b, and 4356 of Title 39, Untied States Code). A. Total No. Copies Printed, average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 55,000; single issue nearest to filing date, 50,000. B. Paid Circulation. 1. To term subscribers by mail, carrier delivery or by other means. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 40,000; single issue nearest to filing date, 40,000. 2. Sales through agents, news dealers, or otherwise, none. C. Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier delivery, or by other means. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 15,000; single issue nearest to filing date, 10,000. D. Total no. of copies distributed. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months. 54,975; single issue nearest to filing date, 49,975. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Marvin Rich, Managing Editor

Harsh Jail Terms Prompt City Hall Protest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REMOVE CITY MONEY JIM CROW BANKS

The imposing of prison sentences of up to a year on 19 leaders of St. Louis CORE's fair employment campaign at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. resulted in this protest demonstration inside City Hall on October 28. Over 1,000 persons had marched on City Hall.

That evening more than 250 Catholics, many of them priests and nuns, held a protest rally. John Dunsford, associate law professor at St. Louis University, said the rally was "a public confession that we have sinned in the pride of race."

The 19 were sentenced by State Circuit Judge Michael Scott for violating his August 30 injunction against "physical interference" at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. Among those sentenced were Charles Oldham, former national chairman of CORE and Alderman William Clay, a long-time leader of St. Louis CORE. Alderman Clay was sentenced to 270 days in jail. Fines ranged from $500 to $1000 against each of the defendants. The cases are being appealed. Trial of 40 demonstrators arrested on "disturbing the peace" charges has been adjourned until November 29. Nonviolent demonstrations have been conducted both inside and outside the bank. Inside, CORE members frequently lined-up at windows to simply seek change or to open new accounts which would be promptly closed.

The bank is still being picketed. Intercession by Mayor Raymond Tucker and a 2-week truce failed to prevail on management to adopt a fair hiring policy. Several other banks have hired 35 Negroes as a result of St. Louis CORE's campaign, but not Jefferson.

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FEB 5 1964

WASHINGTON:

Atlanta Group Harms Civil Rights Cause

By BRUCE BOISSAT

The flurry of Negro demonstrations outside restaurants in Atlanta affects the outlook of the contending forces now lining up for the climatic House floor fight on the Kennedy-Johnson civil rights proposals.

Many opponents and some supporters of these measures express vigorous dislike for legislating "under the gun" of recent or current demonstrations.

The Atlanta eruptions can, in fact, puzzle even the most ardent backers of the pending civil rights package.

Until they began in heavy earnest a short time ago, Atlanta was held up as a model of what responsibile white and Negro leadership could achieve in a nonviolent, demonstration - free atmosphere.

Suddenly this widely advertised image has developed gaping cracks. The question is why.

THE PREDOMINANT ANSWER, from some of the key Atlantans involved, is pretty astonishing.

If they can be believed, it is a story of white and Negro leaders arrayed together against a small, militant band of Negroes sparked by the so-called Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee.

James Forman, executive secretary of this Atlanta-based group, says the demonstration drive reflects two things:

—Impatience with the foot-dragging of Atlanta restaurant owners who have failed to desegregate their establishments.

—Annoyance at the alleged disparity between Atlanta's bright image and the continuing evidences of discrimination in schools, jobs, housing, public accommodations.

A TOP WHITE CIVIC FIGURE, long identified with Atlanta's efforts at racial harmony, says flatly that SNCC, commonly called "Snick," "listens to nobody and represents nobody."

He describes the present campaign as a calculated attempt by a hard core of 200 to 300 Negroes —including some "professional demonstrators" from other cities —to "dust up the town."

This week's top level meeting involving Mayor Ivan Allen, white business leaders and the long-established Negro leadership apparently aims at isolating and ultimately "containing" the militant "Snick" forces.

THERE HAS BEEN NO NEGOTIATION between the demonstrators and either city officials or the wider white power structure. SNCC is still part of the Negroes' "summit group" set up last fall to frame urgent requests for new breakthroughs. But virtually all the many participating Negro organizations oppose the militants' course.

The joint white-Negro leadership plea to the "impatient ones" is:

"Why wreck the town that has been for you?"

Mayor Allen and other white leaders insist Atlanta is still moving down the path of racial progress. They are pressing hard against the "segregationist hold-outs" among restaurant owners.

Nearly every government, business and civic agency has outspokenly urged either voluntary desegregation of public accommodations—or a city ordinance to that end.

Thus far, the demonstrating "Snick" cadre is unyielding. Leaders talk of a possible one-day school boycott in mid-February.

The interest for the nation is whether lawmakers here take the demonstrators as the "new face" of Atlanta, or accept the older, shinier image of a city where moderation on both sides proves out.

BARBS

It's fortunate that all the girls a fellow takes in his arms don't wind up on his hands.

Statistics show that the average man gets 112 letters from his wife a year. Wonder how many he forgets to mail.

Most couples live happily ever after, especially ever after having children.

A doctor says it aids digestion when you eat meals in silence. Darned if we're going to send the little kids away from the table.

The word Sahara comes from a primitive word meaning "wild land good only to be crossed," National Geographic says.

This has appeared in millions of places, mostly mid-Western and Southern.

PW
MV

talk and backtalk

GREAT BOOKS PROGRAM, ATLANTA METROPOLITAN AREA

Vol. 7 No. 2 APRIL 1964

Shakespeare Celebration

A Day of Fun and Frolic to Celebrate the Bard's

400th Anniversary

At the McBurney Building, Atlanta Art Association
1280 Peachtree Street

SATURDAY - MAY 16th

2 P.M. Registration and Social Hour

3 P.M. to 5 P.M. Small group discussion of TWELFTH NIGHT

6 P.M. Picnic on the grounds -- Bring your own Elizabethan picnic supper -- we will provide coffee and bubbly water. Sup on the open terrace under the skye.

A discourse and performance of Elizabethan songs by "Bud" Foote, lyric composer and folk-singer, assisted by Eleanor Hoffman, folk-singer.

Lover's scene from MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM enacted by members of the Academy Theatre company, Frank Wittow, Director.

Register promptly to ensure a place. $3.00 includes everything (Students, $2.00) (the reading, refreshments, coffee and entertainment)

Make checks payable to GREAT BOOKS and send to:
Mrs. William Dougherty, Festival Chairman
3827 Watkins Place
Atlanta, Georgia (19)

"O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet sound,
That breathes upon a bank of violets....."

* * * Heard and Read * * *

Alfredda Scobey has been appointed as Consulting Attorney to the Warren Study Commission which is making a study of the assassination of Pres. Kennedy. Fredda leaves for Washington for an indefinite assignment.

George Richter will serve as leader of the first year group at Ida Williams Library in Fredda's absence.

Rachel Neely Parker is serving as a member of the Southern Advisory Commission of the Institute of International Education.

Levering and Margo Neely are aglow over a trip to Greece and Italy from which they returned recently.

Larry Tanner who participates in the 8th year group was recently appointed librarian at the Federal Prision.

Mrs. Bernice McCullar, Director of Public Information reports she was much impressed by the quality of discussion which she witnessed at the Federal Prison group.

Dr. Tom McDill of Columbia Theological Seminary says he wished his students would be as diligent in their reading as the members of the prison group.

Vernon Crawford was a key speaker at the recent AAUW seminar on "Science and the Layman". In our opinion, Vernon made the most important statement of the seminar.

Joe Gross participated in the making of an educational TV tape on "How to Get Georgians to Read More". Joe shared the screen with Dr. Claude Purcell, Supt. of Education, and other staff members of the State Department of Education.

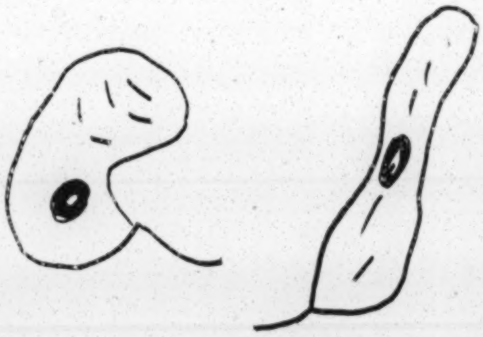
End-of-season picnic plans are being made by several groups. Has your group planned one?

Sid Davis who leads in the Western Electric group is coordinating the folksinging segment of the Shakespeare celebration.

"As rural life gives way to urban life and as mobility overcomes stability, human attachment to certain patches of the earth's surface become less common. Yet the potentiality of such attachment remains universal. It is very different from attachment to a country, a party, a church, a cause, a person. ... It is behind much of patriotism. With some people it goes deeper than principles and embodies the profundity of life."

--J.Frank Dobie's I'll Tell You A Tale

IRMA and ALFIE with the GREAT BOOKS



"Alfie, you had nothing to say and look at how well you put it over."

What is love? 'tis not hereafter;

Present mirth hath present laughter;

What's to come is still unsure:

In delay there lies no plenty;

Then come kiss me, sweet and twenty,

Youth's a stuff will not endure.

-- From Twelfth Night

TALK AND BACKTALK
Published in the interest of the Atlanta Area Great Books Discussion program.
The GREAT BOOKS FOUNDATION
Joseph Gross, Community Represent
1196 Converse Drive, N.E.
Atlanta 24, Ga. Tel: CE 7-4361

SCIENCE and the GREAT BOOKS

One of the most critical problems facing our society is that discussed by British author C. P. Snow in his Two Cultures: the deterioration in communication between the two segments of the public whose education has been concentrated respectively in the liberal arts and in science. There is an almost complete breakdown in the link which should carry information about science to the non-scientific community. Information flows in the opposite direction with only slightly less difficulty.

The Great Books program represents one attempt to keep the communication channels open. The scientist who participates is almost certain to encounter many works in philosophy, history, poetry and drama not included in his technically oriented college curriculum. Conversely, and more importantly perhaps, the humanist encounters a sampling of significant works in science.

Approximately 10% of the selections can be classified as scientific works. Their authors include such giants as Aristotle, Galileo, Newton, Galen, Harvey, Darwin, Einstein and Freud. One could register the same complaint about them as is often voiced against the other selections, namely, the work of the twentieth century is almost ignored. It is difficult to justify the exclusion of some representative work from the most exciting era science has known -- the three or four years following 1925 -- particularly since the change which took place then in the philosophy of science, the change from determinism to uncertainty, is the sort of grist the Great Books mill loves to grind. In spite of this shortcoming, by providing at least a glimpse into the world of science the Great Books program serves as one of the few remaining links between the "two cultures".

-- Dr. Vernon D. Crawford, Prof.
of Physics, Georgia Tech.

man , science , and art

"Man is strangely egocentric. He has seen the world around him as a personal relationship. The thunder has hurled its lightning at him personally, the streams have flowed to bathe his dusty feet, the sun has shone to warm him, and the snow fallen to chill his weary bones. Science, as we know it, is a very recent thing in human history. To most humans in the world, even today, science has little meaning. Mankind has been in love with the world, and has found nature to have a special kind of human relationship.

It is from this attitude of being part of nature that art derives. Man, in particular uncivilized man, lives so close to nature that he rarely notices its fullness. He is prone to project his own personality into it, so that it reminds him of much more than what it actually is. Even the hunter felt some relationship between himself and the creatures which he needed for food. He created a ritual to appease their spirits, and to encourage them to reproduce themselves."

-- C. A. Burland in "Man and Art"

Man begins where Nature ends

Man and Nature can never be friends.

-- Thomas Hardy

"Man is at heart a romantic. He believes in thunder, the destruction of worlds, the voice out of the whirlwind. Perhaps the fact that he himself is now in the possession of powers wrenched from the atom's heart has enhanced the appeal of violence in natural events. The human generations are short-lived. We have difficulty in visualizing the age-long processes involved in the upheaval of mountain systems, the advance of continental glaciations or the creation of life."

The Firmament of Time by Loren Eisley

Be you Venus or Cleopatra --
When you're dead - what does it mattra?

Nowe

Summer Discussion plans

Sumer ic icumen in,
Lhude sing cuccu!

So goes an olde Englyshe song written about 1225. In spite of the belief in some quarters that summer is a wild time it has proven in the past few years to be a good time for group discussion. Groups organized in the summer have been well attended, have met on a weekly schedule and have remained among the sturdiest groups in the Atlanta program.

A new first year Great Books group will meet on Monday, June 15th at 7:30 PM, under the leadership of Harold and Diana Walbek at the Ida Williams Library, 269 Buckhead Ave.

Rachel Neely Parker's 4th year group will not pause for breath but go on to the 5th year readings this June.

Modern plays will be the subject of a special six session discussion group to begin on June 23rd at the Ida Williams Library. Schnitzler, Yeats and Brecht are among the playwrights to be included. Joe Gross will lead. Registration will be limited. Call CE 7-4361 for details and to register.

Louis Armstrong said:
"There is some folks that if they don't know, you can't tell 'em."

What needs my Shakespear for his
honour'd bones,
The labour of an age in piled stones,
Or that his hallow'd reliques
should be hid
Under a star-y pointing pyramid?
Milton, On Shakespear

* * *

Shake was a dramatist of note;
He lived by writing things to quote.

* * * * * * * *

Shakespeare is a savage with sparks of genius which shine in a dreadful darkness of night.

--- Voltaire

What point of morals, of manners, of economy, of philosophy, of religion, of taste, of the conduct of life, has he not settled? What mystery has he not signified his knowledge of? What office, or function, or district of man's work, has he not remembered? What king has he not taught state...? What maiden has not found him finer than her delicacy? What lover has not outloved? What sage has he not outseen? What gentlemen has he not instructed in the rudeness of his behavior?

-- Emerson

Aristophanes said:

"First listen, my friend, and then you may shriek and bluster."

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Will Maslow
Samuel R. Pierce, Jr.
Rev. James H. Robinson
Hilda Siff
Thomas G. Weaver

✓ NM - placed on - [illegible] ✓
SB ✓
LD ✓
VJ ✓
ML ✓

May 5, 1964

Dear Sir:

New York CORE has just undertaken the publication of a new magazine devoted to the civil rights movement, with particular reference to the movement in the North. We believe that this is the first time a civil rights organization has sponsored a magazine that is not devoted exclusively or primarily to the work of that organization.

To be known as RIGHTS & REVIEWS, the magazine will feature articles, essays, poems, short stories, and reviews of books and plays. The target date for the first issue is July.

We should like to keep abreast of the work of your organization, and we request that you kindly place us on your news release mailing list.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Doris V. Funnye

Doris V. Funnye
Publications Department

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WEEKLY BULLETIN # 2202

May 18, 1964

RHODE ISLAND DROPS COMMISSION ON MORALITY IN YOUTH

The Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth recently recommended its own abolition, bringing to an end a controversial career that had taken it all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. By a 6 to 2 vote of its own members, the commission informed Governor Chafee that it no longer felt its continued use of state funds was justified in view of the unfavorable decision by the Supreme Court.

On February 18, 1963, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the Rhode Island Commission violated the First Amendment of the federal constitution by its practice of sending to dealers and distributors blacklists of books and magazines it found objectionable. According to Justice William O. Douglas, this practice constitutes "censorship in the raw."

The morality commission's decision to disband was also in accordance with a recommendation made by a R.I. Baby Hoover Commission report, which found that the commission "does not appear to perform any function that cannot be more effectively done by other groups in the Rhode Island community." In its 1962 report, the Baby Hoover Commission pointed out that most states enforce their morality laws through the attorney general's offices, and it recommended that the morality commission be transferred to this department as an advisory group. Governor Chaffee had made this same proposal last year and again this year.

The Baby Hoover report stated that the courts can provide the best remedy against obscenity, since they can "engage in detached decision making in this sensitive area," and "the only effective remedy in this area is possessed by the courts -- stiff fines and prison sentences which will deter dealers from risking the handling of materials which are in violation of Rhode Island laws." It further pointed out that it is "not necessary or even judiciously advisable for the state to utilize its facilities in this area," since community organizations, churches and conscientious parents should provide direction for Rhode Island's youth.

Initial court action against the morality commission had been brought by four New York publishers. The U.S. Supreme Court decision upheld a ruling by Superior Court Judge William M. Mackenzie, who found the commission's activities to be unconstitutional in 1961. The federal court opinion reversed the Rhode Island Supreme Court decision which had overruled Judge Mackenzie. Last May, Judge Mackenzie issued a permanent injunction to bar the commission from sending blacklists to distributors and sellers.

The only other state that has a morality commission with a paid staff is Georgia.

ATTACK LOCAL LAWS AIMED AT BARRING MATERIAL FROM COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

A move to fight totalitarianism by resorting to totalitarian tactics is taking hold in a number of grass-roots American communities, and it has the U.S. State and Justice Departments in Washington worried. The men in the capital are troubled by laws inhibiting the local sale of goods produced or processed in Iron Curtain countries. The State Department charges that these laws are hamstringing American foreign policy. Department of Justice experts believe such statutes are unconstitutional. Civil liberties advocates charge these laws restrict a merchant's right to trade, prevent a freer East-West flow of information and ideas, and create several important procedural difficulties.

The movement to block the sale of "Communist" goods in this country is believed to have begun in Florida, and is reported to have spread to more than a score of communities, especially in the South. The laws generally require store-owners wishing to deal in goods imported from Communist bloc countries to buy a license and display a sign, advertising that the store carries "Communist goods." The stigma attached to such a sign, and the prohibitively high license fee -- $5,000 in Birmingham, Alabama, for example -- force many merchants to abandon sales of Communist-made goods -- which is exactly the intended result of these laws.

Constitutionality of the laws is still very much in doubt, as they are new and in most cases have not been tested. Three rulings on the Columbus, Ohio, law by different judges in the city's Municipal Court have split, 2-to-1, against the constitutionality of the ordinance. Officials in Washington are hoping the cases will be appealed to higher courts, so that a more definitive ruling can be obtained.

The first of the Columbus decisions acquitted Alkassam Hasan Miqdadi, arrested last May 29 for selling books from Russia, China and Cuba without the required required $100 permit. With the backing of the Columbus Chapter of the Ohio Civil Liberties Union, Ohio State Law Professor Paul L. Selby, Jr. defended Mr. Miqdadi. Professor Selby charged the Columbus ordinance violates Article I, Section 8, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution, which provides that Congress shall have power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations..." The Supreme Court has interpreted this Congressional power to be "exclusive and plenary." A legal memorandum on the subject contends that at any rate, Congress has by its own actions occupied the field of foreign trade legislation to the exclusion of local ordinances. Prof. Selby agrees that the President alone has the right to make foreign policy, without interference from other sources. "If the Columbus City Council finds that the foreign policy of the United States is not conducted to its satisfaction, the remedies lie within the nation's political structure, and not in the construction of a competing foreign policy to govern the city's foreign trade," he told the Wall St. Journal.

Prof. Selby's constitutional arguments referred not only to rights exclusive to federal authorities but to rights sacred to the individual. He charged the Columbus licensing law violates the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment by abridging the merchant's freedom of speech and of the press. The $100 license fee charged stores selling Communist-published literature is a discriminatory tax, the memorandum said. With respect to the requirement that the origin of the Communist material be posted, Prof. Selby quoted the U.S. Supreme Court to the effect that "inviolability of privacy in a group association may in many circumstances be indispensable to preservation of freedom of association, particularly where a group espouses dissident beliefs..." Furthermore, the memorandum argued that the requirements were instituted "with the purpose and effect of suppressing distribution of such books and magazines," in violation of due process.

The nuisance value of these hastily-contrived ordinances would be hard to overestimate. At the urging of top Administration officials, Congress has just restricted to most-favored-nation trading status Poland and Yugoslavia, which the State Department is trying to ween away from economic dependence on Mother Russia. But "the ordinances against 'Communist goods,' if they spread widely throughout the country, could undermine the national policy," in the opinion of Pulitzer-Prize-winning New York Times Correspondent Anthony Lewis.

On the local level, these laws interfere with the procuring of Communist literature for serious university study. But Alkassam Hasan Miqdadi, who catered to students of Oriental and Slavic languages at Ohio State University, denied being a Communist or sympathizer himself. "When I was in jail," he said, "I pinched myself to see if this was actually happening to me in America. This happens in Russia, but I did not realize it happened here."

FLORIDA CLU PROTESTS JACKSONVILLE BAN ON RACIAL DEMONSTRATIONS

The Florida Civil Liberties Union has blamed recent racial rioting in Jacksonville on the failure of Mayor Haydon Burns and the city administration "to show any positive leadership in solving the problems of race relations..." and strongly protested the Mayor's effort to meet the situation by the prohibition of demonstrations.

A telegram to the Mayor from the Florida affiliate characterized his ban on peaceful demonstrations as "an affront to the First and Fourteenth Amendments", and stated that it was not within his powers as Jacksonville's mayor to abridge the rights of peaceful assembly and free speech. The FCLU declared its intention to defend the rights of all citizens of Jacksonville to express themselves against racial injustice in the community.

The telegram also called upon Mayor Burns as an announced candidate for Governor of the State to make an immediate statement to the press clearly avowing his belief in constitutional guarantees for all citizens.

The Florida affiliate also took a strong stand recently against an order by State Attorney Richard Gerstein banning the report of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee on homosexuality. The Johns Committee report was issued as an official state pamphlet entitled "Homosexuality in Florida", and was designed, according to the FCLU, to win favor for the Committee's proposals for homosexual control and registration laws. But the FCLU contends that the pamphlet is not obscene, as claimed by State Attorney Gerstein.

In a release to the press, the FCLU declared that determination of obscenity was a matter for the courts and not for the peace officers of a community. Its stand against banning the Johns Committee pamphlet, it said, was not a stand in favor of the Committee, "whose illegal actions and policies it has long opposed... It opposes the continuing existence of the Committee and would regard its elimination as a progressive move on the part of the legislators. However, two wrongs do not make one right, and the suppression of even the Johns Committee Report is a blow to the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and the press."

NEW YORK STATE COURT OF APPEALS REVERSAL ALLOWS COMMUNIST TO SPEAK ON CAMPUS

"We believe that the tradition of our great society has been to allow our universities in the name of academic freedom to explore and expose their students to controversial issues without government interference." Thus New York State's highest court reversed a lower court decision denying an admitted Communist, Herbert Aptheker, from speaking at state-supported Buffalo University. ACLU had entered an amicus brief favoring Aptheker's right to appear on the grounds of violation of academic freedom and extension of state law beyond legislative intent.

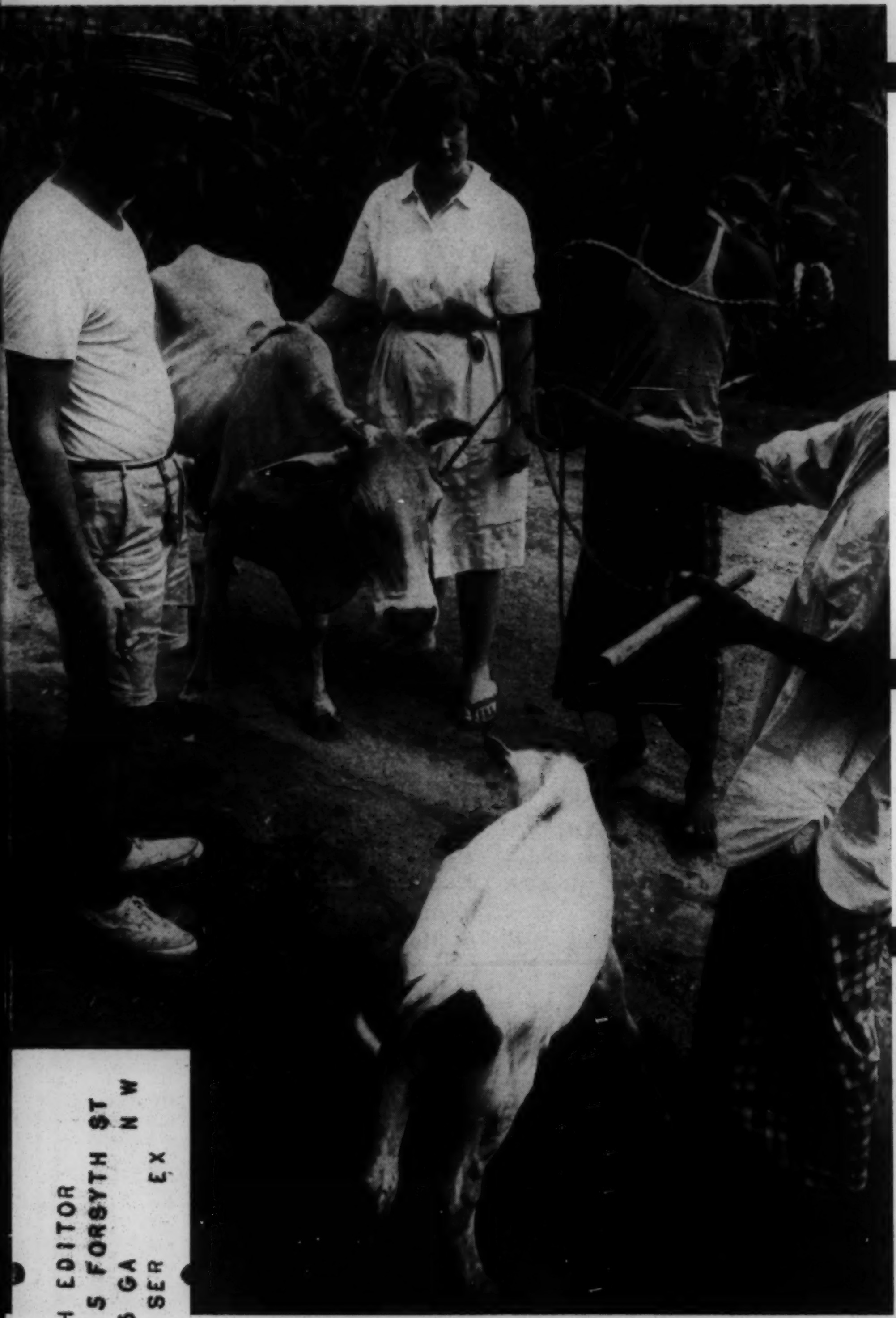
"It is conceded," read the decision written by Justice Walter B. Reynolds, "that there is no legislation directly covering the instant situation. Yet, :'statutes, directed against known and stated evils, are not to be stretched to cover situations having no real or reasonable relation to those evils...'"(Metropolitan Life Ins. Co. v. Durkin). Further, said the court quoting Sweezy v. New Hampshire, "'Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study and to evaluate, to gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise our civilization will stagnate and die.'" Neither does membership in the Communist party automatically entail illegal advocacy (Scales v. United States), "even though the legislature has seen fit in certain instances to make such membership prima facie evidence thereof. Here there is no contention that Dr. Aptheker advocates...or will advocate at the lecture in question the forcible overthrow of our Government as any more than an abstract doctrine. The courts without express legislative action cannot find such abstract advocacy to be against the law of this State."

The statements of the court echoed the arguments of the ACLU amicus brief which stated, "If the legislature has not acted, a state court cannot supply the omission...Public policy is evidenced by the will of the legislature contained in statutory enactments." And "advocating forcible overthrow of our government as an abstract doctrine may not be prohibited."

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

The ACLU OF GEORGIA HAS expressed concern to top state officials that proposed new voter registration laws would leave "great discretionary powers" to the county registrar, including the right to decide who can read and write "legibly"... A COURT HAS UPHELD a Long Island man's claim the "World's Fair" inscription on New York license plates is illegal, because it discriminates against businesses not represented at the Fair, and violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. ... THE STATE DEPARTMENT changed its position and granted visas to seven representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee for a visit and speaking tour in the U.S. under the auspices of the Committee for Non-Violent Action. The Rev. A.J. Muste, national chairman of the CNA, had strongly protested the earlier refusal of visas to the Russian group, which includes a surgeon, editor, a trade unionist, and writers...APPLICATION BY THE National Association for the Advance ment of Colored People for a permit to solicit funds in Portland, Oregon was vigorously supported by the ACLU affiliate in that state, which stated that the right to solicit funds for political activity is intimately connected with the rights of free speech and assembly, and should not be restrained by city ordinances, except to protect the public against fraudulent solicitation...ON DECEMBER 15, 1963, THE 172ND BIRTHDAY of the Bill of Rights -- the anniversary of the ratification of the first ten amendments to the Constitution -- the Toledo, Ohio Blade published as its lead editorial an American Bill of Wrongs, consisting of 10 articles which would subvert the Bill of Rights' purpose of protecting individual liberties. The Blade's purpose was to drive home the danger of tampering with the provisions of the Bill of Rights.

WORLD CALL



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THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 1964

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"Racial conflict," says Mayor Stan R. Brookshire of Charlotte (N. C.),"can be converted to an opportunity of raising the level of citizenship and building better communities."

Charlotte (N. C.) is one of two southern cities reported on today by the Southern Regional Council, in the first of a series of reports descriptive of southern cities that in recent months have confronted realistically their racial problems and have taken constructive action to resolve them.

The other report released today deals with Louisville (Ky.). Subsequent reports in the series will cover Memphis (Tenn.), Brunswick (Ga.), and one other Deep South city.

The Louisville and Charlotte studies were by Benjamin Muse and Pat Watters, respectively, both of whom are senior staff members of the Southern Regional Council.

In Louisville, Muse observes, "race prejudice may be said to be contained. It is viewed by the community leadership as an evil to be combatted, and it is being combatted steadily and with increasing effectiveness .... Discrimination on account of race is frowned upon in principle -- though still far from being eliminated in practice."

Both Charlotte and Louisville have official, biracial committees which have guided integration progress. The two reports describe the organization and functioning of these in detail. Louisville's Human Relations Commission is one of the very few such southern bodies created by ordinance. Charlotte's Committee on Community Relations was established by executive action.

In both cities, two forces have been chiefly responsible for progress. These have been firm Negro pressure and intelligent, strong business leadership -- the so-called "power structure." Race relations is not, said a leading Charlotte businessman, "a church problem. It has to be solved downtown."

In Louisville, Muse depicts how the community leadership has been expressed increasingly through municipal ordinances and offices. In Charlotte, the same business leadership which has carried through almost complete desegregation of public accommodations and which has cooperated with Negro leaders to make notable gains in employment, has, according to Watters, taken little interest in combatting problems of tokenism in schools and hospitals.

In releasing these two studies, John H. Wheeler of Durham, North Carolina, president of the Southern Regional Council, said:

> These studies of Louisville and Charlotte show how some southern cities have been able to make changes of historic importance, with a minimum of strife. They show also that we have only begun to uncover larger problems which have resulted from racial segregation in the southern states. Most of the progress made in recent years throughout the South may be attributed to the following factors: effective Negro leadership; free, enlightened public discussion; responsible action by the business community; and a political climate which does not frustrate or prevent local initiative. These same factors will be needed in our effort to meet even larger problems which lie ahead.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all of the South's people."

-END-

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

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WEEKLY BULLETIN #2206

June 22, 1964

ACLU SCORES INACCURATE MILITARY CHAPLAINS ATTACK ON UNION'S CHAPLAINCY POSITION

The American Civil Liberties Union said on June 15 that a resolution adopted by the Military Chaplains Association attacking the ACLU's stand on chaplains in the Armed Forces "wholly misrepresents the facts" and distorts the Union's actual position.

The military chaplains group, at its recent convention, pledged to place all of its resources into a campaign to oppose any effort to curb the military chaplaincy. A key section of its resolution declared that "...it is reported that a chapter of the Civil Liberties Union in Los Angeles and the chapter of Camden,N.J. have joined with the hostile critics to challenge the Secretary of Defense that chaplains are in violation of the Constitution of the United States."

In a letter to Major General (Msgr.) Patrick J. Ryan, president of the UMC, the ACLU's executive director, John de J. Pemberton Jr., said that "we are at a loss to understand this statement for it wholly misrepresents the facts of our affiliates' actions and the interest of the ACLU on this issue."

The ACLU letter declared that the chairman of the South Jersey chapter of the ACLU of New Jersey wrote to the Secretary of Defense protesting the use of chaplains for religious classes of military dependents held in public school buildings. "...No legal action was taken or is contemplated, although much mail to Conress on this subject has erroneously stated that litigation was begun," the ACLU said. The ACLU also pointed out that "at no time did the ACLU of Southern California bring or consider a suit involving the chaplaincy. What your resolutions committee may have had in mind was a suit filed by our Southern California affiliate on behalf of a high school teacher who refused, as a matter of personal conscience, to lead the salute to the flag which included a reference to this nation, 'under God,' The purpose of the suit was not to eliminate this phrase from the flag salute, but to prevent the dismissal of the school teacher. The suit was settled last October when the Los Angeles Board of Education agreed that the teacher was not required to lead his class in a daily recitation of the pledge of allegiance because of his conscientious scruples against doing so. The suit itself was based on the freedom of religion clause of the First Amendment as affecting that school teacher rather than the establishment clause. In spite of the fact the suit ended over eight months ago, it is still being described in letters to Congressmen as a pending action and the purpose of the suit has been grossly distorted."

The civil liberties organization said that its dismay at the widely reported inaccurate resolution of the UMC was compounded "by the fact that the ACLU has never attacked the concept of the chaplaincy program." It said that it agreed wholeheartedly with the distinction made by the U.S. Supreme Court last year in voiding public school religious practices, but not condemning military chaplaincy issues.

Acknowledging that the interest stimulated by its South Jersey chapter has prompted a thorough study of the military chaplaincy programs by the national Church-State Committee, the ACLU letter noted that its committee has come to the opinion that: 1) any discrimination against non-majority religions in the program, and 2) any compulsory services held by the Armed Forces would violate both the establishment and free exercise clauses of the First Amendment. "Neither this position nor the overall record of ACLU's activities merit the characterization attributed to a statement by Rear Admiral (Msgr.) Robert J. White of 'a total conspiracy to destroy the influence of religion in American life.'"

ACLU AFFILIATES ACTIVE IN SCHOOL INTEGRATION FIGHT

American Civil Liberties affiliates have been taking an active part in the fight for school integration.

The New York CLU and the Niagara Frontier Branch of the ACLU recently issued statements calling for equal educational opportunities for children of all races. The Massachusetts CLU gave its support to a Boston school stay-out; and the Cleveland CLU asked for a prompt investigation of what it said appeared to be police discrimination against demonstrating integrationists.

The NYCLU statement, in the form of a resolution, declared that school boards "should adopt policies to counteract segregation and to further integration, including for example, the reformation or abandonment of existing zoning arrangements, site selection, the "Princeton Plan," permissive transfer, and other appropriate techniques..." to the end of wiping out educational inequalities. It said, however, that such measures were not sufficient to offset "existing educational and cultural deficiencies" in slum areas, and recommended that steps be taken to eradicate these deficiencies by allocating greater resources and money to schools in disadvantaged areas.

The NYCLU newsletter of January 1964 carried, as well as the resolution, articles by Nanette Dembitz, NYCLU counsel, and George Backer, member of the NYCLU board, suggesting two different approaches to the school integration problem. Miss Dembitz refers to the Supreme Court's statement, in its 1954 decision against segregated schools, that Negro children received an inferior education because of being sent to all-Negro schools. Pointing out that the Negro child's inferior education resulted not necessarily from tangibles like inferior schools or teachers, but from the fact of being deprived of contact with white children and of preparation for life in a white-dominated society, she stated that boards of education "have an affirmative duty, by the Constitution, to give Negro children living in Negro neighborhoods an opportunity to attend schools with white children." To attain this end, she suggests that zoning for integration does not deprive white children, and that if the neighborhood school policy is abandoned, it is done for the benefit of both races.

Backer, on the other hand, objects to the attempt "to bring equality by bus", that is, to rely on transporting children to schools out of their neighborhoods in order to overcome de facto segregation. The "real danger", he says, is to overlook "the overriding necessity of removing the degrading effects of uneducated poverty." For the Negro, Backer believes, "equal inadequate public education will leave him in the disadvantaged position he now occupies." He suggests special efforts and funds are needed to help Negro and Puerto Rican students.

The statement of the Niagara Frontier Branch declared that the Board of Education of Buffalo had "constitutional obligations" to achieve racial integration in the public schools, and endorsed the program recommended by the newly-formed Coordinating Council of Community and Civil Rights Groups.

In the case of the Boston school stay-out, the Massachusetts CLU, in giving its support, countered the opinion of the Attorney General that it constituted a disrespect for law. The affiliate contended that truancy was not involved, as the stay-out was a "legitimate protest against a serious social evil," and against the refusal of the authorities to deal with it, and that such protest was "squarely within the tradition protected by the Bill of Rights." The MCLU also stated its intention of defending anyone involved in the stay-out who might be accused of violating the school attendance laws.

In Cleveland, the CLU protest followed incidents which arose when integrationists picketed Memorial, Brett, and Murray Hill Schools, and staged a sit-in demonstration at the Board of Education. The CCLU claimed that the police failed to protect the "peaceful" picketers at the schools from the violence of opposing mobs. In the case of the sit-in, the CCLU said that the police, while arresting and removing the demonstrators, allegedly committed unnecessary violence, "seemingly taking punishment into their own hands."

NEWS PHOTOGRAPHERS WIN, LOSE RIGHT TO TAKE PICTURES

News photographers, who are quite likely to be unappreciated by their subjects, have been the subject of three recent rulings which will affect the performance of their jobs.

Photographers covering military air crashes and other catastrophes concerning the armed forces have often found themselves hampered by zealous officers seeking to prevent them from taking pictures of the wreckage. Disavowing the theory that all things military are necessarily secret, the Department of Defense has issued a directive stating that outside of military installations "Military authorities will not prohibit or prevent the taking of photographs...of military personnel, equipment or material if no classified defense information or material is exposed to view."

The directive, praised by Rep. John E. Moss of California as enforcing "a principal basic to a democratic society," provides for several expedients if there is actually classified material exposed. In the harshest of these if the photographer insists on taking pictures, the military man is given the right to "physically restrain" the photographer until the FBI comes on the scene.

In a more complete victory for the photographers, the judicial section of the State Bar of Texas has rejected the American Bar Association's Canon 35 which prohibits photographers and broadcasting from any courtroom in session. The judicial section, which includes all of the state judges, adopted a rule whereby photo coverage and radio or television broadcasting of court room activities are permitted at the discretion of the trial judge. The American Civil Liberties Union backs Canon 35 as a guarantee of fair trial.

A decision against the photographers was made in the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court which ruled that pictures could no longer be taken in any part of the courthouses in Manhattan or the Bronx. The ruling was amended to allow pictures to be posed in the courthouse press room, but Editor and Publisher has protested that: "For practical purposes this is no relaxation or concession, and the rule continues to be objectionable. Only a few publicity hounds would go willingly into the press room to be photographed."

MINNESOTA ACLU WINS "RIGHT OF ENTRY" FIGHT

The Minnesota branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has succeeded after a fight of nearly three years in eliminating a "right of entry" provision in a Minneapolis zoning ordinance. The ordinance was passed in September, without the provision, by the Minneapolis City Council.

The zoning ordinance as proposed in December 1960 contained a provision allowing for right of entry to zoning inspectors, without prior permission, to a premise despite any objection that a householder might have.

In a letter to the president of the City Council at that time, the Minnesota ACLU protested this provision, suggesting that it be amended by adding the following sentence: "In cases where right of entry is refused, the zoning administrator or his representative shall not enter until he has obtained a warrant therefor from an appropriate court."

The ACLU branch maintained: "We believe the proposed ordinance fails to protect the right of privacy of the citizens of Minneapolis. A suspected criminal has a right to insist that a judge decide whether there is sufficient reason for a policeman to enter his home; a peaceful, law-abiding householder should have the same right available to him when he thinks an official intrusion is unreasonable. If a zoning inspector is required to request permission to enter, instead of just walking in, occasionally a householder may put him to the inconvenience of obtaining a warrant. This is not too great a price to pay for maintaining an important civil liberty."

Jack Davies, then executive secretary and counsel for the ACLU branch, reported that an ordinance, generally the same as the 1960 ordinance, but without the "right of entry" provision, was recently passed by the City Council. But Mr. Davies said: "Other building regulation ordinances in Minneapolis do, however, contain a right of entry provision."

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

"YOUR BELIEF IS YOUR right," Circuit Judge Maupin Cummings told 16 perspective Washington County, Arkansas grand jurors, "but I don't want you as a jury member if you do not believe in God...." THE MINNESOTA CIVIL Liberties Union pronounced itself against the use of public schools to disseminate any religious or anti-religious material, except for academic study, and commended the town of Red Wing, for its policy prohibiting prayers, Bible-reading and religious observances in the public schools....ACLU's GREATER PHILADELPHIA Branch welcomed a decision to discontinue holding public school classes in two churches as supporting the separation of church and state and preventing the perpetuation of de facto segregation. ... THE ACLU, NAACP and American Jewish Congress have filed suit charging the Los Angeles and Southwest Realty Boards with conspiracy to restrict the membership of Negro realtors and their participation in Southwest's exclusive multiple-listing system.

BOOK NEWS from INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

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A NEW HISTORY OF THE EARLY A. F. OF L.

A history of the American Federation of Labor during the first decade of this century, based largely on source materials no longer available, will be published by International Publishers next month. "The Policies and Practices of the American Federation of Labor, 1900-1909," by Philip S. Foner is VOLUME III in his full length HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

Dr. Foner had full access to the vast collection of incoming correspondence, leaflets, and pamphlets stored in the basement of the old A.F.of L. building in Washington. Most of this rich material was destroyed before the A. F. of L. moved to a new headquarters.

The period covered in the new work is particularly important because it was then, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, that the policies were established that remained characteristic of the trade unions as late as the 1930's, when the Congress of Industrial Organizations was formed. In those years also the opposition to the dominant policies arose around issues like industrial versus craft unionism, trade union democracy, organization the Negro, women and foreign-born workers, and independent political action.

Considerable attention is given to the role of the Socialists and to the militants, as exemplified in the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, precursor of the International Workers of the World.

Dr. Foner's fresh examination of original sources challenges the interpretation of the early labor history of Commons and his associates.

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RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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RACE RELATIONS WORKERS MEET IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Nearly 150 persons concerned with American race relations from more than 30 states and 3 foreign countries are preparing to meet in Nashville from June 29 to July 11 for the 21st Annual Race Relations Institute, to be held at Fisk University. They represent both public and private agencies, ranging from state and local human relations commissions to church groups and other voluntary organizations working for interracial harmony.

In addition to those participants working directly in race relations or human rights organizations, a wide variety of occupations will be represented, including teachers, lawyers, social workers, ministers and foreign missionaries, students, and many others. A special delegation of 25 women from throughout the country is being sent by the United Church Women of the National Council of Churches.

The Institute, sponsored by the United Church of Christ, is the nation's oldest forum for the discussion of racial problems. Throughout its more than 20 years of existence it has provided training for local leaders in intergroup relations to make them better prepared to meet the problems of America's continuing racial crisis in their own communities.

Dr. Herman H. Long, Institute director, has disclosed that the keynote selected for the 1964 meeting is "Race--The New Challenge," in order to stress the necessity that all Americans face today to make new decisions of matters of race which will affect every aspect of their lives.

Dr. Long, now president of Talladega College in Alabama, has served for many years as race relations secretary of the American Missionary Association Division of the United Church of Christ's Board for Homeland Ministries. This division and the Council for Christian Social Action of the same church are the sponsoring agencies for the Institute, assisted by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches and Fisk University.

The participants will hear speakers from several civil rights organizations, government agencies--both state and federal, religious groups, organized labor, and several university campuses.

These will include the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the National Voter Registration Project, the Southern Regional Council, the National Conference on Religion and Race and the National Council of Churches.

Governmental agencies to be represented are the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, the Federal Housing Administration and the Kentucky State Commission on Human Rights. The Department of Civil Rights of the AFL-CIO is to be represented as well.

Coming from Harvard, Chicago, Vanderbilt and Fisk Universities will be speakers who will discuss legal, economic, psychological, sociological and anthropological aspects of race relations in the U.S. today.

Other topics will include changing public attitudes on race, desegregation in southern communities, congressional action on civil rights and an analysis of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Negro electorate, school desegregation, and the role of the churches in promoting equality of rights and opportunities. Problems of America's other minority groups will also be discussed.

All of the speeches will form the basis for seminar discussions among the participants, with questions directed to the speakers. In addition there will be clinics concentrating on employment problems of minority groups, community action, and religion and race. Recent films dealing with aspects of intergroup relations will also be shown.

By means of all these techniques, the Institute will realize its purpose, as stated by Dr. Long, "to assess the status of current developments, provide authoritative information on the psychological, sociological, political, economic and religious aspects of intergroup problems, and to evaluate techniques and strategies for dealing with them."

CGB
6/26/64

MIGRANT STUDY: SOCIAL RESEARCH II, MAY - JUNE, 1964

On April 22, 1964, the classes of Dr. Joseph Golden (A. U. School of Social Work) and Dr. Eric Lincoln (Clark College), met with Mr. Pat Watters of Southern Regional Council (SRC), to discuss preparations for a study of migrants from rural areas to Atlanta.

The aims of the study had been stated in a letter from Pat Watters. SRC was interested in the situation of such people, simply as a general problem of the South. They wondered just "what goes" with poor people who moved to the city from the farm. Refinement of the general purpose is to be thejob of the combined student team. The following are to be considered in our research:

Hypotheses

1. That the experiences of poor Negro rural migrants to Atlanta are similar to the experiences of poor white rural migrants to Atlanta.
2. That the background of the two groups is similar.
3. That the characteristics of the two groups are similar.
4. That what has happened to the two groups in Atlanta has been similar.

The sample is to include only poor rural farm migrants, and not persons with non-farm rural backgrounds. At this point, the concept "poor" has not been defined. It was agreed that the best way of finding people in the categories we want will be to knock on doors in areas where large numbers of migrants live. If the areas are large enough, area sampling techniques will be used to find respondents. Maps of such areas will aid in our finding of desired migrants.

A schedule will have to be devised to include sections on (1) background, (2) what caused respondents to move, (3) description of who the respondents are, (4) what has happened to them in Atlanta.

The following material comes from class and committee notes.

April 22

The combined student group met with the instructors and Pat Watters of SRC. Dr. Golden stated that this project will not quite offer experience in every phase of the research process in that the problem for research is being chosen for us. In addition, the process of problem identification and formulation must be greatly foreshortened. We should attempt to review the literature on this subject as much as possible in the time available. In response to a question about migrants from a rural area, it was answered that it applie to persons recently moved to Atlanta from a rural area anywhere in the USA. The question was raised whether certain neighborhoods and the sample we select would be representative of the migrant population as a whole. We would have to work out a technique for random selection of a sample of migrants.

On the question of focusing on race as an element that adds further problems to urban adjustment, it was pointed out that economic problems cut across racial lines. The Populist Movement was cited as an example of the alliance of poor Negroes and whites. A student asked if the subject was not too diffuse, too broad. It was agreed that we need closer focus. The difficulty of analysis without tabulating machines is tremendous. We must reduce the number of questions. However, Watters is primarily interested in doing a human relations report; therefore, he can go further with certain families and ask whatever he wants to ask.

WATTERS: Can we afford not to focus on how these people really see themselves in this society? We want to know how these people feel, about money, about life in the city. What other attitudes have influenced them since moving here? By focusing on race as a problem, are we not presupposing what our answer will be? Do we make it more likely that race will emerge as the problem if we form our questions in such a way that we are looking for that? We are interested in finding out about these people as people, yet getting enough about them as a type so that two or three representative families can be chosen and a story gotten on them.

Movement from one culture to another creates problems for them and for society, a compelling human story; the move is a tremendous distance in time. How does it thwart and cripple them? How does it make them grow? Deprivation is discrimination. It is similar to Oscar Lewis' Five Families as nearly as he could describe what he is seeking. Focus: Improving living conditions of people who live in the South. We must befriend them and gain their trust.

GOLDEN: According to the 1960 census material which we will use, a "migrant" is one who was not living in the Atlanta metropolitan area in 1955. In this project, we will be interested in persons who have been here a year or so. So far as locating neighborhoods, we will have to assume that things are pretty much the same now as in 1960, that those tracts showing a high percent of recent migrants will still be where most migrants are located.

May 1

Friday's class had the task of working out a way of finding the poor migrants from rural areas. Dr. Golden brought the manual, U. S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960 - Census Tracts in Atlanta, Ga.

We set up three committees to work on the problem. One will select which census tracts we are going to work in using the manual, a map by census tracts, and a sheet given to them by Dr. Golden. This committee also had to work out an operational definition of the concept "poor".

May 3

1. A committee reported on a technique of area sampling in which certain blocks will be selected and certain households within that block. Select alternate blocks within the tract and get all houses with numbers ending in 3 and 6. If there are apartment houses, choose apartments ending in 3 and 6. For those apartments using letters instead of numbers, use A for 1, B for 2,etc.

Use the same procedure in a rooming house, by numbering the doors beginning with one.

2. Who in the house should be interviewed.

Father or mother; if they are not available, then any relative, then anyone over 18 years of age who moved there as a part of the family group.

3. How to separate the migrants from rural areas and those from urban areas. We did not really solve this, but we defined rural areas from the book Society, by Eli Chinoy, 1961. Rural area - any settlement with a population of 2500 or less.

4. What time should interviews be held?

Up until 8 p. m.

May 8

Exploring teams will go out and find out where Negroes are located. We will take the F-10 census tract for white respondents, and F-72 census tract for Negro respondents. The exploring teams will go to F-72, locate Negroes, type of housing, etc., to get an idea of where the migrants are.

May 9

The following is a report from the exploring team. The tract was bounded by Oxford Ave., Browns Mill, Poole Creek, South River, and Moreland Ave. Two Negro neighborhoods or sections were old with a few older deteriorated homes, the remainder being new or relatively new. The other section was composed of new homes. In both sections it was found that family dwellings, rented homes, and apartment buildings were predominant. It became apparent that we could not rely on the publication Census Tracts to provide us with a guide for selecting areas with large numbers of migrants, since there have been tremendous changes since 1960.

May 14

On the above date the committee for the assignment of various blocks for each team met. The blocks were selected from census tracts 55A and 26. Thirty-six assignments were selected, each consisting roughly of three blocks. Thirteen were taken from 55A, and thirteen from 26, in case no migrants were found in census tract 55A.

May 15

The groups have met and decided on the tracts we will use for interviewing Negroes and whites.

There were volunteers for a committee to work out a method for analyzing the results of the study. Volunteers from the Monday group will be added.

May 16

The committee for completing the schedule met. The schedule was completed, and the general instructions for filling out the schedule were decided upon. Most of the changes consisted of making unstructured questions structured, taking out those words or questions which might influence the respondents' answer, and those irrelevant to the stated purpose of the study.

May 20

The analysis committee met to devise a method for analyzing data. It was decided that we will have two tabulation sheees to compare Negro and white respondents.

For the unstructured questions we attempted to anticipate responses; those we could not anticipate would be considered after the data are collected. The structured questions will be tabulated according to percentage.

Interviews were carried out in the last week of May. As Dr. Lincoln's class had completed the semester, they were not available for interviewing. A total of 31 respondents were interviewed - 21 Negro and 10 white. After committees had tabulated data from the schedules, there was no time remaining for analysis of the tabulated data.

In evaluating the following tables, it should be kept in mind that the 31 respondentents interviewed do not constitute a random or representative sample of the "poor", rural migrants in Atlanta. The data set forth in these tables can be only suggestive for a study using a well-selected sample. Since existing source materials were not useful in sample selection, it is suggested that a more useful source might be found in registrations for utility service.

TABLE I

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN ATLANTA

LENGTH (in months)	Negro	White	Total
6 - 12	15	7	22
13 - 18	4	3	7
19 - 24	2	--	2
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 2

PREVIOUS RESIDENCE BY STATE

STATE	Negro	White	Total
Georgia	17	8	25
Other state	4	2	6
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 3

DID YOU LIVE ON A FARM?

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	14	3	17
No	7	7	14
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 4

RESPONDENTS BY FAMILY ROLE

ROLE	Negro	White	Total
Head of Household	4	2	6
Spouse	13	8	21
Relative	3	--	3
Other Adult	1	--	1
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD

AGE	Negro	White	Total
5 or less	17	10	27
6 - 11	4	--	4
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 6

RELATIVES IN HOUSEHOLD BY AGE

AGEk	Negro	White	Total
5 or less	20	10	30
6 - 11	--	--	--
12 and over	-- k	--	--
Total	20	10	30

TABLE 7

NON-RELATIVES IN HOUSEHOLD BY AGE

AGE	Negro	White	Total
5 or less	--	--	--
6 - 11	--	--	--
12 and over	1	1	2
Total	1	1	2

TABLE 8

REASON FOR MOVING TO ATLANTA

	Negkro	White	Total
Employment	10	9	20
Education	2	--	2
k Health	--	1	1
s Other	10	--	9
Total	22	10	32*

* One respondent gave 2 reasons.

TABLE 9

REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
EMPLOYMENT	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Full time	15	7	22	15	10	25
Part time	4	2	6	3	--	3
Seasonal	1	1	2	1	--	1
Other	1	-	1	--	--	--
No Answer				2	--	2
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 10

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
EMPLOYMENT	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Skilled	--	2	2	1	2	3
Semi-skilled	10	7	17	2	3	5
Unskilled	11	1	12	18	4	22
Other				1	1	2
No Answer				2	--	2
Total	21	10	31	24	10	34

TABLE 11

FAMILY MEMBERS EMPLOYED

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
FAMILY MEMBER	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Head	15	9	24	15	8	23
Spouse	9	4	13	5	1	6
Child	1	--	1	--	--	--
Others	--	--	--	1	1	2
All members	--	--	--	-	--	1
None	--	--	--	2	--	2
Total	25	13	38	24	10	34

TABLE 12

WEEKLY INCOME

INCOME	BEFORE ATLANTA Negro	White	Total	IN ATLANTA Negro	White	Total
Less than $20	5	1	6	1	--	1
$20, less than $40	4	4	8	4	--	4
$40, less than $60	5	3	8	7	4	11
$60, less than $80	2	1	3	4	5	9
Other	4	1	5	3	1	4
No Answer	1	-	1	2	-	2
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 13

DID YOU HAVE TROUBLE FINDING WORK ?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA Negro	White	Total	IN ATLANTA Negro	White	Total
Yes	1	6	7	2	1	3
No	20	4	24	17	9	26
No Answer	--	--	--	2	-	2
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 14

(DO, DID) YOU WORK TOGETHER WITH MEMBERS OF THE OTHER RACE?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA Negro	White	Total	IN ATLANTA Negro	White	Total
Yes	14	2	16	14	2	16
No	7	6	13	4	6	10
Other	--	--	--	--	1	1
No Answer	--	2	2	3	1	4
Total	21	10	.31	21	10	31

TABLE 15

PAID SAME AMOUNT AS OTHER RACE FOR SAME WORK?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Same	2	--	2	1	--	1
More	1	1	2	--	--	--
Less	6	--	6	6	--	6
No Answer	9[k]	9	18	4	8	12
Don't know	3	--	3	10	2	12
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 16

OWN OR RENT

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
STATUS	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Own	10	2	12	2	--	2
Rent	7	8	15	19	10	29
Worked for Shelter	4	-	4	-	-	-
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 17

AMOUNT OF RENT PAID

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
AMOUNT BY WEEK	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Less than $10	3	-	3	1	-	1
$10 and Over	9	1	10	2	4	6
BY MONTH						
Less than $30	3	4	7	-	-	-
$30 - $39	1	-	1	4	1	5
$40 - $49	-	3	3	9	2	11
$50 and Over	1	-	1	3	2	5
Other	1[a]	2[b]	3			
No Answer	[k]			2	1	3
Total	18	10	28	21	10	31

a Worked for shelter; paid no rent.

b Owned home outright; no payments.

TABLE 18

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN RESIDENCE

ROOMS	BEFORE ATLANTA Negro	White	Total	IN ATLANTA Negro	White	Total
One	-	-	-	-	-	1
Two	-	-	-	1	5	6
Three	6	2	8	11	3	14
Four or More	15	8	23	8	2	10
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 19

OTHER RACE LIVE CLOSE BY?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA Negro	White	Total	IN ATLANTA Negro	White	Total
Yes	13	3	16	11	6	17
No	8	7	15	9	4	13
No Answer	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 20

LIVING IN SAME BLOCK WITH MEMBERS OF OTHER RACE ?

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	6	-	6
No	15	9	24
No Answer	-	1	1
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 21

(DID, DO) YOU VISIT EACH OTHER ?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA Negro	White	Total	IN ATLANTA Negro	White	Total
Yes	7	1	8	-	-	-
No	14	6	20	20	7	27
No Answer	-	3	3	1	3	4
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 22

RELATIONS WITH OTHER RACE (IN COUNTRY)

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	20	4	24
No	1	6	7
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 23

HARD TO FIND A PLACE TO LIVE IN ATLANTA ?

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	2	1	3
No	19	9	28
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 24

K

RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATION

EDUCATION (in years)	Negro	White	Total
Less than 4	1	1	2
5 - 8	6	4	10
9 - 12	14	5	19
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 25

HAVE YOU HAD ANY TRAINING FOR A JOB ?

TRAINING	Negro	White	Total
Yes	2	4	6
No	19	6	25
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 26

KIND OF JOB TRAINING RECEIVED

KIND OF TRAINING	Negro	White	Total
Correspondence Course	-	1	1
On the job training	-	3	3
Public Schools	3	-	3
Total	3		7 *

*A discrepancy; the total should be 6.
None of the respondents were attending school at the time of the study.

TABLE 27

KIND OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY CHILDREN IN COUNTRY

SCHOOL	Negro	White	Total
One Room school	2		2
Grade School	6	5	11
High School	10	1	11
No answer	3	5	8
Total	21	11	32 *

* One respondent had 2 children

TABLE 28

DID YOUR MOVING TO THE CITY HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH SCHOOLING?

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	3	-	3
No	18	9	27
No Answer	-	-	1
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 29

(DID, DO) YOU GO TO CHURCH ?

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
REPLY	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	21	9	30	14	1	15
No	-	1	-1	7	9	16
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 30

FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE IN ATLANTA

FREQUENCY	Negro	White	Total
Once a week	5	-	5
Once a month	4	1	5
Once a year	-	1	1
Other	4	-	4
Total	13	2	15

TABLE 31

(DID, DO) MEMBERS OF THE OTHER GROUP ATTEND YOUR CHURCH?

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
REPLY	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White k	Total
Yes	3	- K	3	3	-	3
No	17	10	27	11	1	12
No answer	1	-	1	-	-	-
Total	21	10	31	14	1	15

TABLE 32

KNOW ANY MEMBERS OF THE OTHER RACE WHO (ATTENDED, ATTEND) YOUR CHURCH?

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
REPLY	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	1	-	1	-	-	-
No	2	-	2	3	-	3
No answer	1	-	1	-	-	-
Total	4	-	4	3	-	3

TABLE 33

(WERE,ARE) YOU A MEMBER OF ANY ORGANIZATIONS?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	6	2	8			
No	15	7	22			
No answer	-	1	1			
Total	21	10	31			

TABLE 34

CHANCE TO JOIN AN ORGANIZATION BUT DID NOT ?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	6	1	7	5	1	6
No	10	2	12	12	1	13
No Answer	5	7	12	-	-	-
Total	21	10	31	17	2	19

TABLE 35

WHAT KIND OF ORGANIZATION (DID, DO)YOU BELONG TO ?

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
ORGANIZATION	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Church	1	-	1	1	-	1
School	1	-	1	2	-	2
CCommunity	-	1	1	-	-	-
Other	2	1	3	1	-	1
No Answer	12	10	22	17	10	27
None	3	-	3	-	-	-
Total	19	12	31	21	10	31

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

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ORegon 5-5990

Alan Reitman, *Associate Director*
in Charge of Public Relations

WEEKLY BULLETIN #2207

July 6, 1964

SUMMER PUBLICATION SCHEDULE

Beginning with this issue, the FEATURE PRESS SERVICE will be published on its regular summer schedule, twice in July and August. The FPS will be issued on July 6 and 20 and August 3 and 24. Regular publication will resume with the issue of September 7.

ACLU URGES FEDERAL GOV'T TO PROTECT SUMMER CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATORS

The American Civil Liberties Union on June 22 strongly urged the Justice Department to make the federal government increasingly "visible" in several Southern states during this summer of planned civil rights demonstrations and protests. The civil liberties organization recommended that "serious thought be given to the use of federal marshalls to protect those persons who seek to exercise their rights of free speech, press and assembly." The ACLU plea was sent before the disappearance of three civil rights workers in Mississippi.

In a letter to Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy, the ACLU's executive director, John de J. Pemberton Jr., termed the federal government's physical presence "crucially called for", particularly in Mississippi, large sections of Alabama and Louisiana, southern Georgia and northern Florida and some parts of South Carolina. Pemberton's letter pointed out that in many areas of these states, official refusal to guarantee constitutional liberties to Negro citizens and others who protest racial discrimination is "entrenched in the institutions of government at all levels."

Calling for increased enforcement of federal statutes which would enable persons deprived of their civil rights by hostile police or other public officials to prosecute such officials, the ACLU head wrote that "the gravest problems of the federal constitutional system" can be expected to arise this summer in the south where peaceful, lawful organized demonstrations are planned.

The ACLU letter suggested that the Justice Department, in making its plans to cope with these problems, utilize all means available -- ranging from criminal and civil law suits to the use of marshals -- to see that the demands of the Constitution are enforced.

Increasing concern has been shown by the ACLU and various other civil liberties organizations, as well as by individual lawyers and constitutional law teachers, about test situations that might arise when participants in the civil rights movement make further direct challenges to traditional community patterns of segregation. One outgrowth of this concern has been the formation, with ACLU support, of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, which has recruited 150 practicing lawyers and 100 law students from schools around the nation to stage a summer campaign to help local lawyers protect the rights of Negroes and other civil rights personnel.

A second evidence of concern has been the ACLU's continuing pressure for more vigorous enforcement of, and also for strengthening amendments to, Section 242 (Section 18) of the U.S. Criminal Code which would allow citizens to take legal action against police brutality or other official misdeeds. At present, a citizen who has been mistreated by police, often as the outgrowth of a civil rights protest, must prove that the officer had specific intent to deprive him of his civil liberties. The question of mistreatment from hatred, malice or other motives is considered relevant. The ACLU had suggested, during testimony it gave last year on behalf of civil rights legislation before Congress, that this statute be amended so that the simple performance of several specific acts of violence or mistreatment could be considered sufficient grounds for prosecution.

Justice Department officials had earlier argued that the inability to prove intent on the part of Southern police officials, especially before southern juries, made this section of the Code so unenforceable as to be of little value in the kinds of situations expected to develop during the upcoming civil rights struggles. The ACLU, in its letter to Attorney-General Kennedy, replied to this point by writing that even though convictions are difficult to obtain under the law's present requirements, "we will continue to believe that it is important to expose to the nation the fact that in some communities in the United States, it is impossible to obtain conictions for the most flagrant violations of the law."

ACLU, JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE SHARE VIEWS ON CENSORSHIP

A clarification of the stand taken by the National Junior Chamber of Commerce on book and magazine censorship, disavowing any intent to compile lists or guides of undesirable material, was contained in an exchange of correspondence made public this week between NJCC President Richard H. Headlee and John deJ. Pemberton, Jr., executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The ACLU had urged the Jaycees to recall what had been understood to be a recommendation to their affiliated chapters: the establishment of a "seal of approval" to be given to local druggists who removed "offensive" publications from heir newsstands.

Headlee replied to ACLU Director Pemberton that the Jaycees only intended to confer with local businessmen and seek their personal cooperation in removing "questionable" magazines from the same display areas as those which exhibit material especially aimed at young people, such as "comics," "Popular Mechanics" and similar publications. "Acceptance and recognition of this responsibility would be the only requirement we would seek from such business and professional men. We would rely on their individual concern and judgment as to any censorship implied or otherwise," Headlee wrote. He also included in his letter the statement that "We (the NJCC) have no intentions of preparing a list, a catalog, or anything similar, of magazines which we would deem to be undesirable, distasteful or otherwise."

Information first published in a Maryland Junior Chamber of Commerce newsletter reported that Headlee's plan called for the establishment of a "seal of approval" to drug stores which "don't expose young people to pornography."

Acting on this information and concurring with the NJCC Newsletter editorial opposing the "seal of approval" plan, Director Pemberton wrote in one of his initial letters to Headlee that the ACLU made a clear distinction between the right of organizations to express opinions on publications and the right to serve as censorship agencies.

"A seal of approval for books is particularly obnoxious because it is a weapon that leads to widespread censorship . . . thus the will of a private organization, by means of economic sanctions, is imposed in the highly sensitive field of communication."

Pemberton also pointed out that there can be little doubt that if such a "seal of approval" program were to be activated, the purpose of it would be to deter patrons from buying at stores which do not have the seal. This would "coerce" stores into accepting the Jaycees as a review board for publications sold by the store.

The answering letter from Mr. Headlee did not mention the "seal of approval" plan but said, instead, that the exercise of the personal judgment of each businessman would be sufficient for the National Jaycees group and he wrote that "I do not feel that it is in any way, shape or form infringing upon the rights of anyone within our society, socially or constitutionally."

Mr. Pemberton's most recent letter in the exchange commended the NJCC for its "constructive approach" to the matter of accepting each individual store owner's judgment concerning his own participation in solutions to the problem.

COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS ATTACKS AIR FORCES' VIOLATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Six months ago a Court of Military Appeals ruled that methods used by U.S. Air Force investigators in obtaining an espionage conviction against an officer constituted a "massive and deliberate" violation of the defendant's constitutional rights.

So damaging to the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) were the court's findings that it reduced the charges against Captain Joseph P. Kauffman and cut his 20-year prison term in half after a review of the case. Kauffman was sentenced in Weisbaden, Germany in April, 1963 for having conspired with East German agents to deliver U.S. military secrets to them.

The court noted that violations against him included: (1) Searches on four separate occasions of Kauffman's quarters by a three-man team under orders without warrants, and (2) Rigging of recording devices in the hospital room where Kauffman was in custody and confined.

Terming the OSI methods as "massive and deliberate violations of ... constitutional rights," the court declared: "We regret that we cannot call to our command words which can adequately condemn the illegal procedures revealed by this record," the court concluded.

Alarmed and concerned that the Air Force investigators might repeat these illegalities in other cases, the American Civil Liberties Union sought an investigation of the case, hoping for possible action against those responsible.

In general, a persistent effort by director Lawrence Speiser of the Union's Washington office met only with assurances that a repetition of the case was not likely.

"I have taken the matter up with appropriate Air Force officials and, based upon all the factors involved, have concluded that no further action is warranted at this time," wrote Burke Marshall, assistant U.S. Attorney General in the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. "I understand that the responsible OSI officer ... is retired and that the organization is now under new command. Revisions... were made to provide greater protection for the rights of persons subject to OSI investigations.," he added.

Speiser also wrote to Lt. Gen. John D. Ryan, Inspector General of the Air Force; and to the U.S. Senate's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

Ryan replied that the "national interest" might have been compromised had search warrants been obtained and added that "nothing obtained in the illegal searches or through use of the listening device was, in any manner, used as evidence in any prosecutive action concerning Kauffman. Ryan further said that the listening device was "legally placed" in the hospital to learn whether Kauffman had made contact with espionage agents and that conversations recorded between the defendant and his attorney were "an unintentional by-product.

"No disciplinary action has been taken. . . and it would appear inappropriate to furnish the names of the persons concerned," Ryan concluded.

Replying for the Senate subcommittee was its chief counsel William A.Creech who said that the subcommittee "has not considered it appropriate to press for action against the individuals in the field who were conducting the investigation. It would not appear that the illegality of the instructions given to them were so palpably clear that they obeyed them only at their peril," he said. In a more sympathetic vein, he said Ryan's opinion as to the legality of the listening device "adds little to the solution of the problem" and said that "I think it is fair to state that the legality of this technique is very much in doubt." Creech said that the subcommittee, from time to time, had sought information from the Department of Defense on its investigative techniques. "Frankly, up to the present time, very little significant information has been garnered from the replies to our inquiries," he noted.

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

A LETTER from the CLU of Massachusetts to the Boston Police Commissioner expressed shock at the slaying of a police officer a few months ago, but at the same time referred to reports that a suspect captured shortly after the crime, though in good health when arrested, was in need of hospital care ten hours later. The CLU called for an investigation of possible police misconduct. ... THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA CLU has attacked as unconstitutional legislation introduced by Rep. John Dowdy of Texas to deny permits to solicit contributions to any group not deemed "beneficial to the health, welfare and morals" of the District, and to revoke the permit of the Mattachine Society, a group which attempts to protect homosexuals from discrimination through public education. ... NCACLU CLAIMS the bill tries to establish a vague "morality" test for District organizations, and denies freedom of expression. ... TESTIFYING AT A SENATE appropriations subcommittee hearing, NCACLU secretary James Heller criticized welfare administration to dependent children -- delays in obtaining a hearing after denial of welfare aid, timing of welfare investigators' calls too early in the morning or too late at night -- and challenged the "man-in-the house" rule which threatens to deny aid to the children if there is "continued presence" of one man in a fatherless home.

NEWS FROM
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

July 8, 1964

ENFIELD, N. C. - A huge fiery cross blazed as a calling card of the Ku Klux Klan outside of the Enfield home of a Negro school teacher and civil rights leader. The cross-burning, which occurred on the night of July 4, is the latest incident in what civil rights leaders in the area view as mounting activity in Halifax County - in recent months the scene of an intensive Negro campaign for equal rights.

Two nights before the cross-burning, on July 2, carloads of robed KKK members - several of them masked and carrying guns - staged a motorcade and rally in Enfield and traveled into Negro neighborhoods in that community in an obvious attempt to spread fear and terror.

John R. Salter, Jr. - field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) - said that the cross that burned on July 4 was aimed principally against Mrs. A. Reed Johnson who, with her husband, is one of the active leaders in the county-wide Halifax Voters Movement. Mrs. Johnson, who recently lost her teaching job owing to her civil rights activities, has filed suit in Federal Court, against a number of Halifax County officials, in an effort to regain her teaching position. One of the officials she is suing is Joe Branch of Enfield, attorney for the county school board, who is also the state campaign manager for the Democratic gubernatorial winner and strong segregationist, Dan K. Moore. Moore, who won in the June 27 run-off primary, received open support from the North Carolina Ku Klux Klan.

Other crosses have been burned recently in Halifax County, Salter said, but he indicated that the one of July 4 was the largest. He said it was about 17 feet tall and 8 feet across, had been heavily wrapped in tobacco cloth, and burned about 150 yards from Mrs. Johnson's home. Salter also said that Mrs. Johnson has been receiving many anonymous threatening telephone calls.

"The situation, particularly around Enfield, is growing quite tense," Salter said. "The police in Enfield don't appear at all interested in discovering who is responsible for the cross-burnings and the threats -

and they don't appear at all concerned about the insurgent Ku Klux Klan in the area. From the standpoints of poverty, repression, and recalcitrance, Halifax County is very similar to Mississippi. This rising Klan activity could easily have a very inflammatory and negative effect on the whole situation. The use of guns is common all over this area," he added.

Salter said that the FBI had been contacted about the Klan activity and that telegrams "requesting constructive action" had been sent to the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department and to appropriate state officials. But, he said, "no answers have been received so far." He also charged that the "great majority of newspapers in North Carolina are covering up the KKK upsurge."

Last month, a dozen students from the North were driven out of Elm City in Wilson County, North Carolina, by a mob of over 250 Klan supporters led by top North Carolina KKK leaders. The students, under the sponsorship of the United Presbyterian Church, had been engaged in a work-camp project aimed at repairing Negro churches.

Halifax County is considered one of the most rigid bastions of racism and poverty in the eastern seaboard area. Last summer, Negro demonstrators in Enfield were met by extreme police and vigilante brutality. A large-scale Negro voter registration campaign was waged this spring by the Halifax Voters Movement - an effort which was met by police harassment, slow-down tactics on the part of voter registrars, and economic reprisals. The Voters Movement won a highly significant, precedent-setting Federal court order which prevented county officials and others from interfering with voter registration activities. During that phase of the Halifax County civil rights campaign, over 2,000 new Negro voters were added to the registration books - raising the total in the county to over 3,500. Nearly all of the Negro voters voted in the recent state elections, as did about 10,000 of the county's white people.

The Negro population of Halifax County numbers about 33,000 and the white population totals 26,000.

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10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 6-8397

NAACP

Legal Defense and Educational Fund

PRESS RELEASE

President
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Director-Counsel
Jack Greenberg
Associate Counsel
Constance Baker Motley

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
JULY 29, 1964

INTEGRATION COMES TO MACON COUNTY ALABAMA PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

Court Issues Far-reaching Decree

Montgomery, Ala.--One of the most far-reaching decrees in the history of the struggle for equality in education was issued here last week when a three-judge Federal court ended segregation in Macon County, Ala.

The court order put an end to months of controversy involving Negro and white students at Shorter High, Macon County High in Notasulga, and Macon Academy in Tuskegee.

NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys had brought the action in January of 1963.

In February Governor George Wallace had issued an executive decree saying Negroes could not attend previously white schools. The new court order specifically forbids Governor Wallace from interfering with peaceful school integration.

On learning of the decision, Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the Legal Defense Fund, called it "the most sweeping decree in the history of the Fund's school integration campaign."

He further stated: "Although the decision is, for the moment, limited to Macon County, it lays the groundwork for future action to enjoin Alabama school segregation in a single suit.

"This decree stops Governor Wallace and other state officials from 'harassing or punishing' students or teachers attending integrated schools. School officials are now free to move toward integration without pressure from state officials.

"It knocks out tuition grants as a means of perpetuating segregation and declares that state officials may not use their power to thwart integration.

"The decree also enjoined local Macon county officials from: operating jim crow schools; applying different tests, procedures or requirements to Negro applicants.

"The court ordered the Macon county board to file a detailed plan of operating the schools for the 1964-65 year on or before August 3rd. It further ordered that such plans should include desegregation of the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th grades and at least one of the elementary school grades in each of the schools in Macon County," he concluded.

Recd 10/6/64

COmmunity SERVices to International Visitors NEWSLETTER

Fall 1964 *Vol. ix No. 1*

Approaching 15th Anniversary

WASHINGTON CENTER HAILS 50,000th VISITOR

by Andrew H. Berding, Executive Director of Washington International Center and Treasurer of COSERV

WASHINGTON, D.C.—As the Washington International Center of the Meridian House Foundation approaches the 15th anniversary of its founding, it remains, as it began, "a unique adventure in international education." There is, in fact, no other institution anywhere quite like it, where Government and citizens join hands in a private organization to provide orientation on the whole country for government-sponsored visitors from all over the world.

The Center is located in beautiful Meridian House. Its programs include seminars, films, tours, recreation, and home hospitality. They lay a firm foundation for these foreign guests, after which they can begin their cultural, educational, and training tours equipped with the basic facts to help them understand the United States and its people.

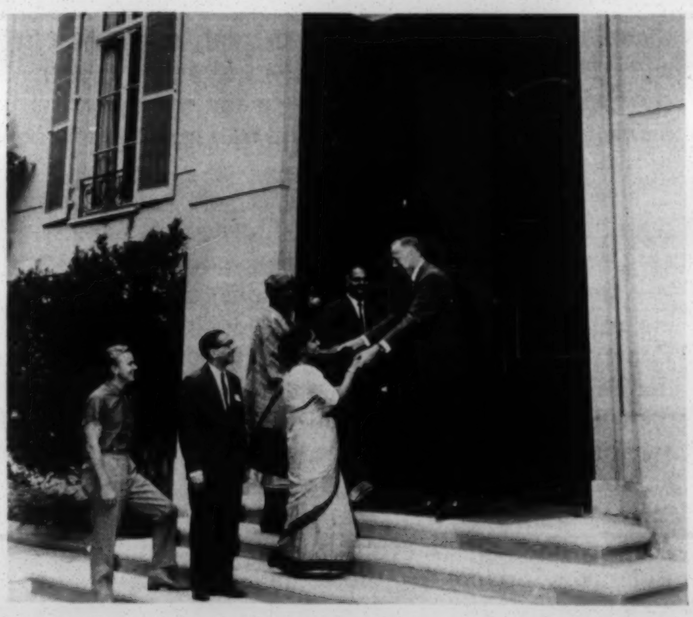
Orientation To U. S. Needed

Nearly 20 years ago, at the conclusion of World War II, the Department of the Army began bringing to this country, government, education and civic leaders from the defeated nations for short visits "to see how democracy works." Very soon it was realized that these visitors needed a preliminary orientation period if they were to understand what they saw as they fanned out across America for stops in the cities and the rural communities.

To avoid any taint of propaganda, the Department of State asked the American Council on Education to work out an orientation program. That done, the Council agreed in 1950 to operate the program as the Washington International Center. As the post-war visits ended and the various exchange and training programs developed, leaders, specialists, and training program participants poured into the welcoming doors of the Center in increasing numbers. They have come from 129 countries and territories in Europe, Asia, the Near and Middle East, Latin America, and Africa.

Greater Numbers Expected

This year the Center received its 50,000th guest. The end of the fiscal year 1964 marked an all-time high in numbers, 5,386 people having registered during the year for all or part of the Center's programs, as compared with the total of 1,047 in the first 15 months of its existence. Now the Center is preparing to greet even larger numbers in the years ahead, with the decision of the Department of the Army to have the Center conduct a seminar on American life for foreign military trainees; the establishment of the International Police Academy in Washington by the Agency for International Development; and the transfer here of the Inter-American Police Academy from the Panama Canal Zone. Other special programs already launched by the Center include the annual spring conference for senior scholars in the Fulbright program, and a Washington Study Tour for industrial interns coming here on programs sponsored by AIESEC-US, The International Association of Students in Economic and Commercial Sciences.



Mr. Berding extends two welcoming hands to visitors at the doorway to Meridian House, the mansion-home of the Washington International Center and COSERV.

The substantive programs at the Center include lecture-discussions on the land and the people, government and politics, the family and community, religious life, trends and problems in the U.S. economy, education, and civil liberties and race relations. These are conducted by speakers expert in their respective fields, drawn from the five universities in the Washington area, from government offices, public and private organizations and institutions. Tours and visits to the White House and Capitol Hill, various educational and other

(Continued on Page 2)

COmmunity NEWSLETTER SERVices to International Visitors

Fall 1964 **Vol. ix No. 1**

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Chairman, COSERV Executive Committee* ..... *John F. Reichard

Executive Secretary* .... *Helen H. Ringe

Editor* .... *Ruth H. Frank

(Continued from Page 1)

institutions, to such historic spots as Mt. Vernon and Arlington National Cemetery, are combined with the lecture program.

Publications Program

The Center's publications program includes several booklets specifically designed to assist newly arrived visitors from abroad—*Overseas Visitors in Washington*, in English, French, and Spanish, is a handbook of practical information, from how much to tip a barber to accepted social customs; *Doorway to the U.S.A.*, also in three languages, is a brochure describing WIC programs; *Washington, Where to Go, What to See*, lists sight-seeing highspots for visitors in the city for only a short time. A quarterly newsletter, the *International Exchange News*, is sent to all Center alumni and has a circulation now of more than 45,000. For many, this is the only continuing link with the experience of a lifetime; as such, it elicits a wide variety of reports from its readers on their achievements based on the education and training they received in this country.

While the Center has a dedicated staff of 23 professional and secretarial workers, its success unquestionably depends on the wholehearted cooperation of the Washington community which supplies nearly 200 working volunteers who give regular hours of service to the Center in almost all its phases of activity, and more than 800 families offering Center guests hospitality in their homes. About 40 organizations participate in the evening programs, sending groups of their members to be hosts at bi-weekly receptions.

Staff-Volunteer Coordination

The Office of Volunteers has its Staff Coordinator of Volunteer Services, but the volunteers' Executive Committee meets twice a month to help carry out the volunteer program. There are eight volunteer service committees: Airport Reception, Evening and Community Activities, Capitol Hill Tour, Home Hospitality, Hospitality at Meridian House, Reception and Information, Library, and Music. Each service works with a staff officer for a coordinated staff-volunteer approach to all Center operations.

With this kind of help, the Center can earn such appreciation as this, from a Pakistan specialist: "The Center is an agency for happy and lasting international relationships . . . this orientation period was of real help throughout my stay in the U. S. and this made the pursuit of my studies more easily enjoyable."

CHRISTMAS PROGRAMS ON THE WAY

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Agency for International Development has announced nine major Christmas programs to be conducted for its participants by universities and community centers in all sections of the country. The majority of programs will begin on December 19 or 20 and last through January 1.

Organizations wishing to cooperate in building a program, or those who would like to participate in one, are advised to write to Miss M. Aloyse Doyle, Agency for International Development, Office of International Training, Washington 25, D. C.

Open to A.I.D. participants only, the programs which have been announced will be directed by the following universities and community groups:

1. Colorado State University and International Hospitality Center of the Mile High Chapter of AAUN-UNESCO.
2. Pennsylvania State University and the Philadelphia Center for International Visitors (agriculture participants only).
3. University of California at Berkeley and International Hospitality Center of the Bay Area (agriculture participants only).
4. International House, University of Chicago and International Hospitality Center of Chicago.
5. Michigan State University, Kellogg Center and surrounding communities.
6. University of Michigan historical tour to Williamsburg, Virginia, and Washington, D.C.
7. New York State University College at Plattsburgh and surrounding communities.
8. University of Georgia, Center for Continuing Education, and Athens, Georgia.
9. Washington International Center, Washington, D.C.

Special tours and other festivities have also been announced for international visitors not formally enrolled in A.I.D. programs. These will be held by COSERV organizations in Dallas, Denver, New York City and San Francisco. No fees will be charged.

McPHERSON NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Harry C. McPherson, Jr. has been appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, succeeding Lucius D. Battle who has assumed the post of U. S. Ambassador to the United Arab Republic.

Mr. McPherson, 34, is an attorney from Tyler, Texas. He joined the staff of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee in 1956 and was named its General Counsel in 1961. In 1963 he was appointed Deputy Under Secretary of the Army for International Affairs. In his new assignment his responsibilities will include the direction of the State Department's Cultural Exchange Program that brings many thousands of visitors to communities throughout the U. S. each year.

A graduate of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, and the University of Texas Law School, Mr. McPherson is married and the father of a daughter, Courtenay.

THE BLIND LEAD THE BLIND— AROUND THE WORLD

By Russell Kletzing, President
National Federation of the Blind

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—This summer, leaders of the blind from all over the world converged on Phoenix, Arizona and New York City. The main sponsor of this rally was the National Federation of the Blind, a nationwide organization of blind people in the United States. They invited and, in part, sponsored the trips of eighteen leaders in work for the blind from eight countries.

The occasion for this blind migration was the opportunity to attend the National Convention of the National Federation of the Blind in Phoenix and, a month later, the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind in New York City. In between, the blind visitors traveled to all parts of the country as any other international visitor might do. Some of the ports of call included San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Denver, Sioux City, New Orleans, Bozeman (Mont.), Philadelphia, Springfield (Mass.), and Boise (Idaho). COSERV organizations were particularly helpful in Sacramento, Sioux City, Denver, Dallas, New Orleans, and Washington, D. C.

"Most Thrilling Experience"

Lester Shaffer of COSERV in Phoenix did a most outstanding job of assistance. In the space of three days, he worked out itineraries, obtained tickets and bookings, and contacted other COSERV organizations for twelve of the visitors—all just before the Fourth of July Holiday. Of this strenuous effort, Mr. Shaffer reports that it was "one of the greatest and most thrilling experiences I have had."

Each of the overseas blind leaders had uniquely interesting experiences during his visit in this country. The group varied from a Korean girl, Hee Yong Yank, of thirty, who is a proof reader and secretary in the Braille library in Seoul, to Hugh Jeffrey, President of the Australian Federation of Organizations of the Blind. The president or other high officers from organizations of the blind in India, Pakistan, Hong Kong, and Ceylon were among the group. The excitement of all is best illustrated by the story of one of our guests.

Lee Ah Kow

Lee Ah Kow is a 24-year-old Malaysian, who lost his sight three years ago while studying mathematics. Since then he has had some basic training to function as a blind person and has learned the occupation of a stenotypist. In his extra time, he has organized and become first president of the Selangor Society of the Blind in Kuala Lumpur. This is the first organization of blind people in the short history of this new nation.

Ah Kow arrived in San Francisco late in June, a week before our Phoenix Convention was due to begin. His first visit was to Sacramento in 100 degree heat, where he was our house guest. He attended a meeting of the Capitol Chapter of the California Council of the Blind where he talked of the status of blind people in Malaysia and learned of our situation here. He also visited a vending stand operated by a blind person, the State Department of Rehabilitation and the State Department of Social Welfare.

California's Blind Programs Visited

Next day, back in San Francisco Ah Kow visited a workshop for the blind and California's orientation center in Oakland; then an hour's flight to Los Angeles, where he met with and spoke at the meeting of the Active Blind, Inc., another affiliate of the California Council of the Blind. He attended a swimming party and learned more about work for the blind.

Ah Kow participated actively in both the social and official life at our National Convention in Phoenix. He had come to this country under the foreign specialist program of the State Department through the auspices of the National Social Welfare Assembly with the National Federation of the Blind responsible for his program. A result of the discussions during the Phoenix Convention was the determination to form an international federation of the blind.

Right State, Wrong City

From Phoenix, Ah Kow journeyed, with two plane changes, on his way to an intended destination at a summer school for the blind in Bozeman, Montana. By error, his ticket had been made to Missoula, home of the University of Montana rather than to Bozeman, home of Montana State College. A long distance phone call to me, and Ah Kow was off the next morning by train to Bozeman with only a little time lost and some interesting experiences. The highlight of the summer school was a trip through Yellowstone Park to see the natural geysers.

Next, on to Sioux City where the COSERV organization had arranged visits to local attractions and surrounding farms. Then southward to Des Moines, where Lee Ah Kow spent the two weeks before leaving for New York at the world-renowned orientation center of the Iowa Commission for the Blind.

In New York, Ah Kow attended meetings of the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind. He and the Selangor Society of the Blind became part of the International Federation of the Blind which was officially formed at the New York meeting. His side trips included visits to Philadelphia for the Pennsylvania Federation of the Blind, and Louisville for the Kentucky Federation of the Blind and the American Printing House for the Blind. In Washington, prior to leaving for home, he met with State Department and Federal Vocational Rehabilitation Administration officials and also visited Mount Vernon and Capitol Hill.

Impact On Blind In U. S.

On leaving, Ah Kow said his trip to the United States had changed his life and will help to change the lives of thousands of blind people in Malaysia. What our international visitors did not fully realize was the tremendous impact they had on the blind people of this country in encouraging them by personal example to renew their efforts to improve conditions for the blind throughout the world.

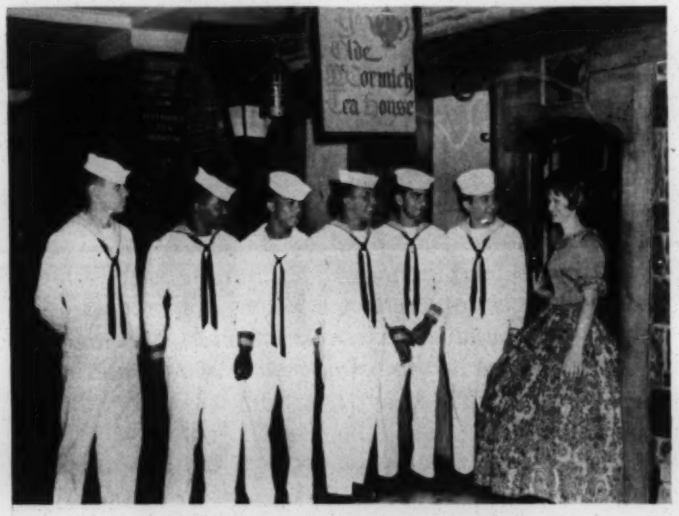
WHEN "LOS MARINEROS" LANDED

BALTIMORE, MD.—Reorganized little over a year ago, the Baltimore Council for International Visitors has experienced no difficulty in keeping its volunteers busy. They have played host to 1200 visitors from 65 countries in a short 15 months.

For three months during the Summer, the Council conducted a round of community and home activities for 300 officers and men aboard two Venezuelan ships undergoing repairs in the Baltimore harbor. Working closely with the ships' commanding officer, Cdr. Manuel Diaz Ugueto, in planning events that would most appeal to the "land-locked" sailors, the Council involved local business and industry as well as host families in the summer venture.

City-Wide Cooperation

In cooperation with the Red Cross, the men recorded greetings that were sent home to their families. During a guided tour of the Baltimore News Post, they were given their names in print as souvenirs. Two tours with interpreters were made to the McCormick Spice Company to see the processing and manufacturing of spices, extracts and tea.



Venezuelan sailors enjoy a guided tour of the McCormick Spice Company in Baltimore.

Dauntless sailors on any waters, 40 of them took to swimming pools of host families despite thundershowers that broke the summer hot spell.

Venezuela's Independence Day—Sunday, July 5, was celebrated in gala fashion by 150 of the men who attended the Baltimore Orioles baseball game. Preceding the opening of the game, an Honor Guard marched into the stadium to play the Venezuelan and U. S. national anthems.

In a harmonious expression of gratitude, "Los Marineros de Venezuela," the seamen's own orchestra, gave an informal concert of Latin American music in Mt. Vernon Square and subsequently taped a half-hour television program that was sent back home for transmission on Venezuela's national network.

U. S. Naval Hero Remembered

As a parting gesture, the men presented a plaque and letter to the Baltimore Council which said, in part, "*. . . please let it be known that we shall never forget all that has been done for us by the citizens of Baltimore, origin of one of the naval heroes of Venezuela, The Captain of the Navy, John Daniel Danells, illustrious leader of the independence.*"

GETTING TO KNOW ABOUT US IN MANY LANGUAGES

WILLIAMSBURG, VA.—In this small village in Southern Virginia, foreign visitors are being given an intimate insight into the ferment and idealism that caused the United States to become the first of the New Nations—the first major colony to break away successfully from colonial rule through revolution.

Now a great tourist center, Colonial Williamsburg has been restored by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to its pre-revolutionary appearance, and it is maintained today as a symbol of an important period in American history. Depicted as one of the important ideological training grounds for the leaders of American independence, its historic significance is not lost on visitors from the developing countries, many of whose own histories as independent nations are only now beginning.

The story of the United States struggle is brought to life for the non-English speaking visitor in a carefully planned program. As he approaches the Colonial Williamsburg Information Center, signs in a great variety of languages greet him and inform him of special assistance available to him at the main desk.

Continuing along with him in his own tongue, folders in many languages are given him which explain the significant historical aspects of old Williamsburg, the pre-revolutionary capital. He then goes on to a theatre where, seated in a special section, he tunes in through dial-a-language facilities to a film with sound track in French, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Japanese or Russian.

Nor is he left bewildered as he strolls through the restored workshops and artisans' buildings that line the streets of this authentically reproduced colonial village. Multi-lingual escorts provide a service that has helped visitors from the seventy-four countries represented among visitors so far this year.

Visiting naval and military groups, State Department grantees, and foreign students are all given special interpretive help. In addition, Colonial Williamsburg sponsors two events annually for foreign students in this country.

Overseas Visitors Coordinator Thomas B. Schlesinger feels that Colonial Williamsburg's motto explains its significance: ". . . that the future may learn from the past."

Visitors from abroad use dial-a-language translation device pioneered by Colonial Williamsburg.

THAT WAS THE WEEK THAT WAS THE SAN FRANCISCO CENTER'S TRIUMPH

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—Rivalling for one spectacular week the glory that was Greece, the International Hospitality Center of San Francisco staged a round of activities that caught up the entire city in the spirit of international friendship, and spotlighted the Center as the place through which it could be channelled.

A Pattern To Copy

Although the City of the Golden Gate is listed as the sixth largest in population in the United States, the "show" put on by the Center could be reproduced in any city, large or small, where the spirit of international interest moved. The fete took untold hours of advance planning, plus the willing commitment of the Center's dedicated volunteers. But, according to Mrs. Allyn G. Smith, Executive Director of the Center,

"We feel this was an event well worth staging. Our week was a tremendous success from the standpoint of making the services of the Center known to the public. We are now reaping the reward with new membership checks and volunteer forms arriving with each mail."

Starting At The Top

Well in advance of the carefully chosen week, the Mayor of San Francisco was approached for cooperation in proclaiming the time as an official city celebration. He set the tone in the following proclamation:

Whereas, the City and County of San Francisco, known throughout the world as an international capital, reflecting gracious charm and hospitality, has every year thousands of visitors from foreign lands; and

Whereas, the citizens of our city, the International Hospitality Center, and other groups and organizations strive to provide a friendly welcome for these visitors, who include foreign government officials, students, educators, professional and business men—visitors from every walk of life; and

Whereas, a special program of extending the hand of international friendship to visitors from overseas has been developed under the sponsorship of the International Hospitality Center, in cooperation with many other organizations in our midst; and

Whereas, the International Hospitality Center is planning the observance of International Hospitality Center Week during the period from June 15 through June 21, 1964:

Now, Therefore, I, John F. Shelley, Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, do hereby proclaim the period from June 15 to 21, 1964 shall be known and observed in San Francisco as "INTERNATIONAL HOSPITALITY CENTER WEEK," and I urge our citizens to participate fully in the events of this special week and to visit the Center at 55 Grant Avenue in order that they may better acquaint themselves with the objectives and program of this worthwhile civic group.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the City and County of San Francisco to be affixed this fifteenth day of May, nineteen hundred and sixty-four.

John F. Shelley, Mayor

With "The Week" proclaimed officially, the Center set about arranging activities to point up its role in promoting friendship between Bay Area citizens and people from other parts of the world.

Social, Cultural, Commercial Events

A series of three "open houses" were held in the Center's lounge from noon to 6 p.m., with foreign visitors especially invited, and volunteers on hand to explain the Center's operations. The lounge was attractively decorated with flowers and Japanese prints. Red pins on a map of the world marked every country that had sent visitors to the Center in 1963. Ribbons from each continent reached to nearby tables holding sheafs of letters from former guests. Enlarged photos of visitors sightseeing and in homes were hung, and a poster described briefly the Center's activities. Tea was served.

Faye and Dale Schmidt, two of five Oriental daughters adopted by Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Schmidt of San Francisco, perform Chinese Ribbon Dance in Maiden Lane during International Hospitality Center Week.

On June 16, the Maiden Lane shopping section of San Francisco staged "International Hospitality Center Day" from noon to 2 p.m. Display booths erected by consulates of 16 nations lined the lane and representatives in native dress demonstrated their country's songs and dances. Between "the acts," Hospitality Center members mounted a platform and gave a "pitch" for the Center. Brochures, volunteer applications and membership envelopes were distributed to those signifying an interest.

Press, radio and television coverage was extensive, with Center board members interviewed on several morning programs. Spot announcements about the week's activities were taped in advance by 4 board members and then sent to 25 stations. A typical 20-second announcement read: "This is International Hospitality Week proclaimed by Mayor John F. Shelley to make known the work of the International Hospitality Center in promoting friendship between citizens of the Bay Area and people from other parts of the world. Come to 55 Grant Avenue Monday, Wednesday or Friday between noon and six and see what volunteers do at the Center."

The International Hospitality Center of the Bay Area's show was one that others may copy but few surpass.

CONSULAR CORPS IN HOME VISITS

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—Combining business with unexpected pleasure, a Chicago group of 87 representatives of 38 foreign countries, including 51 consuls general, vice consuls, commercial attaches and their wives arrived in Springfield, Illinois to attend a State-Consular Conference on Agricultural Exports, the first state conference ever held to promote foreign markets for U. S. farm products. The pleasurable surprise arose when the consular representatives learned that after hours at the 2-day conference, they and their wives would be dinner and overnight guests in the homes of Springfield host families. All arrangements were made by the energetic Springfield Commission on International Visitors whose volunteer chairman is Mrs. Donald R. Patton.

(l. to r.) Illinois Chief of Tourism, Richard Newman, and Mrs. Donald Patton greet Mrs. Frank T. T. Sia and Mr. Sia, Dean of the Chicago Consular Corps, with Gene Graves, Illinois Board of Economic Development, in front of Lincoln's Springfield home.

The Commission was also one of the sponsors of the Conference, along with the State of Illinois and State agricultural and economic boards. The meeting was called by Governor Otto Kerner to bring together Illinois agriculturists with representatives of overseas consumers in order to discuss ways of expanding Illinois' market for exports of its agricultural products. The conference also focused attention on Illinois as a tourist center because of its historic attractions—the Springfield area is known as "Lincolnland"—and its vacation lures. The consular party attended a reception in the Governor's Mansion, toured Lincoln shrines, held business sessions and visited a typical Illinois farm.

While the men were in conference, their wives were entertained at the Springfield Art Association by the host family wives.

New Reception Center

Largely through the determined efforts of Mrs. Patton and her committee members, the Commission on International Visitors will soon be housed in a reception center adjacent to the former home of Abraham Lincoln. Mrs. Patton cites the new reception center as tangible evidence of what is being done by local groups to promote and welcome the visits of guests from overseas to Illinois.

REMEMBERING THE FUTURE — TODAY

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Historic sites usually having been where they are for a considerable period of time, most people are apt to take them for granted, beer cans and all other signs of neglect notwithstanding.

Now, in an unprecedented attempt at preserving the cultural heritage of the past for the cultural enrichment of the future, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) has launched a drive called the International Campaign for Monuments. The purpose of the campaign is "to encourage member states to develop and improve measures for the protection, preservation and restoration of cultural property, and for the protection of the beauty and character of the landscape and of sites. . ." Over 60 nations have agreed to join in promoting the goals of the International Campaign.

Alerting the Public

The United States' participation is called the American Landmarks Celebration. COSERV has been invited to help in the effort to awaken public opinion to the acute need for safeguarding America's architectural, historical and natural heritage as living history—a vital record, source of inspiration and frame of reference for future generations.

Communities throughout the nation are being asked by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to look to their own landmarks and would-be historic sites with an eye to their preservation. Community organizations serving international visitors have become particularly aware of the desecration of many local landmarks as volunteers escort visitors about on sightseeing trips. Experts in preservation and conservation have declared that only through deliberate and concerted efforts can we ensure "that the affluent society does not erase the national memory."

Program Assistance

Community organizations can be helped in setting up a local program by writing for a kit of materials giving more information about the American Landmarks Celebration. It is free and may be obtained from the Coordinator, American Landmarks Celebration, 815 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. Included in the kit is a 9-page folder of suggested ideas for community action. It contains special recommendations for activities that may be undertaken by organizations wishing to emphasize the international aspects of the Landmarks celebration. There is also a list of free and rental films that portray the background of historic sites in many of the 48 states, as well as much of Americana that is less well-known.

As a prick to your conscience and guaranteed to make you wince, the kit-makers have included a reprint of a report that appeared in the Kiplinger magazine *Changing Times.* Called, "America the Beautiful, Heritage or Honky-Tonk?" the article complains that "Of course, everyone is entitled to his own taste and should pursue it freely. But the public landscape, which all of us must live with, deserves farsighted care. And our national monuments should be more than an opportunity for promoters to make a fast buck."

CONFERENCE IN COLORADO

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.—Colorado College in Colorado Springs will be the meeting place for a conference to be held Friday and Saturday, November 20-21, with the theme, "Interpreting the West (Great Plains and Rocky Mountain Region) to the Foreign Visitor." Co-sponsors of the sessions are COSERV, NAFSA (National Association for Foreign Student Affairs), and IIE (Institute of International Education.

Special interest workshops will be featured, and emphasis placed on solutions to problems faced by those who work in international exchange programs. John F. Reichard, Chairman of COSERV's Executive Committee, will attend as will government officials and professionals in the field. Volunteers and others interested in further information should write to the Conference Committee, c/o Institute of International Education, 1600 Sherman Street, Denver, Colorado 90203.

SELECTED READING

Improving the Teaching of World Affairs—The Glens Falls Story by Harold M. Long and Robert N. King. National Council for the Social Studies Bulletin Number 35. National Education Association. Washington, D.C. 1964. $2.00.

Here is the story of an exciting idea translated into dynamic action. With mutual agreement, the school system of Glens Falls, New York (pop. 18,000) was selected by a sponsoring foundation to carry out a 3-year pilot study-action program for Improving the Teaching of World Affairs. The goal of ITWA—as the project came to be known—was to stimulate public school teachers, and through them students and citizens in the local community, to enlarge and clarify their perspective of the world around them. The methods used and the gratifying results that followed are the subject of the newly published, highly readable report.

Proof of the success of the pilot study program was the fact that the community decided to continue the program with its own financing after the foundation grant had expired. "The transformation of the community," says the report, "was not an accidental—or, for that matter, even an incidental—consequence of the organized effort to develop a keener awareness of and knowledge about world affairs. It was, rather, the product of a deliberate plan to build an educational program into both the schools and the community."

And then: "It is impossible to say which aspect of the rich and varied program did the most to arouse in the community an awareness of the larger world beyond its immediate boundaries. Most obvious, of course, was the impact of visitors from other countries."

And, as a side product, ". . . the teachers discovered that the more students learned about other peoples, cultures, and nations the greater was their desire for a better understanding of our own nation and culture."

This is an exciting story. We recommend it highly for its readability and its applicability to other communities.

*

Roots of Progress—Report of a series of seminars sponsored by the Washington Chapter, Pan-Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association, P.O. Box 9941, Washington, D.C. 20015. 1964. $.50.

This 45-page pamphlet recaptures the highlights of a series of panel-discussions centered around the problem of how societies at various stages of development adjust to progress within and outside of their own communities. Topics range all the way from "What is happening to the family in Asia and in America?" to "Women's dress in a changing world." Experts and laymen from East and West state their case and the discussions follow from there.

This is a useful and provocative stimulant for discussion groups concerned with cultural differences among peoples of the world.

*

For a comprehensive picture of what business, foundations, and private research institutions are contributing to the betterment of international understanding, the May-June 1964 issue of *INTERCOM* ($1.00) is indispensable. The theme of this issue of the Foreign Policy Association's publication is "Business and World Affairs." We don't know how the editors manage to accumulate so much information for this bi-monthly magazine, but they produce a fine reference tool in each field they tackle.

*

Now out in its third revised edition is COSERV's 200-page *National Directory of Community Organizations Serving Short-term International Visitors*, with a Special Appendix on Private National Programming Agencies (June 1964, $3.00). The authoritative source of information in this field available from COSERV.

*

Also just off the presses is the National Education Association's latest revision of its country-by-country fact book, *Other Lands Other Peoples*, (Third edition, Fall 1964, $1.50). A "must" for your library.

*

COSERV's Guide for Volunteer Hosts, "*At Ease . . . With Your International Guest*," is still being ordered and re-ordered wherever guests from abroad are expected. The 12-page brochure may be purchased from COSERV at 8 for $1, or 100 for $10.

COSERV Office — Meridian House
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

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NOTE: Please inform the COSERV office immediately if the name or title or address indicated on the reverse side of this coupon is no longer correct. We would also appreciate notification if you wish to be dropped from our mailing list. Postal charges are at an all-time high.

UNITED NATIONS DAY OCTOBER 24th

ST. LOUIS, MO.—At the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation in St. Louis, both management and the unions agreed when signing the contract in 1958, to make October 24th, U.N. Day, one of the seven annual paid holidays for McDonnell's 15,000 employees.

"It is appropriate," declared James S. McDonnell, founder of the corporation, "that all people of this planet take off one day each year to celebrate the birthday of the United Nations, and to try to do constructive things concerning the United Nations."

*

HARTFORD, CONN.—The Service Bureau for Women's Organizations will stage its 14th annual welcome for international visitors and students on the weekend of October 24-25. More than 700 international guests will be invited to spend the two days with Connecticut families. Following luncheon as guests of groups in participating towns, they will come to a reception in Hartford, enjoy informal music and dancing, and then go home with their respective host families.

REPORT ON THE CLEARING HOUSE

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The Clearing House Service of the Council on Student Travel has come of age. Established last Spring at the request of interested agencies, the Service has been a center of information about foreign groups requesting assistance from programming agencies or community organizations in the U.S. It has also helped foreign groups in finding the U.S. organization best able to arrange meaningful trips for them.

As had been anticipated, there were frequent cases in which one foreign group wrote to several American organizations asking each for the same information. Having been forewarned, the American organizations turned the requests over to the Clearing House which handled the replies centrally, thus avoiding the duplication of effort that characterized similar situations in past years.

Many of the foreign groups had unrealistic ideas of program costs and requirements in the U.S. With offices in both New York and Paris, the Clearing House was able to give these groups a more accurate estimate of costs and other problems so that they could plan more realistically for the future. Many inquiries made in 1964 will not develop into visits until 1965.

The Service hopes that as 1965 requests for information are received by American organizations, they will continue to cooperate with and to use the services which the Clearing House provides. Address the Clearing House at 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N. Y. 10017.

HELP WANTED: MAGAZINES

Within the past year, several popular journals have featured articles on the work of COSERV organizations. As a result, inquiries have poured in to the COSERV office from readers wanting to volunteer for the nearest community organization serving international visitors. All have been properly referred. The request below was of a different nature:

Djl. Tangki Sekolah 26,
Djakarta Kota, Indonesia

Dear Sirs,

I got your name from "Woman's Day" June issue 1964 in an article "Fireside Diplomat." My friend got this magazine from a generous American lady in California.

I agree one hundred percent with that article. You know, why there are many Americans are not welcome in Asia? And why they seem so boast to us? I believe because we do not understand each other well. If we know each other a little closer I am sure there will no foreigner who is not welcome in Asia.

I am 23 year old boy. My interests are: stamp, music, reading, travelling, foreign affairs and photography. I like to read American magazine but I got to tell you now there is no American magazine you can find in any bookshop in Indonesia.

My aim writing this letter is asking you politely to deliver my letter to some one in USA who would send their magazines to me. I believe this project could make something to strengthen the relationship between our two countries. Thank you so much Sirs.

(signed) Phan Way Soen

COSERV

National Council for Community Services to International Visitors

Washington International Center
Meridian House Foundation
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

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COmmunity SERVices to International Visitors NEWSLETTER

March 1965 *Vol. ix No. 3*

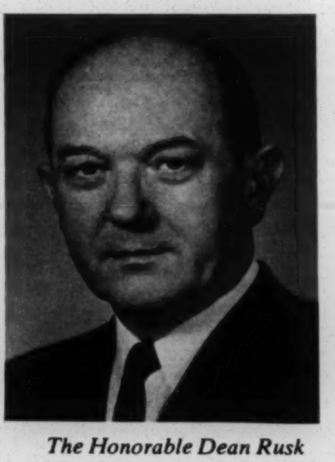
COSERV CONFERENCE MEETS IN WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Over 300 invited delegates representing community and national private programming organizations, and agencies of the federal government, will convene at the State Department in Washington for three days, March 17-19, to participate in a conference on "SHORT-TERM VISITOR PROGRAMS: DIMENSIONS AND RESOURCES."

This national COSERV Conference is the first ever to be held exclusively on short-term visitor programs in the United States. It is also COSERV's first all-member meeting since its establishment as a membership council. It will bring together representatives of almost all of the 97 member organizations, of which 69 are in local communities.

In arranging the three-day program, two basic aims have been kept in mind by the Conference planners: (1) to bring together those who are principally responsible for short-term visitor programs and services in the United States so that they may review the objectives of the programs and increase the effectiveness of the services which support them; and (2) to provide an opportunity for COSERV member organizations to participate in the development of COSERV policies and future program priorities.

Dr. Homer D. Babbidge, Jr.



The Honorable Dean Rusk

Leading the assemblage of national experts who will participate in the Conference will be two major speakers whose interest in international exchange and training programs is evidence of the importance these programs have in our foreign policy objectives. The keynote address at the opening banquet, to be held in the Diplomatic Functions area of the State Department, will be given by Dr. Homer D. Babbidge, Jr., President of the University of Connecticut. Dr. Babbidge is also newly appointed Chairman of the U. S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs. The gala luncheon marking the closing of the Conference will be highlighted by an address by Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Mrs. Rusk will also attend the luncheon. Both the Secretary and his wife have taken an active interest in community services for international visitors.

Evening Reception Scheduled

Midway during the Conference period, an evening reception will be given for delegates by the officers and trustees of Meridian House Foundation, at Meridian House in Washington. The graceful mansion, former residence of a United States diplomat, is headquarters for COSERV and for the Washington International Center.

At the opening plenary session on Thursday morning, delegates will be welcomed by Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Harry C. McPherson, and by David E. Bell, Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

To gain perspective on short-term visitor programs, delegates will be given a glimpse of them as seen from three vantage points: that of a new volunteer, that of experienced workers in community organizations and programming agencies, and that of the diplomat in an overseas post. The presentations will include a few unannounced and dramatic surprises geared to enliven the proceedings.

Thursday afternoon and Friday morning will see the assemblage divided into group workshop sessions where background information will be presented by nationally known experts. Discussion will relate to effective programming at the community level.

The first workshops, on "Understanding a Changing World," will consider emerging political, economic and cultural patterns in six geographic areas of the world from which visitors come who are on exchange and training programs. H. Philip Mettger, President

(Continued on next page)

See special insert on COSERV membership

COmmunity NEWSLETTER
SERVices to International Visitors

March 1965 **Vol. ix No. 3**

Published quarterly and distributed without charge by the National Council for Community Services to International Visitors (COSERV). Meridian House, 1630 Crescent Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. DE 2-1028.

Chairman, COSERV Executive Committee ..... ***John F. Reichard***
Executive Secretary .... ***Helen H. Ringe***
Editor .... ***Ruth H. Frank***

(Continued from page 1)

of the Governmental Affairs Institute, is General Chairman for these panels.

The second series of workshops, on "Interpreting a Changing U. S. A.," will focus on four aspects of our society which require informed interpretation to the visitor: civil rights, our expanding economy, urbanization and public opinion. Thomas B. Schlesinger, Jr., Overseas Coordinator of Colonial Williamsburg, is General Chairman for these workshops.

Time has also been allotted for area meetings of representatives of community organizations to plan for future area and regional conferences proposed as a follow-up of the COSERV National Conference. Mrs. Clyde Emery, General Chairman of the Dallas Committee for Foreign Visitors, and Alan Bartholemy of the Sacramento People-to-People Council, are jointly serving as Chairmen of these sessions.

At the conclusion of the Conference, staff members of government and private programming agencies will be available for consultation with delegates from community organizations.

Help From Many Sources

Conference Chairman J. Benjamin Schmoker, Executive Director of the International Student Service, has been assisted by a special Conference Planning Committee appointed by COSERV's Chairman, John F. Reichard. Mrs. Jeanne Witman, Executive Secretary of the Pittsburgh Council for International Visitors has also given special assistance to Miss Helen H. Ringe, Executive Secretary of COSERV, in Conference planning.

Officials of the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and of the Agency for International Development have cooperated in every stage of the planning, and their assistance has been a vital factor in making the meeting possible.

Volunteers from three Washington organizations will provide information and other services while the Conference is in session. They will be drawn from the Washington International Center, the Greater Washington Council of Organizations Serving International Visitors, and the Girl Scout Council of the Nation's Capital. The latter group are Senior Scouts who are International Aides representing their counterparts throughout the United States.

THE WORLD AT HOUSTON'S DOOR

HOUSTON, TEX.—A Chinese legislator on a good will mission, a young German banker looking for new trade ties with the southern United States, and an Australian port official on a world-wide tour "to see what other ports are doing" all found what they were seeking at one spot in Houston, Texas.

They came within a few weeks of each other to the World Trade Center, a unique grouping of separate organizations housed in neighboring offices in Houston's World Trade Building.

Although each his its own special interests, all the organizations work together to serve international visitors in Houston, because all are engaged in activities that have international aspects.

Recently, Tung-min Shieh, speaker of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly in Tapei, visited Houston, Tapei's Sister City. The Chairman of Houston's International Hospitality Committee, which is sponsored by the Institute of International Education's Southern Regional Office, found it easy to arrange a Sister-City Committee luncheon with the Director of the World Trade Center as master of ceremonies. He is "across the hall" from the Hospitality Committee's office in the Trade Center building. Other world-trade groups in the building were also available for consultation, as were consulate staffs, housed in various offices in the same building. The job of arranging programs for many foreign visitors is enormously simplified because transportation between appointments is cut to a minimum.

In the patio of the World Trade Center: Mrs. Alice Pratt, Southern Regional Director of IIE, Vaughn M. Bryant, International Relations Director of Port of Houston; and Edward J. Fay, Director of World Trade Center.

Recently, at IIE's request, the port of Houston's International Relations Department shared responsibility for the visit of an Australian marine engineer. The Department arranged a tour of the Port of Houston, and IIE's Hospitality Committee members invited the visitor and his wife to cultural events and to their homes.

The World Trade Club on the building's fourth floor often plays host to IIE-sponsored visitors and students. And the World Trade Center Library is available to all visitors for temporary use.

The World Trade Building is a focal point that leaves the 500 international visitors who come to the city each year under IIE auspices with a feeling of having enjoyed a special brand of Texas hospitality.

Dinner celebrants marked the occasion of El Paso Council's becoming a member of COSERV: from left, Fred Hervey; Mrs. Fred Hervey, President of El Paso Council; John F. Reichard, Chairman of COSERV Executive Committee; Mrs. Joseph Goodell; Mr. Goodell; Mrs. Russell Harding, past President and Dinner Chairman; and Kurt Spier.

EL PASO COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS JOINS COSERV

EL PASO, TEX.—The El Paso Council for International Visitors, recently accepted as a member of COSERV, now joins community organizations in four other Texas cities (Austin, Dallas, Forth Worth and Houston) who became members over a year ago.

The Council held its first annual dinner on November 17 at the El Paso Country Club to mark the occasion. John F. Reichard, Chairman of COSERV's Executive Committee, was an honored guest and speaker. Two hundred volunteer workers present at the festivities cheered as he officially proclaimed the Council a member of COSERV. Mr. Reichard, in turn, was made an honorary citizen by the Mayor of El Paso, photographed for the press, interviewed on television, and given a taste of Texas hospitality that is customarily extended to international visitors to this border city just across the river from Juarez, Mexico.

The Council has been in operation for only 2 1/2 years but, observed Mr. Reichard, it "has more people involved—and in an increasingly purposeful way—than many older, well established major city councils. Its leadership is evaluating most thoughtfully the purposes and procedures of the Council."

He continued: "El Paso, I must admit, fascinated me—its exciting geographic setting with rugged mountains ringing the city, the Spanish influence—especially the proximity to Juarez—the booming downtown with a set of genuine skyscrapers, the beautiful architecture of Texas Western College, the importance of Fort Bliss as the major air defense training center in the western world. . . . . .Everyone I met had a strong international point of view and wished to be genuinely friendly to visitors."

Serve Military Trainees

187 Council families carry out a major program of services and hospitality to allied trainees from 13 nations who are stationed at Fort Bliss for from three to thirty months. Carefully planned "sponsor-family assignments" are worked out with military representatives on the Post, and every effort is made to fulfill the program's goal of a well-rounded community experience for each military trainee who participates. Host families, in turn, receive from the Army information sheets on the countries of origin of their "adopted" trainees in order to ensure at least a basic knowledge of the guest's background. The Council provides "Hospitality Hints for Host Families" which for the most part give clues to local resources that should not be overlooked in giving the visitor a full experience.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT POLICY

by Mrs. Karl T. Compton, Vice-Chairman of COSERV and President, Boston Council for Int'l. Visitors

BOSTON, MASS.—The question has come from some local community organizations concerning the possibility of their receiving financial support from the federal government for their services. In answer to this question the Executive Committee of COSERV at its October meeting adopted the following statement of policy unanimously and with conviction:

"It is COSERV's belief that local community organizations serving international visitors should be financed locally and not by federal funds. The cogent reason for this is the fact that they are essentially volunteer organizations whose strength in their relationship with their guests is that they are composed of freely voluntary private citizens personally concerned with greater mutuality of understanding among the nations and cannot possibly be considered subsidized governmental agents. Surprise, augmented confidence, and pleasure in this fact have been expressed often by international visitors.

"However, the moral support and clearly expressed and publicized recognition of COSERV and its member organizations by the State Department and other governmental agencies is indispensable if they are to have the financial support and recognition they need from their local communities."

We were not unmindful of the financial requirements and difficulties of local councils. However, we believe, on the basis of experience, that federal subsidy of our offered friendship would undercut its effectiveness; indeed, that a community's assumption of financial as well as hosting responsibility is a valid test of the depth of its commitment to this program of "citizen" diplomacy.

ANNUAL AWARDS ANNOUNCED

NEW YORK, N. Y.—For distinguished service to international education, five award winners received citations from the Institute of International Education-Reader's Digest Foundation, during cerymonies held at the new IIE headquarters in New York, January 18. Of the five, three have a COSERV affiliation. They are:

Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Trogdon, Jr., of the Paris (Illinois) International Thanksgiving Fellowship, "for their untiring and effective efforts to provide hospitality to foreign students and visitors and to broaden the horizons of their fellow Americans." The Paris organization, founded by the Trogdons, is a member of COSERV.

Harry C. McPherson, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, presents IIE-Reader's Digest Foundation citation and $1,000 check to Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Trogdon, Jr.

The International Student Service, formerly the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, "for its dedication to serving foreign students and promoting friendship between them and the American people." The organization, a COSERV member, accepted the award through its Executive Director, J. Benjamin Schmoker who is on the Executive Committee of COSERV.

The City of Louisville, Kentucky, "for its inspiring example of civic interest in international affairs and the civic hospitality to visitors from abroad." The International Center of the University of Louisville, a COSERV member, was singled out for its "dynamic community program. . .(which) makes it possible for every foreign short-term visitor of whom there were nearly 250 last year to live with a local family during his stay in the city."

The two other recipients of honors were Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, "for the originality and quality of its international program" and the Marcona Mining Company, a U. S. corporation which promoted effective educational programs in Peru.

Nominations for the 1965 awards were submitted by individuals, organizations and educational institutions in all parts of the country. The presentations were made by Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Harry C. McPherson, Jr. Except for the corporation award, $1,000 checks accompanied the citations.

Mr. and Mrs. Trogdon—he is a former Mayor of their small midwestern town—proved themselves pioneers in leading their community in service to international visitors. The text of their citation includes some historical notes:

"For the foreign student or visitor, the opportunity to know and understand the America which extends beyond the campus or the special facility he is visiting is one of the most rewarding aspects of his exchange experience. Since 1956, Mr. and Mrs. Trogdon have provided this opportunity to hundreds of visitors from abroad. In that year they organized, in their home town of Paris, Illinois, the Thanksgiving Fellowships which have made it possible ever since then for more than one hundred foreign students attending nearby colleges and universities to spend the four-day Thanksgiving holiday in local homes. So rewarding was this program to the students and to the host families that the Trogdons undertook to develop Thanksgiving Four-day Fellowships in other communities. Today their idea flourishes in seven Illinois towns and cities.

"The original venture in international understanding launched by Mr. and Mrs. Trogdon in Paris is now but a part of the year-round community program, which includes regular visits to this American community by Allied airmen at Chanute Field during the summer, and year-round visits of special guests sent by the State Department and other public and private agencies. Many of these visitors have enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Trogdon who have played a leading role in the expansion of their community hospitality program."

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Paid employment in the broad field of international affairs may be found in such a variety of places and institutions that the editors of INTERCOM, publication of the Foreign Policy Association, have issued a new directory, "Careers in World Affairs," for people seeking jobs. It is about as complete an inventory as may be found. Order ($1) from INTERCOM, 345 E. 46 St., New York, N. Y. 10017.

For those who have jobs and are seeking people, two sources of alumni with overseas backgrounds are:

(1) The Peace Corps, 806 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20525. Dr. Robert Calvert, Jr. directs the career information service for returning Peace Corps volunteers.

(2) The Experiment in International Living, Putney, Vermont. Reed Alvord has a file of well-qualified former leaders of outbound Experiment groups who might fill various positions.

The National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA), 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, N. Y. 10017, lists job opportunities in the field of international educational exchange in its Newsletter.

MEMBERS OF COSERV IN MARCH 1965

COSERV

National Council for Community Services to International Visitors

The National Council for Community Services to International Visitors, a non-profit organization, was established in 1961 to assist in the development and coordination of needed services at the community level which contribute to the objectives of international exchange and training programs. COSERV seeks also to encourage effective communication between national agencies that send visitors across the land and local organizations that receive visitors in their communities. In serving as a link between these "sending" and "receiving" groups, COSERV provides opportunities for the mutual exchange of ideas and for consultation on the unmet needs and varying experiences of sponsored visitors.

COSERV's leadership is centered in a Board of Directors whose elected members represent both national agencies and local community organizations, with particular care given to assure broad geographic distribution of Board members.

The Board establishes policies which govern COSERV's objectives, organizational status, programs and activities, including requirements for membership in COSERV. The Board determines whether an organization does in fact meet the basic prescribed standards. Through adherence to these standards it is hoped to safeguard both national interest and local diversity in programs for international visitors, while at the same time keeping in mind the objectives which guide the National Council.

Qualifying organizations which have applied for and been accepted to membership in COSERV are identified as members of COSERV and have met the standards listed below.

Community Organizations (identified as "receiving" organizations) are non-profit, local community organizations concerned with community services to international visitors, and university administered organizations which receive and serve diverse categories of short-term visitors in the absence of an overall community organization, meeting the following standards:

1. Has purpose that is in conformity with the stated objectives of COSERV.
2. Has responsible governing board composed of individuals within the community who have access to those organizations and institutions within the community that represent potential resources for a well-balanced program for visitors.
3. Is in a position to receive visitors without distinction as to race, nationality, or creed.
4. Gives evidence of consultation with major community organizations, of having the confidence and support of such organizations, and conforms to the basic principles of sound coordination.
5. Has a community base for contacts and local operations, personnel necessary for the functioning of the program and the resources essential for sound operation.

National Programming Organizations (identified as "sending" organizations) are national, non-governmental and non-profit, meeting the following standards:

1. Offers the visitors experience that will be significant in their own professional careers.
2. Presents the visitors with a variety of experiences representative of life in the United States.
3. Assures that visitors are adequately covered by health and accident insurance.
4. Assures the fact that the visitors have sufficient resources so that they will not become a financial burden to the local communities.
5. Provides communities with accurate and relevant information, including the overall itineraries, far enough in advance to make possible careful advance planning, and keeps them apprised of changes of plans or pertinent facts concerning the visitor.
6. Screens visitors as to their basic reliability and integrity.
7. Maintains a standard of excellence in programs which it arranges.

As of March 1, 1965, a total of 71 community and 26 national programming organizations were included in the roster of COSERV members. They are listed on the reverse side of this page.

Additional copies of this announcement may be obtained from:

COSERV
Meridian House
1630 Crescent Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

ALBANY — Albany International Center
ALBUQUERQUE — Albuquerque Foreign Visitor Service
ANN ARBOR — International Center, University of Michigan
ATLANTA — Atlanta Committee for International Visitors
AUSTIN, Tex. — International Hospitality Committee of Austin
BALTIMORE — Baltimore Council for International Visitors
BOSTON — Boston Council for International Visitors
BOULDER, Colo. — Community Hospitality for International Visitors
BOZEMAN, Mont. — International Cooperation Center, Montana State College
BUFFALO — Buffalo World Hospitality Association
BURLINGTON, Vt. — Vermont Council on World Affairs
CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — University Marshal's Office, Harvard University
CHICAGO — Institute of International Education, Midwest Office
CHICAGO — International Hospitality Center of Chicago
CLEVELAND — Cleveland Council on World Affairs
DALLAS — Dallas Committee for Foreign Visitors
DAYTON — Dayton Council on World Affairs
DENVER — International Hospitality Center, Mile High Chapter of UNA, USA-UNESCO
DENVER — Institute of International Education, Rocky Mountain Office
DETROIT — International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit
DURHAM, N. H. — New Hampshire Council on World Affairs
EL PASO — El Paso Council for International Visitors
EPHRATA, Wash. — Ephrata's International Friends
FLINT, Mich. — Flint Committee to Welcome International Visitors
FORT WORTH — Fort Worth Council on World Affairs
GLENS FALLS, N. Y. — Improving the Teaching of World Affairs in the Glens Falls Public Schools
GRAND RAPIDS — International Visitor Program of the World Affairs Coordinating Council
HARTFORD — Service Bureau for Women's Organizations
HOUSTON — International Hospitality Committee of Houston, Institute of International Education, Southern Office
KALAMAZOO, Mich. — Kalamazoo International Hospitality, American Association of University Women
KANSAS CITY, Mo — Committee for International Visitors and Students of Greater Kansas City
KNOXVILLE — International Visitors Center
LITTLE ROCK — International Hospitality Committee of Pulaski County
LOS ANGELES — Center for International Visitors, University of Southern California
LOS ANGELES — Los Angeles World Affairs Council
LOUISVILLE — International Center, University of Louisville
MEMPHIS — International Group of Memphis
MIAMI — Council for International Visitors of Greater Miami
MILWAUKEE — International Institute of Milwaukee County
MINNEAPOLIS — Minnesota International Center for Visitors and Students
NEW YORK CITY — Midtown International Center
NEW YORK CITY — National Council of Women of the United States
NORFOLK, Va. — Committee for International Visitors
OKLAHOMA CITY — Committee for International Visitors, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce
PARIS, Ill. — International Thanksgiving Fellowship
PHILADELPHIA — Philadelphia Council for International Visitors
PHOENIX — J. Lester Shaffer
PITTSBURGH — Pittsburgh Council for International Visitors
PORTLAND, Ore. — World Affairs Council of Oregon
PRESCOTT, Ariz. — Delta Kappa Gamma
RIVERSIDE, Calif. — Riverside International Relations Council
ROCHESTER, N. Y. — Rochester International Friendship Council
ROCHESTER, N. Y. — International Hospitality Service, Rochester Association for the United Nations
SACRAMENTO — People-to-People Council for the Greater Sacramento Area
ST. LOUIS — St. Louis Council on World Affairs
SAN DIEGO — International Visitors Council of San Diego
SAN FRANCISCO — International Hospitality Center of the Bay Area
SAN FRANCISCO — World Affairs Council of Northern California
SIOUX CITY — Mayor's Committee for International Visitors
SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — Commission on International Visitors
SPRINGFIELD, Mass. — World Affairs Council of the Connecticut Valley
STERLING, Ill. — International Fellowship Committee
SYRACUSE — Syracuse World Affairs Council
TOLEDO — International Institute of Toledo
WASHINGTON, D. C. — Foreign Student Service Council
WASHINGTON, D. C. — Greater Washington Council of Organizations Serving International Visitors
WESTPORT, Conn. — Citizen's Committee of the Westport-Weston Chapter, UNA
WICHITA — Foreign Visitors Service Committee, Wichita Chamber of Commerce
WILLIAMSBURG, Va. — Colonial Williamsburg
WORCESTER, Mass. — International Center of Worcester
WORTHINGTON, Minn. — Worthington-Crailsheim Committee

NATIONAL PROGRAMMING ORGANIZATIONS

African-American Institute
American Friends of the Middle East
The American-Scandinavian Foundation
The Asia Foundation
Association Internationale des Estudiants en Sciences Economiques et Commerciales-United States (AIESEC-U.S.)
Cleveland International Program for Youth Leaders and Social Workers
Council on Student Travel
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships
The Experiment in International Living
Friends of India Committee
Girl Scouts of the U. S. A.
Governmental Affairs Institute
Hospitality Committee for United Nations Delegations
Institute of International Education
International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience-United States (IAESTE-U. S.)
International Marketing Institute
International Recreation Association — United States Committee
International Student Service
Japan Productivity Center, United States Liaison Office
National Catholic Welfare Conference, Foreign Visitors Office
National Social Welfare Assembly
Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters
Sports International
Syracuse University Television and Radio Center, International Broadcast Seminar
United States — South Africa Leader Exchange Program
United States National Student Association, Educational Travel

THE GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

by Dean B. Mahin
Chief Program Officer, G. A. I.

(This article follows others in the Newsletter series describing national programming agencies that are members of COSERV.)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Governmental Affairs Institute, chartered in 1950 as a private, non-profit, professional organization, has undertaken a variety of operational programs and research projects in the broad fields of political science and international affairs.

From the outset, cultural exchange has been one of the primary areas of Institute activity. In fact, the Institute was established as a result of needs arising from U. S. efforts to strengthen the development of democratic ideas and institutions in post-war Germany. After the U. S. Government initiated, on a large scale, visits to the U. S. by German leaders, GAI was set up to arrange their programs and itineraries.

Growth of Responsibility

Over the next several years, as the German program was integrated into the State Department's world-wide Foreign Leader Program, GAI's role was broadened to include responsibility for political leaders, government officials, and journalists invited by the Department from around the world.

Today the Institute is responsible for approximately half of the State Department's leader grantees assigned to a contract agency, and also undertakes projects for foundations and other organizations.

GAI's visitors are policy makers and opinion molders in their home countries. In 1964 GAI assisted almost 600 visitors. Much of GAI's roster of more than 7,000 "alumni" reads like the Statesman's Yearbook. Included are a number of present or former prime ministers and foreign ministers, nearly half of the British and German cabinets, and scores of top officials and other members of the power elite in their homelands. Many already held high positions at the time of their visits, and others later moved into more important positions as the program emphasized young men with promise of greater leadership and influence.

Helped Start COSERV

In its early years the Institute realized that most community visits required the coordinated use of many local resources. GAI strongly encouraged the development of formal or informal community-wide groups to assist visitors. In 1958 GAI provided the interim secretariat for the organization which later became COSERV, and published the first comprehensive directory of local community groups. Today GAI is an active member of COSERV, and its President, H. Philip Mettger, is on the COSERV Executive Committee.

GAI provides each local group with detailed information on the visitor's background, personality, and interests, along with specific programming suggestions, but relies on the community group to decide how its resources can best be used in each case. The Institute thus sees its role as one of partnership with the community groups, working with them toward full effectiveness of an important national program.

GAI's other activities within the broad framework of political science and international affairs include research studies in intergovernmental relations, metropolitan area problems, elections analysis, and overseas manpower, management, and labor problems. Since 1959 the Institute has operated a center in New York to provide information and briefings for American travelers to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

SHORE LEAVE WELCOME STAGED

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.—Walking down the gangplank of the British passenger liner Orsova to the rhythms of, consecutively, "Hail Britannia" and "California Here I Come," 381 round-the-world passengers received a memorable welcome from 184 host families of the San Diego International Visitors Center during a 12-hour stop-over in that city.

INTERNATIONAL VISITORS CENTER
OF SAN
WELC E
.S. O

Photo by San Diego Union

San Diego volunteers Mr. and Mrs. W. F. MacDonald (second from left and extreme right) greet their Australian dinner guests at the pier where the S. S. Orsova docked.

Three months of planning went into the massive hosting effort which was masterminded by Mrs. Herbert G. Rudge, a Center volunteer. But until eight days before the ship's arrival, "We didn't know whether to expect 40 or 400 visitors," Mrs. Rudge said.

"Norway has its know the Norwegians program and Finland has its Find the Finns, so why not us?" she asked. "I love my city and I want everyone to know it."

The San Diegans, calling their project "Ambassadors At Home," invited their guests—mostly British—to their homes for dinner and the evening. Elaborate menus were shunned, and although the visitors were due back at their ship within 5 hours, many had time to sandwich in an evening tour of local supermarkets, shops and residential areas which gave them a capsule picture of living conditions in San Diego.

A grateful guest wrote, after the visit, "I do feel, through this thoughtful gesture we have not only enjoyed American hospitality but have made friends with whom we shall correspond and hope to induce to come to Australia and accept our welcome in return."

CONNECTICUT BUREAU WINS PLAUDITS

by Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, Director
Service Bureau for Women's Organizations

HARTFORD, CONN.—"In fully cooperating with the University of Connecticut and its Foreign Administrators Training Program, you have provided a vital service to our nation in its foreign policy goals."

With these words, and a commemorative plaque, the Agency for International Development gave official recognition to the contribution of Connecticut's Service Bureau for Women's Organizations supported by the Beatrice Auerbach Foundation. The presentation, made in Hartford last December, saluted cooperation with the University of Connecticut's Institute of Public Service which inaugurated a program in 1961 under contract with A. I. D.

Director of Service Bureau of Women's Organizations, Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, accepts plaque for her organization from Agency for International Development representative, James Stockard.

The University sought, in its training efforts, to develop "The Complete Man." As its Program Coordinator explained: "We believe that greater stress must be given to introducing these trainees to our society and our culture instead of concentrating solely on their technical education. A man can return to his country trained in a skill area and hate the United States and all that it represents."

The University Coordinator works out a program for each trainee directed toward his specific needs and his role in the development of his country—a combination of specially devised academic courses and on-the-job training in state and municipal government agencies, public utilities, home office of insurance companies and banks, plus visits to industrial plants.

Equal importance is given to the social and cultural aspects of the program. The Service Bureau, working in close cooperation with the Coordinator, is given complete information on each trainee, his background, role at home, his training program, and personal interests so that a "home hospitality" program can be devised that he will enjoy and that will give him a picture of American family and community life.

Differ on Methods

While agreeing on the goal, the Coordinator and the Service Bureau initially differed as to means. The Coordinator placed the great majority of the first group of trainees as full time dwellers in private homes, providing a modest remuneration for the host family to cover the approximately three months stay.

While assisting in locating such families, the Service Bureau did not approve the plan, pointing out that while the home stay program had proven most effective for young visitors, notably students, the situation for mature trainees, most of them married men accustomed to being head of their own households, was very different. Trainees work under great pressure in a strange environment. There are problems of dietary regulations, unknown social customs, the strain of speaking a foreign language. There is a need to be alone, to choose one's own sleeping and meal hours. All these and other factors may well make it difficult for both the visitor and the host family over a period of several months.

The Service Bureau's fears proved well grounded. Some trainees treated the host family as a boarding house. Others were exhausted and hampered in their work by the overwhelming kindness of the family.

The lesson learned was that "home hospitality" cannot be simply defined as a "home stay." The visitor's work program, personality and wishes all must be considered in determining hospitality that best suits a specific visitor and situation.

A Friend When Needed

Thus, out of experience, the Service Bureau developed an "adoption" system. Trainees in Connecticut live in pleasant apartments for which the University makes the business arrangements. The Service Bureau tries to match each trainee to an "adopting family" where there should be mutual compatibility. This home is always open to the trainee as to a close family friend. He shares their recreation and meets their friends. It is a place to which to bring personal problems. and to bring his friends.

The "adopting families" are selected so as to provide a real cross section of interests. The Service Bureau keeps in touch with each family and, where desirable, supplements their resources with country weekends and invitations with specific contacts in mind.

Success Measured

That the plan is working is evident from the growing number of families who wish "to join," and also by the spontaneously expressed desire of the trainees at the end of their stay to say "Thank you."

A group leaving last Spring, most of whom were Pakistanis, asked the Service Bureau to help with a farewell afternoon social for their host families and their supervisors. They obtained a film on Pakistan, arranged a short program with a spokesman to express their thanks. Over eighty people came to the party and many others sent messages of regret.

The Service Bureau estimates that six hours of staff time go into the preparation of the program for each "adopted" trainee, but can only guess at the hundreds of volunteer and staff hours which go into its implementation. This is a small price to pay for the understanding and friendship of men and women who will play a vital role in the future of their countries.

CONFERENCE IN CANNES

by Gordon Boyce
President, Experiment in Int'l. Living
and Member, COSERV Executive Committee

(Mr. Boyce recently returned from Cannes, France, where he attended an international conference of the Council on Student Travel. He reports here on the Workshop on Short-term Programs in the U. S. and Europe. Over 300 conference participants represented national organizations from 25 countries interested in international student travel.)

PUTNEY, VT.—The European-North American Conference on Educational Travel and Exchange Programs in Cannes was an interesting hors d'oeuvre of purposeful travel. It offered a table with something appealing for everyone. Most of it was digestible. The Council on Student Travel, which collected, prepared and presented these international delicacies with a flourish, is to be commended for its shrewd assessment of appetites. Certainly, it demonstrated its courage and competence in conceiving and pulling off a broad-gauged gathering of this nature.

Although the Cannes Conference (surely destined to be known as the Cannes-Con) was far too diverse and is much too recent to permit reliable over-all evaluation, those of us who attended may speak with some degree of confidence on the panels and discussions which we frequented. Of course, none of us could get to all of them.

Advance Briefing Needed

It is perhaps too early, for instance, to determine whether candid U. S. community messages to our European friends struck home and, if so, whether they will have any effect. But no bones were made about the fact that from the U. S. community point of view, arriving students *must* be better briefed, recognize their responsibilities as guests and do something about it, and not consider community hospitality an inalienable (and inexpensive) right. Indeed, the point was made that the increasing number of European students coming here under the guise of educational travel, equipped with neither motivation, adequate advance programming nor sufficient money, was reaching scandalous proportions.

Even so, we may have been engaging in a dialogue of the deaf; frequently we seemed merely to be cataloguing mutual difficulties. There was also a tendency—as there always is on occasions of this sort—to talk *about* problems rather than address ourselves *to* them. And there were, of course, instances when groups became involved in describing how their exchange worked rather than discussing whether it ought to be working that way at all.

Despite this, one had a sense that things were under way. There was a healthy, lively and, I suspect, productive exchange of information—an exchange in which, incidentally, the delegates from Eastern European countries took an active part. There emerged a general appreciation, I think, that there is a growing proliferation of types of travel enterprises, notably in the professional, semi-professional and business areas. Both senders and receivers were exhorted to distinguish among them, adjusting expectations accordingly. The deliberations likewise evoked an awareness, if not a consensus, that there is ample room for more organizations (rather than less) in this field and that each of us should stick to his own muttons, not endeavoring hastily to take on program responsibility for something he is really neither equipped nor experienced to handle.

Travel in U. S. Expensive

Then there is the other side of the coin. Europeans have been withstanding the American student horde for years. Not only have they become inured to it, they cope with it. Thus, it was only with a slight tongue-in-cheek that they referred to America as an "underdeveloped country" as far as our ability to handle equivalent numbers of foreign students is concerned. It was pointed out, and with some validity, that unlike most of the major European cities, few of our metropolitan centers have adequate facilities for meeting the needs of the foreign student traveler. Sympathetic though they may be to our problem—some even understand it—they abjure the failure of a country as farseeing as ours to provide sufficient low-cost living accommodations in keeping with the pace of the time.

Tidal Wave to Continue

One thing became abundantly clear at Cannes. We will see no abatement in this tide. Foreign students, and especially Europeans, are going to continue to come to our shores, and in ever increasing numbers. There will be no dissuading them. There is no turning them off. If we are going to continue to serve them, it is incumbent upon us to employ all possible means to grapple with, perhaps confine, a problem which is destined to reach even greater proportions before we discover its solution.

NATION-WIDE SURVEY LAUNCHED

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The U. S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs is undertaking a nation-wide survey to measure the extent and nature of *organized* volunteer services which support international exchange and training programs. COSERV and other national organizations were consulted in the planning of the survey. The results will probably constitute a special report of the Commission to Congress and the public. The facts are being sought through questionnaires currently being mailed to approximately 300-500 communities in every state and Puerto Rico. In addition, six communities, each representing a major geographic area of the country, will be visited to study in greater depth community involvement in foreign visitor programs.

HELP WANTED: MEN

by J. Lester Shaffer
Member of COSERV Executive Committee

(Mr. Shaffer, an experienced volunteer, was asked to comment on recruitment of men for volunteer service.)

PHOENIX, ARIZ.—After fifteen years of service in arranging local programs for short-term visitors, we are convinced that one of the most important elements in successful programming is the involvement of many male volunteers. This has become particularly apparent to us since the arrival of visitors from the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America.

Our first step in involving male volunteers in our efforts was to make any family unacceptable for hosting, except in special situations, if the male member of the family was not in complete agreement with the program or was not enthusiastic about the program. In order to emphasize this, our covering letter of application to host families read something like this: "Enclosed is a questionnaire, one copy to be filled out by you and one copy to be filled out by your wife. Two completed questionnaires are requested so that we can more effectively match hosts with guests. If you are interested in helping us, please complete both forms and return them to us." We found that in about 80% of the cases both forms were completed and returned. When only the wife's form was returned, we rejected the application for host family situations; we frequently accepted it, however, for daytime driving or for some other phase of the program.

Our main challenge was to recruit more male participation for daytime driving chores. We therefore concentrated on recruiting through: (1) Service clubs such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions. (2) Special interest groups, ethnic groups, and retirement villages. (3) Newspaper articles about the program publicizing the fact that men interested in the exchange of people program were needed for daytime service, inserting in the articles the telephone and address contact.

Through these channels we were able to recruit men who were either retired or semi-retired, business men who because of the nature of their business could devote time during the day to the program, and men interested in specific areas who were willing to devote time because of their special interest.

Now we have almost as many men volunteers as women for daytime driving. We prefer to use male volunteers for the professional aspects of visitors' programs because men seem to be much better informed on specific professional programs.

We hope that this information will be useful to communities who need men to participate in their programs during the daytime. Many predominantly male groups will leap at the opportunity to participate in community services to international visitors because the work is interesting and ever-changing.

OTHER PLACES, OTHER IDEAS

(from January 1965 Newsletter of International Hospitality Center of Chicago)

CHICAGO, ILL.—ANOTHER FORWARD STEP: On January 21st, the first step was taken toward building a Women's Committee for the Hospitality Center. It is obvious that many projects have been left undone because the staff simply does not have time to launch them and carry them through. With an active women's group, and with committees within the committee, it will be possible to do many stimulating and interesting things, e.g. arranging informal gatherings so that new members can meet old members; setting up more training courses for new drivers; planning and implementing discussion groups to further understanding of the Center's program, our own country and the back-grounds of our guests. When a benefit is in the offing, we will have a tightly knit group that has worked together on various projects and can easily turn to whatever is at hand. We hope for all this and Heaven too from this committee and know that it will add greatly to our prestige and accomplishments.

COSERV

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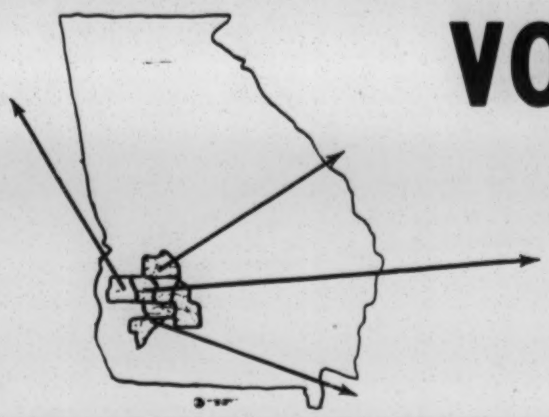

VOICE OF AMERICUS AND S. W. GEORGIA

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WHAT SCHOOL NEXT FALL?

by *Elizabeth Henry*

Last Fall, 1964, the Americus School Board totally desegregated the white schools. Fortunately none of the various "grade-a-year" plans were established.

However only four students could be found la last fall, all juniors in high school, who would be the first to make this move. The three students who now attend Americus High have shown that they have survived the school term, although there have been a few rough times from the white students. They feel that they are receiving a much better education in less croweded classrooms and in a much better equipped school. The wider range of courses and stiffer requirements prepare them for better college educations.

What do you as aparent plan to do about your child's education next Fall? If you live on the "Seaboard side" and have elementary school children, had you thought about sending them to Furlow School? Why should your children walk across town when the closer school has superior facilities? By integrating the schools in the lower grades, the attitudes of young white children can more easily be changed.

This week, consider transferring your child, or if you are in high school, think about it and go down to the Superintendent's office in the Health Department building. There may be a deadline, so think about it and then *DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT!*

FIRST AID COURSE INTEGRATED

At Sumter High School recently, two white women were among those attending First Aid Classes. One of the two received both Basic and Advanced certificates, although the Americus *TIMES-RECORDER* Made no mention of the fact in a story.

An Instructor's Course in First Aid will be held in May at the Health Department. About fifteen of those taking the Sumter Courses have applied for the Instructor's Course, which will also be integrated.

* * * * *

GO DOWN AND REGISTER TO VOTE NOW

IMPORTANT SCHOOL MEETING

Monday night, April 19, at 8:00 p.m. there will be an important meeting to discuss the issue of transferring children to formerly all-white schools. The schools have been officially desegregated since last fall, but many parents are not aware that they cann send children of all ages to these superior schools.

If you are a parent or student interested in this issue, or want to form a committee to inform others about transferring, be sure and come to the meeting which will be held in the chapel in Barnum's Funeral Home Monday night.

MOULTRIE NEGROES FORCED FROM COURT

by Herman Kitchens, Moultrie SNCC.

On April 5th, at 10:00 a.m. the Colquitt County Superior Court was opened by district judge George Lillie. He told the Colquitt County Sherriff D.H. Alderman to make seats for the jurymen who didn't have seats, referring to some thirty or forty white people standing along the walls without seats. The sheriff came over to where several of us were sitting and said to one, "Get up boy, damn it".

Haulking todl the sheriff that he had a subpoena to appear in court and that he had a right to a seat. The sheriff then dragged him from his seat, shoved him down the aisle and into the hall. The same was done to West and me.

After this he went back into the courtroom and made all the Negroes sitting in the rear leave until all the whites were seated. Ten Negroes were then readmitted to the room.

I was out in the hall looking through the window trying to see what was happening inside. The sheriff came over and pushed me against the wall, bumped my head against it and said, "I'm tired of your darn goadbeard self trying to run everything around here!"

HAPPY EASTER TO ALL,

from THE VOICE OF AMERICUS

SCHOOL TRANSFERS

....Personal opinion by S. Mahone

Starting next Fall school term the city and county boards of education are going to juggle Negro high school students from one school system to another. Although not official as yet, it is expected that all students attending Sumter High School and living in the city will have to attend Staley Junior High School which will be converted to a full hgih school. The county students will remain at Sumter High.

The Board of Education has already made plans and has started adding additions to Staley to make it "bigger and better." The problem remains, however, that Staley is not accredited and probably will not be for about three years.

I feel that this agreement between the City and County boards is in effect creating a "separate but equal" school system instead of building one good high school to accomodate both Negro and white students.

In 1954 the idea of "separate but equal" was declared unconstitutional. Ten years later the Civil Rights Bill in essence stated the same thing. But the Boards of Education continue with this.

It seems to me that you as parents should decide right now whether or not you want your child to have a first class education so he can compete with others when he finishes high school. Why send your children to an unaccredited hgih school when he can go to Americus High next Fall? Why deprive your child of what is rightfully his by sending him back to a segregated, inadequate school?

About THE VOICE OF AMERICUS

Editor......................Elizabeth Henry
Business Manager..............Bonnie Floyd

Staff: Sammy Mahone, SNCC; Jan Jordan, Northern States; Minnie Wise, Lue Eddie Baldwin, Local News.

ADDRESS: c/o Elizabeth Henry
532 East Jefferson St.
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SCHOOL DROPOUTS

by Inez Leverette

Why do students drop out of school? There are several reasons, but I will discuss only the two I feel are chiefly responsible.

Some dropouts are caused by problems existing in the home. Sometimes this seems to be a necessity for financial reasons and they feel they must get a job to help support the family. This is a family problem which must be solved by the family and the parents should take the greatest role in solving it. Interest must be maintained in education for the child's future. Some arrangements can usually be made, such as part-time jobs for all the children, because a high school dropout has a very poor chance of ever acquiring a decent standard of living. A dollar and hour may seem good pay for a young person who drops out, but remember that he will probably never get much more during his whole lifetime.

Loss of interest is another reason for dropouts. When a student is given several courses which do not interest him, he gets bored and perhaps quits. Part of the problem could be with the student himself, but I do feel that a student should have more choice in selecting his courses. I'm sure a student would do better in courses that he himself had chosen. Naturally, a student must take some required courses, but this is primarily a problem to be solved in the school. The parents can be helpful in keeping the student interested by being interested in his work themselves.

FREEDOM WEEK IN AMERICUS

April 4 to April 9 was Freedom Week in Americus. A group of local students got together after school and began picketing and canvassing last Monday to encourage more people to register to vote.

Monday throughThrusday was devoted to picketing in residentioal areas but Friday and Saturday the action was downtown.

Students from Moultrie in town for the second S.W. Georgia Student Union meeting helped picket on Friday.

Harassment was slight by whites who cursed and harrassed some of the students on the picket line.

Don't let these students down. The whole nation is encouraging you. Register to Vote----NOW! Freedom is up to you.

NEGRO WORSHIPPER TURNED BACK

by Lena Turner

On April third I attempted to worship at the First Methodist Church on South Lee St. Upon arrival I was stopped outside by some of the Male members of the church who were conversing on the steps. One stated, "You can't go in there." He paused for a moemnt, then added, "The people are worshipping peacefully in there; if you enter there will be a disturbance."

I asked why I could not enter and was told that "Americus just isn't ready for anything like this yet."

During this time other male onlookers formed a line on the steps as a barrier to halt me if I made further attempts to enter. I turned away deeply hurt to think that this is Americus, our city, where segregation is enforced in a place where He teaches, "Love ye one another," and "As you do to the least of these your brethren, you have done also to me."

Possibly there are people who upon reading this article may say, "She didn't really want to worship; she was only seeking publicity." This is not true, and if only the members of the church will fight with me, we can make our city a place of peace and human equality.

FREEDOM SCHOOL WORKSHOP

by Elizabeth Henry

A beautiful Knoxville home, enthusiastic SNCC staff, and good ideas all contributed to a very successful workshop on Freedom Schools. The location was Highlander Center in Tennessee and lasted from March27 to April 7.

High school students, SNCC staff, and two women from the states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, were present.

Much of the time was spent intensively discussing economic, social, and political forces in our communities and the federal government's role also. We discussed how people of the lower economic levels must be given a voice in changes that occur, and that the usual conception of who is qualified to be active in government does not need to be only those of education and money.

We discussed what Freedom Schools can offer that is lacking in Negro schools and can be effective in developing local leadership.

Sessions were held on practical matters also, such as literacy teaching and the use of tape recorders in teaching.

Women interested in our nursery problem (See column two) are asked to contact Elizabeth Henry at 924-6828. A committee has been formed already and your ideas and help are needed.

RIGHTS TO THE TREE OF LIFE

by Bonnie Floyd

On Easter morning Christ rose from the dead,
Christ died for our sins,
As many have died for our rights.

Jesus Christ gave His life for you and me.
And He shed his precious blood that we may
Live and have rights to the Tree of Life.

Here in this time, people have been scorned,
harassed and killed.
As we strive hard for rights among men,
Let's shut out resentment, self-pity, and
Hate toward the offenders and prove
That Sacrifice is not in vain.

Of all the trials and tribulations,
We have gone through,
As Jesus said during his Resurrection,
"Forgive them, for they know not what
They do."

Be ye not afraid, for we shall overcome.

NEED FOR NURSERIES

Would any woman in the Negro community of Americus deny that they have practically no place to put their pre-school age children during the day except with a friend or relative?

The Sumter County Youth Center has one fine nursery for forty children, but it obviously cannot take care of the hundreds of children in the city and county who have mothers working during the day.

There are two kindergartens in the Negro community which educate sixty or seventy children for the first grade in the Fall, and enable mothers to have a place for their children to go for half a day. What happens to the child the other half day while the mother is working?

We need nurseries for several important reasons:

1) Children can learn a great deal from being in a group situation with children to play with, interesting games and other organized activities. It is an important experience to their lives and is preparation for school.

2) Many mothers cannot afford to pay the fee of the existing nursery and kindergartens, so inexpensive nurseries, informal as they may be, need to be formed, and the mothers paying what they can afford.

3) Manywomen cannot work, or must work only part time because they can find no reliable pladce to put their children.

4) New nurseries would provide employmentopportunities for more women.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES

If you desire to serve on the Americus Police Force, see a need for Negro policemne on the force and can meet these qualifications you should consider applying. You must be at least 25 years old, weigh at least 150 lbs. with a height of over 5'7" and have a high school education. Albany has been hiring Negro policemen for some time now; it's time Americus started.

We have heard there are openings at Phillips Industries. Apply at the Georgia State Employment Service.

YOUTH CENTER PROGRAMS

Monday, April 19, at 7:30 at the Youth Center a "Post-Easter Parade Dance" will be held for all students. Attire will be your Easter outfit.

April 21 will be the big Roller Skating Derby . Sign up with Mr. Church in the office.

Little League baseball for 8-12 year olds and Pony League baseball for 13=14 year old boys will be held at McCoy Hill after school, starting April 20.

The Teen Society will have its third meeting April 27th to plan a social for graduating seniors. This active group has 32 members and plans recreation, games, and dances for the youth center. Bobby Kaigler is President and Milton Gooch is Vice-president. Both urge new members to join.

The Youth Center now has seventy-six members. all of whom are entitled to discounts on dances, a free monthly dance for members, preferences on equipment, and can get into any sponsored event free.

FREEDOM NIGHT PROGRAM

by Annie Ruth Brown

To climax Freedom Week there was a student Freedom night program on Friday, April 9. The most distinguished guest speaker was Miss Nancy Cooper of Atlanta, who plans to work in Southwest Georgia this summer.

The Program was enjoyed by all who attended, especially the latter portion, a dramatization of "Nobody knows the trouble I've Seen".

We were proud of our guests and fellow workers who participated in the activiteis.

We plan to have more activities centered around the problems that confront our progressing city and county. It is the duty of each of us to see that the problems are discussed and given immediate attention.

News From Sumter High

....*by Lue Eddie Baldwin*

The Juniors and Seniors are very excited about the Prom to be held at Sumter High on May 7.

The baseball team captured their first victory by defeating Monroe High of Albany by a score of 9-1. Their second game was also at home against J.W. Holley High of Sylvester.

The Sumter High family was very proud to have one of our former faculty members Mrs. B.L. Griggs visit us Monday. She is now living in Macon.

The Junior class and the Dramatics Guild are preparing their plays to be presented later in May.

THE VOICE OF AMERICUS
c/O Elizabeth Henry
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NEWSPAPER

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LET'S BE human
by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

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APRIL 1965

REDBIRDS

At lunch the other day, a colleague noted that the sugar packets at the restaurant all bore two-color pictures of birds, red and black. Among them were the Redwing Blackbird, Rosy-Breasted Grosbeak, Red-headed Woodpecker, Redhead Duck and American Redstart.

"What gives," asked my friend? "Is this a Communist restaurant? All the birds have to be red?

"Look at the other side," I suggested. There was the seal of the company, also in red and black. "It costs extra money," I explained, "to use additional colors. Conspiracy it ain't. Economy it is."

Down the drain went a promising new John Birch Society crusade.

MONTGOMERY -- HOPE AND HATE

A dozen years ago, when I worked for the Voice of America, I flew from Frankfurt to Berlin at a time when the Russians were buzzing many commercial flights. We were not reassured when the pilot cheerily said to us over the intercom, "Let us hope that we have an uneventful flight." After landing safely in West Berlin, I went to the headquarters of the Investigating League of Freedom-Loving Jurists, whose chairman had been kidnapped a few days earlier by Communist agents. The place was swarming with guards cradling sub-machine guns.

I have never been in as tense an atmosphere since, until I came to Montgomery for Martin Luther King's epochal march. True, the most dangerous part of the march -- the trek through dismal, swamp-filled, bitterly segregationist Lowndes County -- was over. When 30,000 black and white Americans paraded from St. Jude's Catholic Center through the poorly-paved Negro section of Montgomery, we were hailed as a peaceful army of liberation by clapping and waving men, women and children. But when we crossed the invisible line into white Montgomery visages were grim, tongues foul and "invitations" to get out of the line of march and fight frequent. The only American flags we saw were those the marchers brought with them. Even the federalized Alabama National Guards had Confederate flags sewn on their uniforms.

AMERICAN FLAG

Why doesn't the John Birch Society launch a campaign to place an American flag atop the Alabama State Capitol in Montgomery, instead of the flag of the Confederacy now flying there?

BUILDING BROTHERHOOD

Two quiet, middle-aged English spinsters have just received Israel's official thanks for smuggling 29 Jews out of Hitler, Germany. The

-continued-

sisters, Louise and Ida Cook, made repeated trips to Germany and Austria in the guise of rich and eccentric opera lovers. But, in addition to attending operas, they transferred documents, arranged passage and smuggled out valuables.

Walter Steifel, now a lecturer in modern literature at Manchester University, was one of those rescued by the Cooks. He described their exploits as "right out of James Bond. They got away with it because they just didn't look the type. Every time they entered Germany there was a chain reaction over the underground grapevine. Finally some English friends directed the sisters to my mother and me."

At the same time, in the industrial city of Villeurbanne, France, the 110,000 residents are proud of the new synagogue built for the handful of Jews living there. The synagogue was designed by a Roman Catholic architect and built and paid for by Christian volunteers -- German youths -- to atone for their fathers' guilt. The group, Action Atonement, was created in 1958 by a Protestant clergyman, Dr. Lothar Kreyssig, and has built such projects as a children's home in the Netherlands, irrigation works in Greece, a mental hospital in Norway and a brotherhood church in France.

THE BEATLES

Beatle music is being used by "psycho-politicians," charges the ultra-rightist Christian Crusade in its pamphlet, Communism, Hypnotism and the Beatles, "to hypnotize American youth and prepare them for submission to subversive control."

Yeah, Yeah, Yeah.

SUBVERSIVE POETRY

Trying to prove that South Africa, Alabama and Mississippi have no monopoly on racism, Rhodesia has just arrested the Rev. Lester Keith Weiner, an American missionary of the United Church of Christ, for writing a subversive document. The words of his subversive sonnet follow:

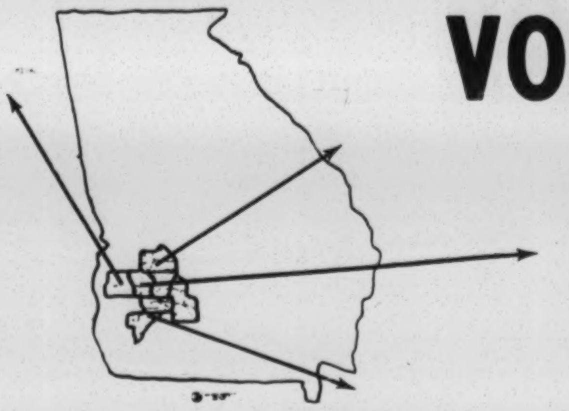
Why must man suffer at another's hand
Police dogs (well trained to hate the smell of black;
The dispossessed, the people of the land)
By nature gifted, swift and gentle on the track
Of wayward lambs who trust their guiding bark,
As does that sightless man, who at one's leathered neck
Finds light and peace within a world of dark?
Good God, Creator, why must men so wreck
The image of they goodness planted there
Instinctively within a beast so wise?
Why must man warp and twist and tear
The nature of both men and dog with lies?
May man yet taste and know this bitter gall:
Perverting one is thus perverting all.

RESEARCH

A group of social scientists did a study recently to discover the relationship between what Vassar and Princeton graduates were doing ten years after leaving college and what their major field of study at college had been. Among the information gathered was the fact that the Vassar graduates had 1.7 children and Princeton men, 2.4 children.

The scientists asked a colleague of mine, Ed Lukas, how he would explain this disparity. "Simple," replied Ed. "First, Vassar girls don't marry Princeton men. And second, men have more children than women."

LIR, LPK, LNP, CCD, MMCCD, ILG, LPKE, LBH



VOICE OF AMERICUS AND S. W. GEORGIA

VOLUME TWO NUMBER FIVE MAY 16, 1965 AMERICUS, GEORGIA PRICE FIVE CENTS

SCHOOL TRANSFERS THIS WEEK

by Elizabeth Henry

This coming week, May 17 to 21, the School Board has designated as the period to transfer schools. On Friday, children received transfer forms from the school they are now attending, and brought them home to be filled out by parents. When parents and children decide what school they feel would be best to enroll in, the form is then returned to the school principal at the child's own school.

The "freedom of choice" system means that you can go to any school you wish. If you feel that Furlow is best because it is closer, than that is your privilege, and to your advantage to take this opportunity for your children. If you are sick and tired of the conditons at Sumter, and believe even Staley (a newly accredited high school) cannot meet up to the advantages of Americus High (in one summer!?) then you are free to enroll there.

City high school students now attending Sumter may remain there, or may change to Staley or Americus High. County students can go to any white county school or Negro county school, and apply the same week.

Give your child a break for a first class education and send him to the best school that Americus has to offer for your age child.

DEMOCRATIC CLUB SELECTS STREET CAPTAINS

Six women volunteered at the meeting Monday night, May 10, of the New Democratic Voters Club, following a suggestion for some kind of definite plan to be launched to register voters. The streets these women will cover to canvass to register to vote are McCoy, Jefferson, Academy, Dismuke, Jackson, Wild, and also the Projects, and "Seaboard Side."

One person urged all people who go down to the court house to take a witness with them in case of discrimination against their right to vote. It can then be reported to the Justice Department, and action will be taken aginst local registrars.

MEETINGS FOR PLANNING NURSERIES

Monday night, May 24, will be the first meeting for interested persons in the community who desire to plan the organization of several nursery schools for the summer. Liz Henry, 532 E. Jefferson St.(924-6828) will be host. Those who have time to volunteer for part-time work in nurseries this summer are urged to attend, especially.

These nurseries will not conflict with the Head-Start Program nurseries, which are for five-year-olds only. These nurseries could serve the 2, 3, and 4 year old children of working mothers, primarily.

ENROLLING FIRST GRADERS FOR FALL

Parents of entering first graders must go to the school of their choice next week, from 8:30 to 3:00, to enroll their child. The child does not need to be present. You must take the child's birth certificate.

You will be given a health card which must be filled out with required shots by fall.

NAACP SELECTS NEW OFFICERS

Monday evening at 9:00 the newly formed NAACP, following the monthly Democratic Voters Club, selected officers for the year. President is Rev. Paul Jones; Vice-president is Rev. Campbell; Secretary is Miss Lelia Barlowe, Treasurer is Mr. Sam Weston. Membership cards were distributed reflecting a membership of over 100.

THE CHARITY SHOP

Clothing for families and individuals of definite need, is available in the Sumter County Youth Center Charity Shop under the direction of Mrs. Pascal. The shop is open every week day from 4:00 to 7:30, but not on weekends.

Clothing comes from all over the country the National Sharecroppers Association. Persons in need from both the city and county are welcome to come.

CONGRATULATIONS SENIORS!

ECHOS OF INEQUALITY

By Elma Broner

There are many factors that lead to the creation of frustration.

The two main or vital factors that lead to form or prepare the foundation for frustration are poverty and inferiority.

As one observes the city of Americus, focusing on the black community, the shadow of a vast amount of frustration has infiltrated upon the faces of every black American living here in this city.

Due to the fact that the lack of physical elements are not elgible to the Negro, he begins to worry about how he will take care of his family.

How will he obtain food for his hungry family, where will he get money to pay his rent? He has shut-off notices for the electricity and water.

The kids have to stay out of school because they have no shoes and proper clothes.

How can a man support his family properly on $30.00 a week? He'll always be knowing he will never have any chance for improvements or promotions.

Do you want your children to fall in the same pit-fall you are in?

Your child is counting on you; he deserves to have a better chance. Let him get out of the slums and ghettos.

Enroll them in a school where they will have the chance to grow up and live decently, with a decent education.

"The future of your child is now at stake, it is up to you whether or not he'll stand or fall."

"Education is the key to the future."

HOW I FEEL ABOUT JOBS, by

Mrs. Rosa B. Thomas

I feel that it is unfair to the people in this community. We have to work for such small salaries, and the cost of living is so high. I think we should get better pay for our work. I think any worker should get the minimum wages for his work.

Some of these factories discriminate, such as the Brass and Pin Co., and several other places. Also cooks are discriminated against.

I suggest equal opportunities should be provided for workers in this community.

ATTENTION:

DON'T GET DRUNK, IN A FIGHT, AND GET PUT IN JAIL, AND THEN HAVE TO PAY THAT MONSTROUS FINE MONDAY MORNING TO THE CITY!! DON'T LET THE CITY KEEP TAKING YOUR MONEY, KEEP IT FOR YOUR OWN NEEDS.

YOUTH AND EDUCATION

By Major Wise

Millinos of Americans, boys and girls, young men and women, are about to end a year of their education in the schools, colleges, and universities of the nation.

Some of these students have been seriously impressed with the troubles that beset the world. Others have reached the conclusion that there are more important things in their lives than the pursuit of education.

The young people will do well to make their plans to continue the development of their personalities by seeking to acquire more knowledge. After all, character-building is largely the work of youth. By the time the average man or woman reaches maturity, principles have been accepted which later influence the activities of life.

I trust that students, now wondering whether to continue their scholastic work, will not lose interest in their studies under the false impression that they are not important. Proper preparation for life itself is the most serious business that can confront youth.

JOIN THE VOICE STAFF THIS SUMMER

Applications are now being taken for persons who wish to work on the Voice of Americus this summer. Students who are out of school this summer should consider this opportunity to learn newspaper work, and they will find it also an enjoyable way of spending their vacation time. Adults are urged to volunteer to write for the paper, for it serves primarily an adult audience, and they should express their opinions.

Call Liz Henry at 924-6828.

About THE VOICE OF AMERICUS

Editor......................Elizabeth Henry
Business Manager..............Bonnie Floyd

Staff: Sammy Mahone, SNCC; Jan Jordan, Norhtern States; Minnie Wise, Lue Eddie Baldwin, Lena Turner, and Elma Broner, Local News.

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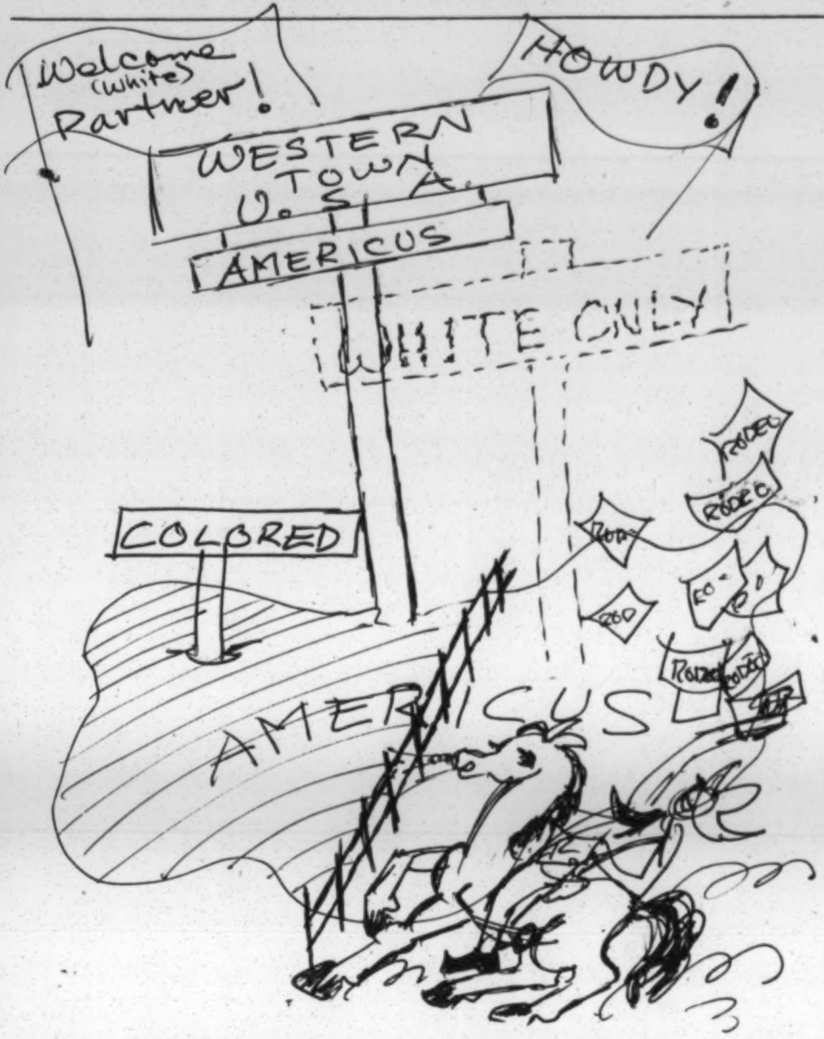

"WILD WEST IN THE DEEP SOUTH"

YOUTH CENTER LIBRARIAN NEEDED

If you enjoy working with books, helping students find books for their classes, and working with children, you might enjoy being Librarian of the Youth Center Library. Elizabeth Henry set up the library, with assistance, this year, but plans to have a local woman take over operation of the library by early June.

The library is for the citizens of Americus and they should take advantage of this opportunity to run a library.

This library is an important addition to the community because it provides students and adults with a fine collection of books to help them in their studies. It has encouraged more young people to read, especially children, and hopefully has made their education more meaningful.

Any woman who sees the importance of this library continuing for these students, please call Liz Henry at 924-6828. This person should have free time after school hours, and for several hours each day during the afternoons in the summer.

In recent school transfer periods, Albany had 200 students sign up to change to white schools, and most of them were elementary.

Moultrie, follwoing the school boycott, had 30 elementary and 40 high school students transfer to white schools.

OUT-OF-STATE FIELD JOBS AVAILABLE

Do you need a job very much, and desire to leave the state to find a good job? Apply for harvesting cucumbers in Missouri for three months, or for cutting sugar cane in Florida for six months.

Formerly jobs such as these were given to Mexicans, and they were hired for cheap labor. Now the government does not allow the Mexicans to come in, so these jobs are open at standard wages to Americans.

$36 per week has been guaranteed at both locations, with workers in Florida receiving $1.15 per hour, and those in Missouri receiving $1.25 per hour.

The federal government has guaranteed the jobs to be satisfactory, so troubles that occurred with unfair conditions will no longer prevail. The housing has been inspected. Housing at the locations will be free, and so will round trip transportation. If a person leaves before the season is over he will lose his free return transportation.

For this excellents opportunity, contact Rev. Campbell at 924-5972. There will be a meeting Thursday, May 20, for persons interested.

MANHATTAN's HAS JOB OPENINGS NOW

The Manhattan Shirt Factory is now hiring women for the work on sewing machines. Take advantage of this fine offer and good pay by going in person to the factory, and taking th qualifying test.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOL APPLICATIONS

Persons desiring to enroll for the coming year in the Georgia Technical and Vocational Training School in Americus may apply now at the school through the principal, Mr. Odom. It is understood that applications are now being taken without regard to race.

Young people who have already applied at the school say they first file an application form, get an appointment for an interview, and later take an aptitude test.

SUMMER FREEDOM SCHOOLS

Students and adults can look forward to Freedom schools beginning about mid-June, with local SNCC staff and volunteers, and hopefully other college students in Americus directing the informal classes. The interest group areas will vary from Negro history to government, from literature, to religion, music, art, and creative dramatics. Literacy will possibly be an additional subject taught adults.

In Freedom Schools, participation and discussion is more important than learning facts.

Contact Liz Henry, 4-6828, for more info.

THE GREAT CONFLICT

by Mary Beatrice Williams

I just would like to take a few minutes of your time to tell you about a dramatic story of Negroes in a book called Worth Fighting For, by Agnes McCarthy and Lawrence Reddick. This book gives a brief history of Negroes in the United States during the Civl War and the Reconstruction Period. Did you know...that in about 200 major engagements, 3,600 Negro soldiers gave their lives for our country. Negroes in the 1800's believed that war was a war of freedom. Negroes were some of the first to volunteer to enter the Civil War, but no Negroes were wanted. Later many entered the war. This book gives you an hour by hour account of how Negroes were treated after they received their freedom following the Civil War. Some of our famous Negroes such as Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglass are mentioned in the story.

If you want to read this book it is at the Youth Cneter Library, where someone is always there to welcome you.

MAY RECREATION AT THE CENTER

The grand highlight for May at the Sumter County Youth Center will be a Variety Show May 26 at 8:00 p.m. A newly formed local band will perform. Guests from Vienna Industrial High have been invited.

Talent is divided into the Junior age and Senior age. Apply with Mr. Church, the director, if you desire to participate. They are looking especially for unusual talents, such as juggling, poetry reading, comedy, or modeling.

The Teen Society is planning to have a social the evening of graduation, June 2

THREE GREEK TRAGEDIES

The first Greed tragedies ever to be performed in Americus will be under the direction of Mr. Church, May 24 and 25 at 8:00 p.m. The Sumter High School Dramatics Guild will perform "The House of Atreus" for a full evening's entertainment consisting of three one-act Greek tragedies. They are "Hecuba," "Agamemnon," and "Elektra."

Lead roles will be played by Lonna Cleveland, Edmond Thomas, and Annie Lou Whitehead. Secondary leading roles will be June Moore, Evelyn Smith, Constell Walton, Willy Boyington, Robert Schley, Lee Ann Mitchell, and Delores Harris.

The costumes will be patterned after the authentic Greek designs, and will be colorful and exquisite.

Admission will be 25¢ and 50¢. The location will be a local school to be announced.

NEWS AROUND SUMTER HIGH

by Lue Eddie Baldwin

The students and faculty members of Sumter High are still sharing excitement from the Junior-Senior Prom. The title, "Shangri-La" was very fitting for the Japanese styled prom. Music was rendered by Tom Rivers and the Nightengales.

The Seniors are trying to calm down for final examinations May 17 and 18. After exams they will prepare for Class Night June 4, Baccalaureate June 6, and Commencement June 7.

Many activities have been given and planned for the end of school The Junior Class presented a three act play May 14. Other activities include a Greek tragedy May 24 and 25, and the Choral Recital May 21.

THE VOICE OF AMERICUS
c/o Elizabeth Henry
532 E. Jefferson St.
Americus, Ga. 31709

NEWSPAPER

Return Requested

Margaret Leonard
S.R.C.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

PAGINATION INCORRECT

TESTS NEW 'RIGHTS ACT--William H. Alexander, young Atlanta cooperating attorney of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund this week filed the first suit under the new Civil Rights Act to compel Lester Maddox, an Atlanta restaurateur, to open his premises to Negroes. Maddox, an ardent segregationist, last week threatened Negroes with a gun as he turned them away from his Pickrick Restaurant.

- 30 -

FOR: Immediate Release

FROM: NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund
10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019

Active Voters and Y.W.C.A. Public Affairs

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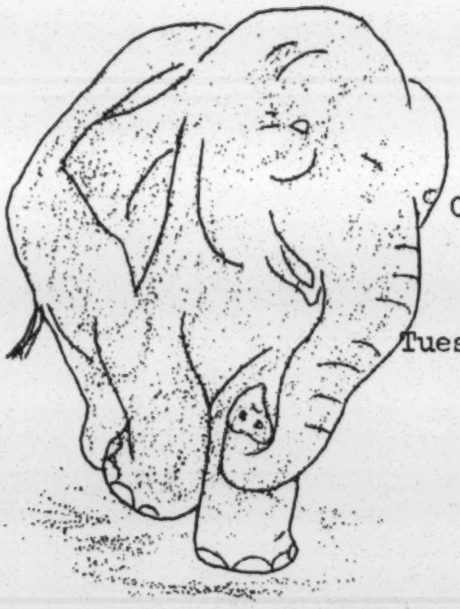
will continue through September primaries

LIVELY DISCUSSIONS with

CANDIDATES and PARTY LEADERS

in



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NEWS

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For Immediate Release

From Hilda Lindley

JAMES W. SILVER DISCUSSES
MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY
IN NEW BOOK TO APPEAR JUNE 22

James W. Silver, Professor at the University of Mississippi, former President of the Southern Historical Association, author, and editor, has written a book about an insurrection in modern America, and its social and historical background, MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY, which will be published June 22 by Harcourt, Brace & World.

Professor Silver, who witnessed the night of riot on the University of Mississippi campus when U.S. marshals were sent there to protect James H. Meredith, the first known Negro to attend Ole Miss, has divided his book into two parts. In the first part, he describes how the state's commitment to the doctrine of white supremacy has led to its present mood of intransigence and violence.

In the second half of the book, "Some Letters from the Closed Society," he reproduces a series of his letters to friends, family, and critics, in the days and weeks after the insurrection.

Born in Rochester, New York, in 1907, James Wesley Silver has lived in the South since he was twelve years old. He has been on the faculty of the University of Mississippi since 1936. He is married to the former Margaret Thompson of Montgomery, Alabama, and they have three children. The Silvers have lived in Oxford, Mississippi for many years, where the late William Faulkner was among their close friends.

STATEMENT BY SNCC CHAIRMAN-JOHN LEWIS CONCERNING THE PASSAGE OF THE GENOCIDE BILL IN MISSISSIPPI

Americans view with horror the Nazi extermination of the Jews. We comfort ourselves that such things can never happen here. Yet, right now the State of Mississippi is preparing legislation which would exterminate the Negro people.

A month ago the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee called to the attention ofthe nation the Genocide Bill about to be passed by the State Legislature of Mississippi. Here is what happened.

On March 11, the Mississippi House passed a bill making the birth of a second illegitimate child a felony punishable by sterilization or imprisonment.

On April 15, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee published a pamphlet titled "Genocide in Mississippi", charging that the sterilization bill is an attempt by the State of Mississippi either to destroy the Negro people or to drive them from the state.

On May 12, the Judiciary Committee of the Mississippi Senate amended the House bill to remove the sterilization clause and to reduce the possible prison sentences from a maximum of five years to a maximum of six months.

State Senator E.K. Collins told the Senate that the amendments had done away with,"All the bad features that shocked the country." The Jackson Clarion-Ledger stated, "Some civil rights groups charged the state with trying to foster a policy designed to wipe out its Negro population.

The bill, as amended, failed to pass the Senate by a vote of 26 to 22. On May 13, supporters of the bill prepared for a second round by distributing mimeographed copies of the SNCC pamphlet, "Genocide in Mississippi", to all members of the Senate and House. Supporters felt that they could sway votes by demonstrating that SNCC opposed the bill. The Memphis Commercial Appeal stated, "Legislators were unwilling to permit their action to be considered as being influnced by the Negro civil rights group." Supporters of the bill were successful. The amended bill was called up for reconsideration and passed by a vote of 30 to 16. Ten senators who had previously voted against the bill, voted for it on reconsideration. Three who had previously voted against the bill, now abstained.

Because it was amended, the bill now goes back to the House for reconsideration. The House, as it did before, can insist on a penalty of sterilization or maximum prison term of five years.

If Negroes in Mississippi were permitted to register in large numbers and then vote, this bill would never have been considered. Instead, an all-white legislature dominated by the White Citizens' Councils, is in the process of legalizing Genocide against the Negro people.

Negroes comprise 40 percent of the state population, and in the Delta counties nearly two-thirds of the population.

The whites who control Mississippi politics and economics can no longer dictate to Negroes as in former years. Negroes all over the state are organizing through the Council of Federated Organizations, which SNCC supports, to register to vote, to obtain food and clothing, to improve their education, to participate in the political institutions of the State. Right now there are three candidates for Congress and one for the Senate. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party will challenge the seating of the regular Racist Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention.

For Negroes to assert their Constitutional rights is a direct threat to the Mississippi Way of Life. The Mississippi regular Democratic Party, which controls the state, is attempting to defend that Way of Life with the Genocide Bill.

This is why it is imperative to fight for a strong Civil Rights Bill in Congress and free, representative Government in Mississippi.

John Lewis

13—NEW SOUTH [redacted]

Wh[redacted] the Negro Do?

And, finally, you mus[redacted]r and necessity of individual thought and action. . . . You[redacted] it atrocious that you should lose your vote by its frau[redacted]ssion. But what can your vote when counted on procur[redacted]ation? Probably. But what can legislation procure you if [redacted] to public sentiment? And how are public sentiment and[redacted]e main, shaped? By the supremacy of individual minds;[redacted]s of intellect, will, argument, and persuasion vested by [redacted]w individuals here and there, holding no other commis[redacted]se powers, and every such individual worth from a hun[redacted]dred thousand votes. Without this element and without [redacted]n there is little effective power even in organized mass[redacted]wait for the mass to move. The mass waits for the m[redacted]hat individual who cannat and will not wait for the mass[redacted]elieve your powers to be, or they may actually be, hum[redacted]n so, there are all degrees of leadership and need of all[redacted]re is work to be done which is not in the nature of viole[redacted]r any mere mass power, organized or unorganized, to ac[redacted]*rom an address by George Washington Cable to a Bo*[redacted]*udience, April 13, 1888.*

UNION BACKS RIGHT OF FCC TO REGULATE TV COMMERCIALS

The American Civil Liberties Union said on May 3 that the United States Senate should reject a bill passed by the House of Representatives which would bar the Federal Communications Commission from regulating TV commercials.

The civil liberties organization, in a statement adopted by its Board of Directors, took sharp issue with a bill approved by the House recently by a 317 to 43 vote. Passage of the bill, which would prohibit the FCC from regulating the length or frequency of TV commercials, caused the FCC to drop its hearings on such commercials. The House bill is now before the Senate Commerce Committee.

The ACLU Board statement emphasized that since the FCC was empowered under the 1934 communications law to regulate the broadcasting industry so as to assure that stations operate in the public interest, "anything which might interfere with serving the public interest is potentially a civil liberties problem. Over-commercialization can constitute such a problem."

The ACLU noted that if commercials were to occupy, in one form or another, the major part of a station's programming schedule, they could have a definite effect on the obligation of stations to broadcast in the public interest, since they would take time away from non-commercial programming. Diversity on the air, an extension of the First Amendment's principle of the fullest public discussion of social issues, would thus be limited, the Union's statement said.

The civil liberties group regarded as unjustified the oft-expressed fear of broadcasters that FCC regulation of TV commercials would impinge on their rights of free speech, a fear repeatedly cited in the House debate on the bill.

The ACLU said that nothing the FCC planned to do in the TV commercial field intruded on the First Amendment. "The FCC was not considering dictating the content of any commercial; it was merely proposing to limit the volume of advertising as the broadcasters themselves suggest in their own industry code," the ACLU declared, adding that this is in line with the FCC's other efforts to insure balanced programming, fairness and diversity.

KENNEDY URGED TO GIVE OPEN PLEDGE ENDING MAIL SURVEILLANCE

The American Civil Liberties Union has asked Attorney General Robert Kennedy to make a public pledge that mail checks, "a shocking invasion of privacy," will be discontinued by the federal government. This type of surveillance -- admittedly practiced against some 750 persons per day -- consists of recording all information on the outside of letters. The practice came to light recently with the protest of attorney Thomas J. Bolan that his mail and that of his client, Roy Cohn, was being "covered" in this way. Cohn was being tried for perjury before a grand jury and seeking to obstruct justice. The case ended in a mistrial.

The letter to the Attorney General, signed by executive director John de J. Pemberton, Jr., stated that the public is entitled to this open pledge "to ease public distress and anxiety."

The ACLU letter said that the pledge was needed to calm public concern that the thoughts, ideas and opinions of citizens are being inspected by the government "-- a censorship practice associated with totalitarian governments --..." It also endorsed the statement of the New York Civil Liberties Union of March 4 which stated: "The check is an invasion of the right of privacy and an unwarranted interference with the right to use the mails. Surveillance of mail sent to the attorney of an accused, such as the check ordered by the U.S. Attorney's office of mail directed to Roy Cohn's attorney, is denounced not only for the reasons outlined but because it is also an interference with one's right to counsel and an undue advantage to the prosecution. According to the news reports that have not been denied, an Assistant U.S. Attorney intimated in a statement to the Court that his office had not ordered a check on mail addressed to Roy Cohn or his attorney, Mr. Bolan. In doing so, he misled the Court and was guilty of an inexcusable evasion and lack of candor. The failure of the U.S. Attorney to reprimand his assistant's flagrant violation of the lawyer's ethical duty or to replace him in the prosecution of the case may be construed as condonation."

The ACLU letter also quoted an editorial of the Washington Post-Times Herald of March 3: "A Post Office Department which admits mail watches is not fully believed when it denies opening the mail; and in the same way a Federal Bureau of Investigation which admits tapping a few telephones in violation of the law is not fully believed when it denies tapping many telephones."

PAGE (s) MISSING

A bill to prohibit mail covers has been introduced by Senator Edward Long (D., Mo.). Post Office Chief Counsel Louis Doyle has invoked two Court of Appeals decisions to defend the legality of mail covers. One, *U.S. v. Costello* (255 Fed 2d 876), held that mail covers do not violate the law forbidding detention and opening of mail. The other *U.S. v. Schwartz* (283 Fed 2d 107), held that postal regulations are not violated when information from a mail cover is turned over to the Justice Department.

In the Cohn case, Federal Judge Archie Dawson declined to dismiss the indictment on the ground that there was no evidence that the mail itself had been opened.

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

IN MINNEAPOLIS, A lawyer for a woman accused of being a prostitute accused police of going too far in their attempts to curb prostitution in the city. A young policeman had testified that he had partially disrobed in a hotel room while two women disrobed completely. Then two morals-squad officers, hidden in the bathtub, sprung out and arrested the women... WHEN REP. EDNA KELLY OF BROOKLYN criticized Martha Graham's dance company for performing an allegedly erotic interpretation of *Phaedra* in Europe and suggested the government censor not only ballets but motion pictures sent abroad, the New York *Times* took the occasion to quote a line from Euripides' play: "How far have they wandered from good sense?"...THE OREGON A.C.L.U. has demanded that the Housing Authority of Portland disclose how it decides who shall live where in its projects. The unit asserted that some housing projects were overwhelming white, others overwhelmingly Negro...THE COLUMBUS, OHIO, BOARD OF EDUCATION has refused the offer of a WCTU group that had volunteered to review school books. The proposal was made at a meeting during which 20 persons protested against what they considered smutty literature used in the schools...SEN. KARL MUNDT has urged that the Senate Internal Security Committee conduct a new investigation of alleged Communist infiltration of the motion-picture industry...THE SENATE HAS Passed a bill that rescinds the prohibition against having employees of the Pinkerton Detective Agency -- or any similar agency -- work in government service....POLICE CHIEFS of six Rhode Island communities have endorsed legalized wire-tapping in law enforcement. They supported legislation pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee that would authorize telephone surveillance at the federal level. The communities: Providence, Cranston, Warwick, Woonsocket, Johnston, and Portsmouth...

ATTORNEY GENERAL Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts has proposed a bill to allow police officers to arrest and detain a person up to two hours without filing charges. Present law threatens officers with illegal arrest proceedings if they apprehend a suspect and then release him without taking him before a magistrate.... IN LAKE COUNTY, Illinois, the ACLU was successful in restraining county police from interfering with sales of *Tropic of Cancer* without prior court determination of its obscenity. The State's attorney, in open court, promised that his men would "never do it again," and the judge dismissed the case....JUDGE ARTHUR D. TUDOR of the Court of Common Pleas of Lucas County, Ohio, has ruled that the Toledo Fair Housing ordinance ordinance is a constitutional exercise of the police power of the City of Toledo. Judge Tudor found that the constitutional guarantees of private property and freedom of contract do not preclude reasonable regulation in the general public interest... FILM DAILY reports that the Chicago film review board finds "nudies" increasing among motion pictures. The censor board in the first eight months of 1963 barred 18 pictures, marked 19 for "adults only"...THE CALIFORNIA CRUSADE FOR FREE TV, ORganized by exhibitors of both the northern and southern parts of the State, has set up offices in Hollywood and San Francisco for an all-out campaign against pay-TV....THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION has proposed a rule prohibiting the use for eavesdropping of radio devices which may otherwise meet FCC requirements. The proposed rule is to apply only to situations where no party to the conversation has given consent....IN RESPONSE to a protest by the Montana Library Association against the banning of four magazines -- "American Opinion," "National Review," "The Nation," and the "Saturday Review" -- the Sidney, Montana Library Board restored the magazines to its shelves... A STUDY conducted by the Wisconsin Council of Teachers of English concluded that "a substantial proportion of the teachers in Wisconsin feel the continuing presence of censorship" of books and magazines...THE ACLU wrote Secretary of the Navy Paul Nitze asking that he look into the matter of why Champe Ransom, who was given a contract by the Department of Education of Alaska to teach on the island of Adak, was disqualified by Captain J.W.Roberts, Commanding Officer of the Naval Station. Ransom, who had previously taught junior high school at the Adak Naval Station, was told by Captain Roberts that he had leanings toward pacifism, and that it would be "in the best interest of the command" that he did not return.... WILL ROGERS, JR., speaking at the University of Arizona, called segregation "America's greatest evil," which must be eradicated swiftly.

WALTER W. AYCOCK
ATTORNEY AT LAW
FULTON NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-4003

Dear Fellow Attorney:

We thought you would like to have a copy of the complete reply of Mr. G. Seals Aiken to the attack by Congressman Charles L. Weltner under his cloak of immunity as a Congressman in the U. S. House of Representatives upon Judge Durwood T. Pye of the Atlanta Judicial Circuit. We have therefore had Mr. Aiken's reply printed and enclose herewith a copy of it and are endeavoring to send a copy to every other member of the Bar as a service to the Bar, the Bench, and the Public. You may have read the portion of this article which appeared in a recent issue of the Atlanta Constitution, but we feel that you will be interested in reading it in its entirety in view of its importance.

In our opinion, Judge Pye is entitled to the support of the Bar and the Public in his able, scholarly, courageous, and impartial administration of justice according to law. We consider the attack upon Judge Pye by Congressman Weltner under the circumstances shown by the statement of Mr. Weltner and the reply of Mr. Aiken as an assault upon the judiciary of our State and our constitutional form of government and as tending to encourage the rioters and mobsters who have been creating so much disorder, distress, violence, disruption of business, and danger to the peace, and safety of our law-abiding citizens.

In our opinion, Judge Pye is one of the most able, learned, fearless, and impartial judges in our State. He has shown that he is absolutely incorruptible and dedicated to the fair and impartial administration of justice according to law under all circumstances and at all times without fear or favor.

Judge Pye's recent charge to the Grand Jury relative to the riots and mobs in Atlanta being led and encouraged by outside radicals and troublemakers and aided by a few local brain-washed and deluded followers, so fully and clearly presents the law of our State applicable to such dangerous and destructive conduct, that we have

(Over Please)

had some of the most important portions of it printed, and are enclosing herewith a copy for your information and consideration as a member of the bar and advocate of law and order.

Lawyers by reason of their training and experience are better qualified than any other group in our society to appreciate the necessity of upholding the judiciary in the fearless and impartial administration of justice according to law and to keep the public properly informed in the premises. We therefore appeal to you to use your valuable influence in this respect for the benefit of our city, county, state, and nation.

Yours for an able, independent,
courageous, and impartial
judiciary according to law,

Walter W. Aycock
Chester E. Wallace
James R. Mayson
F. L. Breen
Wm. G. McRee
Vester M. Crosby
Col. John L. Lee
Leigh A. Crockett

G. SEALS AIKEN
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
SUITE 1409-10 CANDLER BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

522-2806

March 24, 1964

Honorable Charles Longstreet Weltner
Congressman from Fifth Georgia District
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Weltner:

COPY

I was shocked and grieved to read in the Atlanta daily papers your attack in the U. S. House of Representatives upon Hon. Durwood T. Pye, Judge of the Superior Court of the Atlanta Judicial Circuit. I was doubly shocked by reason of the fact that you are a prominent Atlanta lawyer and your father is also a noted lawyer, a former Chancellor of the University of Georgia, and was one of my most able and respected instructors in the Atlanta Law School.

As you know, the law of Georgia specifically provides that it is the duty of attorneys at law to maintain the respect due the courts of justice and judicial officers. You must know that your statements about Judge Pye are libelous and contemptuous and that you would be subject to punishment for contempt and to damages for libel if you had not made said statements under your cloak of immunity as a Congressman in the U. S. House of Representatives.

You charged and adjudged Judge Pye guilty of imposing harsh punishments, setting excessive bail, declaring forfeiture of bonds for negligible cause, intimidating defendants on trial, depriving defendants of bail and of a speedy trial, of being unfair, and of being utterly oblivious to the demands of simple justice. You state that "The machinery of the law designed as the servant of justice, has been manipulated" by Judge Pye "so as to become its oppressor," and that "none can speak without jeopardy of contempt." Without attending any of the trials in question before Judge Pye, you use your cloak of immunity as a Congressman to announce to the world that the claims of the defendants that they are unable to obtain a fair trial before Judge Pye are "well founded." You even go so far as to charge Judge Pye with placing the entire city of Atlanta under "an imposed silence" because "none can speak without jeopardy of contempt" and state: "My community must not, by an imposed silence, be charged with the conduct of a single judge. Nor must men of goodwill be without a spokesman when justice has been denied."

I have never read or heard of a more false, unprovoked, and unjustified attack upon a judge, all in his absence, without any jurisdiction whatever over him, without the service of any charge upon him, without any opportunity to him or for anyone in his behalf to be heard. While you falsely accuse him of depriving others of a fair trial, you proceed to charge and adjudge him guilty of despicable acts without any hearing whatever, and accept and present as true, the charges of the persons claiming they cannot get a fair trial before Judge Pye. At the same time, you say you do not argue the innocence of these defendants, that you do not condone their actions, or justify their motives, nor approve of their associations or their political persuasions. Nevertheless, you stated that "The hard truth is that their claim is well founded."

There is no more able, fair, conscientious, learned, dedicated, and courageous judge in Georgia than Judge Pye. He is so known, recognized, and respected not only in Atlanta and Georgia, but throughout the country. He is especially noted for his firm adherence to the letter and spirit of the law and his courage and determination in administering it fairly and justly to every citizen, regardless of his race, creed, previous condition of servitude, or national origin. It was through his prompt and vigorous judicial action according to the law and our State and Federal Constitutions that the violent and destructive riots, sit-ins, lying-ins, kneel-ins, and demonstrations by lawless mobs in Atlanta were brought temporarily to an end some months ago, and upon their renewal recently, have been again stopped by him through his same vigorous, enlightened, and impartial administration of the law.

I have known Judge Pye ever since he started practicing law, and have practiced before him ever since he was elevated to the bench, and I have found him to be temperate, attentive, patient, impartial, studious, and diligent in ascertaining the facts and the applicable principles of law and in applying and upholding the law at all hazards. He recognizes and applies the principle of law laid down by the Supreme Court of Georgia over a hundred years ago that "All courts have power to protect themselves from contempts, and indecency in words or sentiments is a contempt," and that "no court can command from a civilized public that respect which is necessary to an efficient administration of the law, without maintaining in the business of the court, that courtesy, and dignity, and purity, which characterize the intercourse of gentlemen in private life." He also performs his judicial duty in the manner required by the Supreme Court of Georgia in the following language: "It is the duty of the Judge to enforce the laws of the State, made in accordance with the State and Federal Constitutions - the whole law as it applies, in his judgment, to the cases which come before him. He has no right and no power to withhold the application of one single principle of law, to a single case over which he has jurisdiction; he has no dispensation, justifying or excusing an omission to apply the law. Neither conscientious scruples about the morality of the law, nor convictions of its inexpediency - nor what are called the tendencies of the age - nor political biases or party associations - nor fear, nor favor, nor reward, nor the hope of reward, nor all of these combined should be sufficiently potent to induce him, in his judgments to transcend the law, or to fall short of its strict enforcement. If such are his duties, it is wholly immaterial whether a principle of law be brought to his notice by counsel or is suggested by his own knowledge and observation. If a principle grow out of the case, and he believes it to be law, he is bound by the responsibilities of his position - by his official oath - by the very nature of his office - by all the expediencies of judicature, to give it full effect. To that he is called - for that he is clothed with the people's (if I may so speak) judicial sovereignty; and if conscience or aught else suggest a higher law, and conscience cannot yield, let him retire and give place to those who are willing to execute the law." In accordance with the canons of judicial ethics, he refuses to be swayed by partisan demands, public clamor or considerations of personal popularity or notoriety or unjust criticism.

The cases which Judge Pye tried and is now trying involve the most sacred and fundamental provisions of our State and Federal Constitutional system. The defendants in these cases have utterly defied our State laws and have grossly violated the liberty and property rights of our law-abiding citizens. While professing to be non-violent, they have endeavored by force and violence, with public indecency and immorality, to destroy the liberty and property of our loyal and law-abiding citizens. They have been guilty of public indecency and immorality and destruction not only on the premises of law-abiding businesses, but also in the City Jail. Your charges of intimidation, cruelty, and oppression against Judge Pye are baseless and applicable to the rioters and law-breakers for whom you are speaking instead of him. One of your charges against Judge Pye is that "None can speak without jeopardy of contempt." This charge is utterly false. I recently finished a ten week hearing before Judge Pye. I had an associate attorney with me and the opposing parties had three lawyers. We argued for hours every day for ten weeks and Judge Pye was very patient, attentive, courteous, and considerate at all times, and very carefully, studiously, painstakingly, and conscientiously endeavored to follow the law in every particular and with the utmost impartiality toward the parties.

With reference to your statement that "My community must not, by an imposed silence, be charged with the conduct of a single judge," and that "men of goodwill" must not "be without a spokesman when justice has been denied," you are informed that nobody has imposed silence upon Atlanta and the defendants in question have not been deprived of counsel.

Judge Pye would not think of depriving any litigant of counsel or fail or refuse to allow any party his or her right to full representation by counsel under the law and the State and Federal Constitutions. If he did so, he would be subject to reversal by the State Appellate Court having jurisdiction or the U. S. Supreme Court. However, a party on trial in a state court is not entitled to be represented in said trial by a Congressman in the U. S. House of Representatives. He or she is only entitled to a public and speedy trial by an impartial jury of the State Court having jurisdiction of the offense and party according to the state and federal constitutions and laws in accordance therewith. Such a party also has a right to appeal to the highest appellate court of this State if dissatisfied with the verdict of the jury and the judgment of the trial court, and from said appellate court to the U. S. Supreme Court if he or she has been denied a Federal Constitutional right by the State Courts.

The Constitution of Georgia contains ample provisions to protect the rights of all persons in both civil and criminal cases, and your attack upon Judge Pye concerning his handling of cases before him amounts to an attack upon the Judiciary of our State, and is not only very unfair to Judge Pye but is also shocking to the moral sense and a gross and unwarranted reflection upon the purity and fairness of the Georgia Judiciary.

As you well know or should know as a lawyer and Congressman from Georgia, the Constitution of Georgia expressly provides that the people of this State have the inherent, sole, and exclusive right of regulating their internal government and the police thereof, and of altering and abolishing their Constitution whenever it may be necessary to their safety and happiness, and that the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive powers shall forever remain separate and distinct, and no person discharging the duties of one, shall, at the same time, exercise the functions of either of the others, except as provided in said Constitution.

The Georgia Constitution also provides, among many other things:

"Protection to the person and property is the paramount duty of government, and shall be impartial and complete.

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, except by due process of law.

"No person shall be deprived of the right to prosecute or defend his own cause in any of the courts of this state, in person, by attorney, or both.

"Every person charged with an offense against the laws of this State shall have the privilege and benefit of counsel; shall be furnished, on demand, with a copy of the accusation, and a list of the witnesses on whose testimony the charge against him is founded; shall have compulsory process to obtain the testimony of his own witnesses; shall be confronted with the witnesses testifying against him; and shall have a public and speedy trial by an impartial jury.

"No person shall be compelled to give testimony tending in any manner to criminate himself.

"Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; nor shall any person be abused in being arrested, while under arrest, or in prison."

The U. S. Constitution provides that the enumeration therein of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people, and that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

If Judge Pye or any other Judge of this State deprives any person on trial before him of any of said constitutional rights, such a party is entitled to reversal by the appropriate appellate court of this State, and if not granted by said State Appellate Court, he is entitled to reversal by the U. S. Supreme Court if he has properly raised a Federal constitutional ground.

I was born and reared in Georgia, have lived here all my life, and expect to spend the rest of my life in this State. I resent your attack upon the Judiciary and good name of Atlanta and Georgia. Instead of spending your time and energy in denouncing an able, just, and conscientious Georgia Judge in his efforts to uphold and fairly administer the law of Georgia according to the State and Federal Constitutions, you should be using your ability and influence to prevent the passage of the iniquitous, unconstitutional, and mis-named Civil Rights Bill now pending in the U. S. Senate.

The rioters and law-breakers for whom you are criticising Judge Pye, are demanding the passage of said unconstitutional bill and in the meantime are endeavoring to destroy our constitutional form of government by force and violence in the form of riots and mob demonstrations prior to the passage of said bill. Your attack upon the Judge before whom these rioters and mobsters are being tried is aiding and encouraging them and others of their type to continue their riots and lawless demonstrations, lying-ins, sit-ins, kneel-ins, etc. You certainly must have read of the violence, obscenity, immorality, and destruction of both private and public property, including the City of Atlanta Jail, by these rioters and mobsters.

Judge Pye has rendered a great service to Atlanta and Georgia especially in upholding and administering the laws of Georgia fairly and impartially to these rioters and mobsters, and has set an example which other states being subjected to such riots and mobs would do well to emulate.

The Georgia law provides that "The right of enjoyment of private property being an absolute right of every citizen, every act of another which unlawfully interferes with such enjoyment is a tort for which an action shall lie."

On July 16, 1867, or almost a hundred years ago, the great Ben Hill, U. S. Senator, stated in his famous Davis Hall speech in Atlanta, "I warn you boastful vindictive radicals by the history of your own fathers, by every instinct of manhood, by every right of liberty, by every impulse of justice, that the day is coming when you will feel the power of an outraged and betrayed people *** Abrogate state governments; defile your own race, flippantly say the constitution is dead! On, On, with your work of ruin, ye hell-born rioters in sacred things! But remember for all these things the people will call you to judgment. Ah! What an issue you have made for yourselves. Succeed and you destroy the constitution! Fail, and you have covered the land with mourning. Succeed, and you bring ruin on yourselves and all the country! Fail, and you bring infamy upon yourselves and all your deluded followers! Succeed, and you are the perjured assassins of liberty! Fail, and you are defeated, despised traitors forever!" In his famous Notes on the Situation (No. 13) Senator Hill stated "Our constitution - our supreme law, which no congress, nor president, nor earthly power can violate, or authorize to be violated with impunity - is our ruler, our only ruler, and all the highest office-holders - civil and military - are but its servants, and bound, under penalties, to obey its commands *** A free man should know no master but the law and bend the knee to no earthly power but the constitution.*** Sue in damages for every injury; indict for every crime *** the time for law's triumph over passion will one day come. If our people now, everywhere, assert these rights, not by again abandoning the Constitution, but by claiming its remedies, that time will come quickly; then we shall demand the criminals wherever found and they will be delivered *** We owe it to ourselves, to our children, to free institutions, to teach all, however high or low, who take advantage of degenerate times like these to violate the great guarantees of the law, who trample on the rights of the citizens, that when the political spasm is over they can find no hiding place from the law's avenger or take shelter from its penalties anywhere in the jurisdiction of the constitution."

I do not have to defend the rulings and orders of Judge Pye in the cases in question because they speak for themselves and are strictly in accordance with the law. No authorities have been or can be cited to the contrary.

The U. S. Supreme Court held in 1882 in the case of United States vs Lee:

"No man in this country is so high that he is above the law. No officer of the law may set that law at defiance with impunity. All the officers of the government, from the highest to the lowest, are the creatures of the law and are bound to obey it. It is the only supreme power in our system of government, and every man who by accepting office participates in its functions is only the more strongly bound to submit to that supremacy, and to observe the limitations which it imposes upon the exercise of the authority which it gives."

The U. S. Supreme Court also held many years ago that a decree rendered by a federal court WITHOUT JURISDICTION WAS A MERE ARBITRARY EDICT, CLOTHED IN THE FORM OF A JUDICIAL SENTENCE AND A BLOT UPON OUR JURISPRUDENCE AND CIVILIZATION.

If the lawful orders of Judge Pye can be set aside by a federal court in violation of the U. S. Constitution, then, in the paraphrased language of U. S. Chief Justice Taney in the Merryman case, every citizen of Georgia holds life, liberty, and property at the will and pleasure of any federal court in whose district or circuit he may happen to be found.

Your libelous and defamatory remarks about Judge Pye are comparable to those of Melvin Belli concerning the Ruby trial, in which he referred to Dallas, Texas as the murder capitol of the world. You have used the office of Representative of the Fifth Congressional District of Georgia to libel, slander, and discredit one of the most able, learned, and just State Judges in Georgia. In fact, Judge Pye is recognized by the people of Georgia as one of the finest Judges since the great Judge J. H. Lumpkin, who served upon the same trial court and later upon the Supreme Court of Georgia many years ago. Judge Lumpkin rendered a decision in a celebrated case in the Atlanta Judicial Circuit which was adopted by the Supreme Court of Georgia. In that case Judge Lumpkin upheld and fairly and courageously applied the law to protect one small business from lawless acts of all its competitors. Judge Pye has upheld and fairly and courageously applied the law to protect over a million of our citizens in the Atlanta Judicial Circuit from a comparatively small minority group of lawless rioters, lead by mobsters and law-breakers from other States.

Your remarks have a tendency to present Atlanta as a haven for rioters and the Judge who is fairly trying them according to the law as cruel, unfair, tyrannical, lawless, entirely oblivious to the demands of simple justice, as imposing silence upon a city of over a million people, and as a discredit to your "image" of Atlanta. Your image of Atlanta is entirely different from that of the overwhelming majority of over a million people residing here. They prefer to uphold the laws, customs, and traditions of Atlanta as so ably and correctly presented by the late Henry W. Grady and U.S. Senator Benjamin Harvey Hill, instead of your false image of Atlanta. Your plan for

Atlanta and Georgia and that represented by the mis-named Civil Rights Bill now pending in the U. S. Senate, are utterly obnoxious to the overwhelming majority of our citizens. Their opinion of your program and that of the advocates of the mis-named Civil Rights Bill is best described in the following language of the late Senator Ben Hill: "The complying accept, the resolute reject, none approve, while all despise."

The image of Atlanta of all its true citizens is one of peace, tranquility, morality, safety, happiness, and prosperity raised from the ashes left by Sherman with his fire, sword and rapists, instead of an image of riots, mobs, immorality, indecency, crime, lawlessness, destruction, sorrow, and insecurity.

By your attack upon Judge Pye and thereby our State Judiciary, you have inflicted a blow against State Rights, Local Self Government, Individual Liberty, and Free Enterprise guaranteed by our State and Federal Constitutions. Your attack will also greatly aid the proponents of the assault upon our constitutional system of government in the form of the mis-named Civil Rights Bill now pending in the U. S. Senate.

I challenge you to a debate of this matter either before the people of the Atlanta Judicial Circuit in an open meeting or on the television or radio at the earliest possible date. Our citizens can then decide the issue for themselves from a full presentation of the facts and the law.

As a loyal citizen of Atlanta, Georgia, and of the United States of America, I felt it to be my duty to write this letter to you in defense of the able, just, learned, distinguished and conscientious judge whom you have attacked, and in support of our constitutional form of government. I hope you will realize your mistake in making such an attack and will make a prompt and public retraction and apology. You owe this to Judge Pye as well as the citizens of the Fifth Congressional District of Georgia which you represent in Congress. Such an apology and retraction would help to repair the serious damage you have done to the administration of justice according to law in Atlanta and Georgia in particular and to our Federal constitutional system in general. This letter is not intended in any sense as a personal criticism of you, but as a denunciation of your unwarranted and baseless attack upon Judge Pye under your cloak of immunity as a Congressman in the U. S. House of Representatives.

Yours for the United States of America
under the Declaration of Independence and
Constitution as conceived, understood and
established by the Founding Fathers under
the inspiration and guidance of Almighty
God,

GSA/ek

PROPERTY RIGHTS VS. INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Parts of CHARGE TO THE GRAND JURY by Judge Durwood T. Pye at Fulton County Court House, Atlanta.

Mr. Foreman, Madam and Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, sometimes one reads or hears the statement that "individual rights are superior to property rights", and similar expressions or statements indicating a conflict between what are thus referred to as the "rights of person", on the one hand, and the "rights of property" on the other. These statements rest upon a false premise, are misleading and arise out of a failure to comprehend the subject.

There is no such thing as a right of property or property rights considered separately and apart from the individual owner. Property itself is incapable of the exercise of rights and in the nature of things cannot enjoy and possess them. In the law of land titles an easement may exist appurtenant to the dominent estate in the nature of a covenant running with the land whereby successive owners of the land enjoy the right of such easement over the servient estate, an example of such being a right of way over the adjacent land of another, but obviously such and similar principles are foreign to the distinction sought to be made by those who assert that personal rights are superior to property rights.

The only so-called property right recognized by our system of laws is the right of the private ownership of property, and this right of the individual to own, enjoy, hold and possess in his own name and right is a personal liberty. Its nature and character is the same as that of other personal rights and liberties, as for example, the right of free locomotion and freedom from bodily restraint, freedom of religion, freedom of speech. Indeed, the right of the private ownership of private property is the chief support of the other fundamental liberties of men.

Sir William Blackstone's essay on the origin of property is of such interest and pertinency that we quote it in full, as follows:

In the beginning of the world, we are informed by Holy Writ, the all-bountiful Creator gave to man dominion over all the earth, and "over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." This is the only true and solid foundation of man's dominion over external things, whatever airy, metaphysical notions may have been started by fanciful writers upon this subject. The earth, therefore, and all things therein, are the general property of all mankind, exclusive of other beings, from the immediate gift of the Creator. And while the earth continued bare of inhabitants, it is reasonable to suppose that all was in common among them, and that everyone took from the public stock, to his own use, such things as his immediate necessities required.

These general notions of property were then sufficient to answer all the purposes of human life; and might, perhaps, still have answered them, had it been possible for mankind to have remained in a state of primeval simplicity, in which "all things were common to him." Not that this communion of goods seems ever to have been applicable, even in the earliest ages, to aught but the substance of the thing; nor could it be extended to the use of it. For, by the law of nature and reason, he who first began to use it, acquired therein a kind of transient property, that lasted so long as he was using it, and no longer. Or, to speak with greater precision, the right of possession continued for the same time, only, that the act of possession lasted.

Thus, the ground was in common, and no part of it was the permanent property of any man in particular; yet, whoever was in the occupation of any determined spot of it, for rest, for shade, or the like, acquired for the time a sort of ownership, from which it would have been unjust and contrary to the law of nature to have driven him by force; but, the instant that he quitted the use or occupation of it, another might seize it without injustice. Thus, also, a vine or other tree might be said to be in common, as all men were equally entitled to its produce; and yet, any private individual might gain the sole property of the fruit which he had gathered for his own repast: a doctrine well illustrated by Cicero, who compares the world to a great theater, which is common to the public, and yet the place which any man has taken is, for the time, his own.

But when mankind increased in number, craft, and ambition, it became necessary to entertain conceptions of a more permanent dominion; and to appropriate to individuals not the immediate use only, but the very substance of the thing to be used. Otherwise, innumerable tumults must have arisen, and the good order of the world been continually broken and disturbed, while a variety of persons were striving who should get the first occupation of the same thing, or disputing which of them had actually gained it. As human life also grew more and more refined, abundance of conveniences were devised to render it more easy, commodious, and agreeable; as habitations for shelter and safety, and raiment for warmth and decency. But no man would be at the trouble to provide either, so long as he had only a usufructuary property in them, which was to cease the instant that he quitted possession; if, as soon as he walked out of his tent or pulled off his garment,

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the next stranger who came by would have a right to inhabit the one and to wear the other.

In the case of habitations, in particular, it was natural to observe that even the brute creation, to whom everything else was in common, maintained a kind of permanent property in their dwellings, especially for the protection of their young; that the birds of the air had nests, and the beasts of the fields had caverns, the invasion of which they esteemed a very flagrant injustice, and would sacrifice their lives to preserve them. Hence a property was soon established in every man's house and homestead; which seem to have been originally mere temporary huts or movable cabins, suited to the design of Providence for more speedily peopling the earth, and suited to the wandering life of their owners, before any extensive property in the soil or ground was established.

There can be no doubt but that movables of every kind became sooner appropriated than the permanent, substantial soil; partly because they were more susceptible of a long occupancy, which might be continued for months together without any sensible interruption, and at length, by usage, ripen into an established right; but, principally, because few of them could be fit for use till improved and meliorated by the bodily labor of the occupant; which bodily labor, bestowed upon any subject which before lay in common to all men, is universally allowed to give the fairest and most reasonable title to an exclusive property therein.

The article of food was a more immediate call, and therefore a more early consideration. Such as were not contented with the spontaneous product of the earth, sought for a more solid refreshment in the flesh of beasts, which they obtained by hunting. But the frequent disappointments incident to that method of provision, induced them to gather together such animals as were of a more tame and sequacious nature, and to establish a permanent property in their flocks and herds, in order to sustain themselves in a less precarious manner, partly by the milk of the dams, and partly by the flesh of the young.

The support of these their cattle made the article of water also a very important point. And, therefore, the book of Genesis, (the most venerable monument of antiquity, considered merely with a view to history,) will furnish us with frequent instances of violent contentions concerning wells; the exclusive property of which appears to have been established in the first digger or occupant, even in places where the ground and herbage remained yet in common. Thus, we find Abraham, who was but a sojourner, asserting his right to a well in the country of Abimelech, and exacting an oath for his security "because he had digged that well." And Isaac, about ninety years afterwards, reclaimed this his father's property; and, after much contention with the Philistines, was suffered to enjoy it in peace.

All this while, the soil and pasture of the earth remained still in common as before, and open to every occupant; except, perhaps, in the neighborhood of towns, where the necessity of a sole and exclusive property in lands, (for the sake of agriculture,) was earlier felt, and therefore more readily complied with. Otherwise, when the multitude of men and cattle had consumed every convenience on one spot of ground, it was deemed a natural right to seize upon and occupy such other lands as would more easily supply their necessities.

We have a striking example of this in the history of Abraham and his nephew Lot. When their joint substance became so great that pasture and other conveniences grew scarce, the natural consequence was that a strife arose between their servants; so that it was no longer practicable to dwell together. This contention, Abraham thus endeavored to compose: "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." This plainly implies an acknowledged right in either to occupy whatever ground he pleased that was not preoccupied by other tribes. "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, even as the garden of the Lord. Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan, and journeyed east; and Abraham dwelt in the land of Canaan."

As the world by degrees grew more populous, it daily became more difficult to find out new spots to inhabit, without encroaching upon former occupants; and, by constantly occupying the same individual spot, the fruits of the earth were consumed, and its spontaneous products destroyed, without any provision for future supply or succession. It, therefore, became necessary to pursue some regular method of providing a constant subsistence; and this necessity produced, or at least promoted and encouraged the art of agriculture. And the art of agriculture, by a regular connection and consequence, introduced and established the idea of a more permanent property in the soil than had hitherto been received and adopted.

It was clear that the earth would not produce her fruits in sufficient quantities without the assistance of tillage; but who would be at the pains of tilling it, if another might watch an opportunity to seize upon and enjoy the product of his industry, art and labor? Had not, therefore, a separate property in lands, as well as movables, been vested in some individuals, the world must have continued a forest, and men have been mere animals of prey. Whereas, now, (so graciously has Providence interwoven our duty and our happiness together,) the result of this very necessity has been the ennobling of the human species, by giving it opportunities of improving its rational, as well as of exerting its natural faculties.

Necessity begat property; and, in order to insure that property, recourse was had to civil society, which brought along with it a long train of inseparable concomitants: states, government, laws, punishments, and the public exercise of religious duties. Thus connected together, it was found that a part only of society was sufficient to provide, by their manual labor, for the necessary subsistence of all; and leisure was given to others to cultivate the human mind, to invent useful arts, and to lay the foundations of science.

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(Parenthetically that extract, or rather that essay, it's not an extract, is contained in McGuffey's Sixth Reader. Those of you who have had opportunity recently to compare the material in McGuffey's Readers with the present readers will have found that McGuffey's Readers compare very favorably.)

The right of the individual to own property has been long recognized. It is recognized in the Ten Commandments given to Moses upon Mount Sinai, "two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God."

Under our system of laws the right of the private ownership of property is regarded as a natural right, not a right handed down by government, but one bestowed by the Almighty upon men, and of which they are of inalienable right entitled to be possessed whenever they have raised themselves to the worthiness of its enjoyment.

Being a right originating in nature and with the Creator, it antedates states, nations and empires, and government is charged with the duty of protecting the individual in the enjoyment thereof. As the Constitution of Georgia states, "Protection to person and property is the paramount duty of government and shall be impartial and complete."

Of the rights of man derived from natural law, as is the right of the private ownership of private property, Cicero said: "Of all these things about which learned men dispute there is none more important than clearly to understand that we are born for justice, and that right is founded not in opinion but in nature: Right reason, agreeing with nature and diffused among all, unchanging, everlasting, which calls to duty by commanding, and deters from wrong by forbidding. It is not allowable to alter this law or deviate from it. Nor can it be abrogated. Nor can we be released from this law either by the Senate or by the people. Nor is it one law at Rome and another at Athens, one law today and another hereafter; but the same law, everlasting and unchangeable, which will bind all nations and all times, and there will be one common lord and ruler of all, even God the framer and proposer of this law."

The same thing is stated on the subject of natural law in Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England.

Few, if any, individual rights are absolute, and the right of the private ownership of private property is not absolute. It is subject to what is called the police power, which, while incapable of precise limitation and definition, is the right of self-preservation possessed inherently and necessarily by every sovereign government. Under police power property may be taken or damaged without payment of compensation, but the exercise of such power is not unlimited. It must bear a substantial relation to the public health, safety, morals and general welfare of the public. It must be reasonable and not arbitrary. What is reasonable is ultimately for the Court to decide. Some examples of the exercise of police power are: (1) ad valorem taxation, and (2) absolute necessity, as in time of war to impede the public enemy, and as when in the great Atlanta fire of years ago, houses were dynamited to prevent the spread of the conflagration.

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The State's exercise of the police power, under the principles of the common law which have been carried forward into both the Georgia and the Federal Constitutions, must be consistent with due process of law. Due process of law in each particular case means such an exertion of the powers of government as the settled maxims of the law permit and sanction, and under such safeguards for the protection of individual rights as those maxims prescribe for the class of cases to which the one in question belongs.

For example, due process is satisfied in taxation by an act of the Legislature, and, in the case of destruction during war to impede the enemy or during the great Atlanta fire to prevent the spread of the conflagration, by decision of the authorities in charge.

Under the police power a nuisance per se, or the doing of anything injurious to the public health, safety, morals and so forth of the public, may be prohibited, notwithstanding such prohibition might entail upon the owner or person affected loss and inconvenience, and even if the effect be burdensome. This is so because the right of every man to hold property is coupled with the inherent duty not to injure his neighbors.

By statute the Legislature may provide for limitation of the use of private property if such limitation has a reasonable relation to the public health, safety, morals and general welfare. This principle, however, did not permit the Legislature to authorize zoning regulations, as the Georgia Supreme Court held in Commissioners of Glynn Co. v. Cate. Subsequently, the Constitution was amended to authorize zoning regulations.

Businesses operating under franchises or grants of special privileges, and those exercising monopolies, are, of course, subject to regulation by the General Assembly or its authority.

If a vocation or business or the manner of exercising it is injurious to the rights of others, or is inconsistent with the public welfare, it may be regulated or prohibited altogether by the State or its delegated authorities. The power to regulate, however, does not imply the power to prohibit entirely unless such business comes within a class which may be declared harmful. The regulation imposed upon an ordinary harmless business or vocation must not be unreasonable or arbitrary.

If a vocation or business is affected with a public interest it may be regulated by the Legislature. But this regulation is dependent upon some reasonable necessity for the protection of public health, safety, morality or other phase of the general welfare, and the regulations must be to that end. Examples of vocations are the practice of law or medicine. Examples of businesses are tourist camps, dance halls, hotels and restaurants.

The right to earn a living is fundamental, inherent and natural, and one of the most sacred and valuable rights of the citizen. The right to follow one of the common avocations of life is an inalienable right. Permission or license from the State may not be imposed as a condition precedent to engage in an ordinary common business. What is often referred to as a license is not a license at all but a mere tax, and it may not be in such amount as to be confiscatory or prohibitive.

Restrictions upon the private ownership of property which have no substantial relation to the public health, morals and safety, are forbidden by both the Georgia and Federal Constitutions, and amount to the confiscation of

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property without due process. The purpose of the guaranty of due process of law is to prevent governmental encroachment against the life, liberty and property of individuals, to secure the individual from the arbitrary exercise of the powers of government unrestrained by the established principles of private right and distributive justice, and to protect property from confiscation by legislative enactment.

Mr. Justice Gilbert, in his opinion in 172 Ga.at 852, 853, in the case of Bowden v. Savannah, wrote: "No one in this day contends that the right of private ownership of property is absolute. If held, it must be so used as not to injure unreasonably the rights of others. The American Courts have very generally approved the constitutionality of governmental destruction of property rights, rights which have, from the beginning of struggling America, been a constant incentive and inspiration to the industrious and frugal to build for the future. Is the breaking down and destruction of that incentive a worthy achievement of the Courts of America? Only time will demonstrate. I am not blind to the apparently overwhelming tendency to weaken and destroy individual enterprise and self reliance, and to more and more magnify the powers of government, and to encourage more and more the citizen to seek whatever he wants from a munificent, generous and all powerful government. It is only human nature for one to believe sincerely in the justness of that which redounds to his own interests or appeals to his desires. For these reasons it is the duty of the Courts, the last palladium of the weak against the strong, the few against the many, to strictly construe these limitations upon individual property, and to administer justice under the law and the evidence. Truth is the object of every legal investigation."

What property is the subject of private ownership? Every species of property, real, personal and mixed, choses in action and contracts. It includes the right to labor and the fruits thereof. It includes lands, chattles, money, bank accounts, contracts of employment, insurance policies, every species of real and personal property, every contract right, and every avocation, profession and employment. And property includes not only title, ownership and possession, but also the right of control, and the use of that which is owned.

The word "property", as stated by American Jurisprudence, signifies not only the physical thing which may be the subject of ownership, but the right of dominion or indefinite right of user and disposition which one may lawfully exercise over particular things or subjects. It signifies not only those tangible things which one may own, but everything he may have of an exchangeable value. It includes every interest anyone may have in any and everything that is the subject of ownership by men, together with the right fully to possess, use, enjoy and dispose of the same.

The Court has said that the right of the private ownership of private property is the chief support of the other fundamental liberties of men. Let us examine this statement by referring to the Bills of Right in the Georgia Constitution and in the First Amendments to the United States Constitution.

Article 1, Section 1, Paragraph 12 of the Constitution of Georgia provides: "All men have the natural and inalienable right to worship God, each according to the dictates of his own conscience, and no human authority should, in any case, control or interfere with such right of conscience." See also Paragraphs 13 and 14.

The first article of amendment of the Federal Constitution provides: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

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These provisions of the Constitutions establish freedom of religion. Their effectiveness is, however, in large measure dependent upon the right of the private ownership of property, for if the particular church or congregation could not own and possess its own edifice for worship, its own physical endowment for the maintenance and propogation of the faith, the practical employment and enjoyment of this freedom would be enormously circumscribed.

Paragraph 15 of Section 1, Article 1 of the Constitution of Georgia provides: "No law shall ever be passed to curtail, or restrain the liberty of speech, or of the press; any person may speak, write and publish his sentiments, on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty." The first article of amendment of the Federal Constitution provides that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

Thus, freedom of speech and press is guaranteed as a right personal to each individual. The effectiveness of this guarantee is, however, likewise largely dependent upon the right of the private ownership of property. Particularly is this true as to newspapers, radio and television stations. If these enterprises could not own the plant and equipment necessary to sustain them, freedom of speech and press would be as to them a dead letter.

Paragraph 16, Section 1, Article 1 of the Georgia Constitution provides: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue except upon probable cause, supported by oath, or affirmation, particularly describing the place, or places, to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized." The fourth amendment of the Federal Constitution is in the same language.

The constitutional mandate of this requirement of personal liberty is in large part to the end that the citizen shall be protected in the enjoyment of private property against the arbitrary conduct of the agents of government.

Paragraph 19, Section 1 of Article 1 of the Georgia Bill of Rights provides that no soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, and Paragraph 22 provides that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, but the General Assembly shall have power to prescribe the manner in which arms may be borne. Similar provisions are in the Federal Constitution, amendments 3 and 2. Article 1, Section 3, Paragraph 1 of the Georgia Constitution provides that private property shall not be taken or damaged for public purposes without just and adequate compensation being paid. The similar provision of the United States Constitution is in amendment 5. These provisions all presuppose private ownership.

The great principle of the common law that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process is embodied in both constitutions, in our Georgia Constitution by Paragraph 3 of Article 1, Section 1, and in the United States Constitution as against the Federal Government by the fifth amendment. Article 17 of the Georgia Constitution prohibits involuntary servitude as does amendment 13 of the Federal Constitution. "Protection to person and property is the paramount duty of government and shall be impartial and complete", our Constitution provides.

Thus, liberty is guaranteed in broad and sweeping terms: the liberty to work and earn a living, the liberty to marry and rear a family, the liberty of the parents to rear, instruct and train their children, the liberty to choose one's own associates, the liberty to dwell in peace under the protection of the laws.

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But what are these liberties worth without the liberty to own property? Of what value is the right to labor if one cannot retain the fruits thereof? The right of men and women to marry, establish a home and rear a family is essentially dependent upon the right to select the home wherein they dwell. And this is impossible unless one may own his own home, or freely enter into a contract for possession and rental of the property of another, both of which rights equally constitute property, that is, the right of ownership, and the right of contract. Otherwise, one would be compelled to occupy whatever quarters, if any, were assigned to him by the powers that be. The right of the parents to instruct the youth will in the years to come depend more and more upon the liberty of private ownership of property. No longer can the public schools teach that the Creator is the Lord and Father of us all. Washington has established Mammon in the place of the God of the Christians and the Jews, and parents must turn to their own resources lest we rear a generation of atheists. As to the right to select one's own associates, this is a farce if one is dependent on government. Without the right of private ownership of property, liberty is reduced to mere locomotion, and the status of the citizen to that of the serf.

The use of property is itself property and under the protection of the Constitutions and the laws. Who shall be admitted thereo, who shall remain thereon, are questions of possession and use addressed to the owner, and in the case of the business, the proprietor thereof. When these rights of ownership, possession and use are violated, the law is violated, the most elementary and fundamental rights are violated, and it is the duty of the government of the State to afford relief. The proprietor of a lawful business, obeying the laws, paying taxes, is entitled to have his property protected, and if the government of the State does not protect it, that government has failed in the first duty of government.

The Act approved February 18, 1960, and set forth in Ga. Laws 1960, page 142, is as follows: "An Act to make it a misdemeanor for any person to refuse to leave certain premises when requested to do so, to repeal conflicting laws and for other purposes. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Georgia: Section 1. It shall be unlawful for any person, who is on the premises of another, to refuse and fail to leave said premises when requested to do so by the owner or any person in charge of said premises or the agent or employee of such owner or such person in charge. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished as for a misdemeanor. Section 2. All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this Act are hereby repealed."

Obviously this Act has nothing whatever to do with so-called compulsory segregation or so-called compulsory integration, nor is it in any way affected by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the cases of Peterson, Lombard, Gober, Avent and Shuttleworth decided May 20, 1963. Indeed in these cases Mr. Justice Harlan explicitly says in analyzing the decision of the majority of the Court, that it does not suggest that action denying equal protection may be found in the mere enforcement of trespass laws in relation to private business establishments from which the management, of its own free will, has chosen to exclude persons.

It is common knowledge that this law, during recent months and weeks, has been flouted, defied and violated, that these violations have been frequent and repeated, and the results of combinations and conspiracies. This is a matter of great seriousness, involving as it does the property of the citizen, and the authority and capability of the officers of the government of the State to enforce the laws of the State established for the protection of the most elementary rights of the citizen.

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The Court explicitly charges the Grand Jury to have bills of indictment in reference to these offenses prepared and laid before you, to cause the witnesses to be summoned before you and to testify under oath on these indictments, and to return true bills in each and every case in which the evidence shows this law has been violated.

Although this offense is a misdemeanor, due to the importance of these cases, the Court directs that they be retained in this Court for trial.

Mr. Foreman, Madam and Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, the government is divided into three branches: The legislative, the executive, and the judicial. It is the duty of the legislative department to make the laws; it is the duty of the executive department to execute the laws; and it is the duty of the judicial department to apply the laws. Each of these departments is required under our system to refrain from intruding upon the prerogatives of the other. This is necessary in order that free institutions may prevail.

The Judge and the Grand Jury belong to the judicial department of the government. Courts and juries administer justice according to the forms and modes of law. They are far above faction and should never permit themselves to be made the instruments of party or the conduits of propaganda.

The function of the Grand Jury in the administration of justice cannot be overemphasized. Its importance is equaled only by its antiquity as an institution.

The foremost function of government, to maintain order in the land, and the administration of justice between man and man, are inseparable, as the maintenance of the peace and good order of society must rest upon the solid foundation of the just application of the laws to all citizens no matter what their station in life.

The author of Proverbs said, "To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice."

By your duties which you undertake today you help to keep alight the flame of justice, and help to see that her scales are ever held with even and impartial hands.

Mr. Foreman, Madam, Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, it is the hope of the Court that Providence may guide you in your work.